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BAND II.

A SANSKRIT GRAMMAR, INCLUDING BOTH THE CLASSICAL LANGUAGE, AND THE OLDER DIALECTS, OF VEDA AND BRAHMANA
BY WILLIAM DWIGHT WHITNEY.

LEIPZIG,
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1879.

A SANSKRIT GRAMMAR,

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BY

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PREFACE.

It was in June, 1875, as I chanced to be for a day or two in Leipzig, that I was unexpectedly invited to prepare the Sanskrit grammar for the Indo-European series projected by Messrs. Breitkopf and Härtel. After some consideration, and consultation with friends, I accepted the task, and have since devoted to it what time could be spared from regular duties, after the satisfaction of engagements earlier formed. If the delay seems a long one, it was nevertheless unavoidable; and I would gladly, in the interest of the work itself, have made it still longer. In every such case, it is necessary to make a compromise between measurably satisfying a present pressing need, and doing the subject fuller justice at the cost of more time; and it seemed as if the call for a Sanskrit grammar on a somewhat different plan from those already in use — excellent as some of these in many respects are — was urgent enough to recommend a speedy completion of the work begun.

The objects had especially in view in the preparation of this grammar have been the following:

To make a presentation of the facts of the language primarily as they show themselves in use in the literature, and only secondarily as they are laid down by the native grammarians. The earliest European grammars were by the necessity of the case chiefly founded on their native predecessors; and a traditional method was thus established which has been perhaps somewhat too closely adhered to, at the expense of clearness and of proportion, as well as of scientific truth. Accordingly, my attention has not been directed toward a profounder study of the grammatical science of the Hindu schools: their teachings I have been contented to take

as already reported to Western learners in the existing Western grammars.

To include also in the presentation the forms and constructions of the older language, as exhibited in the Veda and the Brāhmaṇa. Grassmann's excellent Index-Vocabulary to the Rig-Veda, and my own manuscript one to the Atharva-Veda (which I hope soon to be able to make public), gave me in full detail the great mass of Vedic material; and this, with some assistance from pupils and friends, I have sought to complete, as far as the circumstances permitted, from the other Vedic texts and from the various works of the Brāhmaṇa period, both printed and manuscript.

To treat the language throughout as an accented one, omitting nothing of what is known respecting the nature of the Sanskrit accent, its changes in combination and inflection, and the tone of individual words — being, in all this, necessarily dependent especially upon the material presented by the older accentuated texts.

To cast all statements, classifications, and so on, into a form consistent with the teachings of linguistic science. In doing this, it has been necessary to discard a few of the long-used and familiar divisions and terms of Sanskrit grammar — for example, the classification and nomenclature of "special tenses" and "general tenses" (which is so indefensible that one can only wonder at its having maintained itself so long), the order and terminology of the conjugation-classes, the separation in treatment of the facts of internal and external euphonic combination, and the like. But care has been taken to facilitate the transition from the old to the new; and the changes, it is believed, will commend themselves to unqualified acceptance. It has been sought also to help an appreciation of the character of the language by putting its facts as far as possible into a statistical form. In this respect the native grammar is especially deficient and misleading.

Regard has been constantly had to the practical needs of the learner of the language, and it has been attempted, by due arrangement and by the use of different sizes of

type, to make the work as usable by one whose object it is to acquire a knowledge of the classical Sanskrit alone as those are in which the earlier forms are not included. The custom of transliterating all Sanskrit words into European characters, which has become usual in European Sanskrit grammars, is, as a matter of course, retained throughout: and, because of the difficulty of setting even a small Sanskrit type with anything but a large European, it is practiced alone in the smaller sizes.

While the treatment of the facts of the language has thus been made a historical one, within the limits of the language itself, I have not ventured to make it comparative, by bringing in the analogous forms and processes of other related languages. To do this, in addition to all that was attempted beside, would have extended the work, both in content and in time of preparation, far beyond the limits assigned to it. And, having decided to leave out this element, I have done so consistently throughout. Explanations of the origin of forms have also been avoided, for the same reason and for others, which hardly call for statement.

A grammar is necessarily in great part founded on its predecessors, and it would be in vain to attempt an acknowledgment in detail of all the aid received from other scholars. I have had at hand always especially the very scholarly and reliable brief summary of Kielhorn, the full and excellent work of Monier Williams, the smaller grammar of Bopp (a wonder of learning and method for the time when it was prepared), and the volumes of Benfey and Müller. As regards the material of the language, no other aid, of course, has been at all comparable with the great Petersburg lexicon of Böhtlingk and Roth, the existence of which gives by itself a new character to all investigations of the Sanskrit language. What I have not found there or in the special collections made by myself or by others for me, I have called below "not quotable" — a provisional designation, necessarily liable to correction in detail by the results of further researches. For what concerns the verb, its forms and their classification and uses, I have had, as every one

must have, by far the most aid from Delbrück, in his Altindisches Verbum and his various syntactical contributions. Former pupils of my own, Prof. Avery and Dr. Edgren, have also helped me, in connection with this subject and with others, in a way and measure that calls for public acknowledgment. In respect to the important matter of the declension in the earliest language, I have made great use of the elaborate paper in the Journ. Am. Or. Soc. (printing contemporaneously with this work, and used by me almost, but not quite, to the end of the subject) by my former pupil Prof. Lanman; my treatment of it is founded on his. My manifold obligations to my own teacher, Prof. Weber of Berlin, also require to be mentioned: among other things, I owe to him the use of his copies of certain unpublished texts of the Brāhmaṇa period, not otherwise accessible to me; and he was kind enough to look through with me my work in its inchoate condition, favoring me with valuable suggestions. For this last favor I have likewise to thank Prof. Delbrück — who, moreover, has taken the trouble to glance over for a like purpose the greater part of the proof-sheets of the grammar, as they came from the press. To Dr. L. Schröder is due whatever use I have been able to make (unfortunately a very imperfect one) of the important Mātriāyanī-Sanhitā.

Of the deficiencies of my work I am, I think, not less fully aware than any critic of it, even the severest, is likely to be. Should it be found to answer its intended purpose well enough to come to another edition, my endeavor will be to improve and complete it; and I shall be grateful for any corrections or suggestions which may aid me in making it a more efficient help to the study of the Sanskrit language and literature.

GOTHA, July 1879.

W. D. W.

INTRODUCTION.

Brief Account of the Indian Literature.

It seems desirable to give here such a sketch of the history of Indian literature as shall show the relation to one another of the different periods and forms of the language treated in the following grammar, and the position of the works there quoted.

The name "Sanskrit" (*saṁskṛta*, **1087 d**, 'adorned, elaborated, perfected'), which is popularly applied to the whole ancient and sacred language of India, belongs more properly only to that dialect which, regulated and established by the labors of the native grammarians, has led for the last two thousand years or more an artificial life, like that of the Latin during most of the same period in Europe, as the written and spoken means of communication of the learned and priestly caste; and which even at the present day fills that office. It is thus distinguished, on the one hand, from the later and derived dialects — as the Prakrit, forms of language which have datable monuments from as early as the third century before Christ, and which are represented by inscriptions and coins, by the speech of the uneducated characters in the Sanskrit dramas (see below), and by a limited literature; the Pali, a Prakritic dialect which became the sacred language of Buddhism in Farther India, and is

still in service there as such; and yet later and more altered tongues forming the transition to the languages of Modern India. And, on the other hand, it is distinguished, but very much less sharply and widely, from the older dialects or forms of speech presented in the canonical literature, the Veda and Brāhmaṇa.

This fact, of the fixation by learned treatment of an authorized mode of expression, which should thenceforth be used according to rule in the intercourse of the educated, is the cardinal one in Indian linguistic history; and as the native grammatical literature has determined the form of the language, so it has also to a large extent determined the grammatical treatment of the language by European scholars.

Much in the history of the learned movement is still obscure, and opinions are at variance even as to points of prime consequence. Only the concluding works in the development of the grammatical science have been preserved to us; and though they are evidently the perfected fruits of a long series of learned labors, the records of the latter are lost beyond recovery. The time and the place of the creation of Sanskrit are unknown; and as to its occasion, we have only our inferences and conjectures to rely upon. It seems, however, altogether likely that the grammatical sense of the ancient Hindus was awakened in great measure by their study of the traditional sacred texts, and by their comparison of its different language with that of contemporary use. It is certain that the grammatical study of those texts (*çākhās*, lit'ly 'branches'), phonetic and other, was zealously and effectively followed in the Brahmanic schools; this is attested by our possession of a number of phonetico-grammatical treatises, *prātiçākhyas* (*prati çākhām*, 'belonging to each several text'), one having for subject each principal Vedic text, and noting all its peculiarities of form; these, both by the depth and exactness of their own researches and by the number of authorities which they quote, speak plainly of a lively scientific activity continued during a long time. What part, on the other hand, the notice of differ-

ences between the correct speech of the learned and the altered dialects of the vulgar may have borne in the same movement is not easy to determine; but it is not customary that a language has its proper usages fixed by rule until the danger is distinctly felt of its undergoing corruption.

The labors of the general school of Sanskrit grammar reached a climax in the grammarian Pāṇini, whose text-book, containing the facts of the language cast into the highly artful and difficult form of about four thousand algebraic-formula-like rules (in the statement and arrangement of which brevity alone is had in view, at the cost of distinctness and unambiguousness), became for all after time the authoritative, almost sacred, norm of correct speech. Respecting his period, nothing really definite and trustworthy is known; but he is with much probability held to have lived some time (two to four centuries) before the Christian era. He has had commentators in abundance, and has undergone at their hands some measure of amendment and completion; but he has not been overthrown or superseded. The chief and most authoritative commentary on his work is that called the *Mahābhāshya*, 'great comment', in which Kātyāyana's strictures on his rules are examined and discussed by Patanjali.

A language, even if not a vernacular one, which is in tolerably wide and constant use for writing and speaking, is, of course, kept in life principally by direct tradition, by communication from teacher to scholar and the study and imitation of existing texts, and not by the learning of grammatical rules; yet the existence of grammatical authority, and especially of a single one, deemed infallible and of prescriptive value, could not fail to exert a very strong regulative influence, leading to the avoidance more and more of what was, even if lingering in use, inconsistent with his teachings, and also, in the constant reproduction of texts, to the gradual effacement of whatever they might contain that was unapproved. Thus the whole more modern literature of India has been Paninized, so to speak, pressed into the mould prepared by him and his school. What are the

limits of the artificiality of this process is not yet known. The attention of special students of the Hindu grammar (and the subject is so intricate and difficult that the number is exceedingly small of those who have mastered it sufficiently to have a competent opinion on such general matters) has been hitherto mainly directed toward determining what the Sanskrit according to Pāṇini really is, toward explaining the language from the grammar. And, naturally enough, in India, or wherever else the leading object is to learn to speak and write the language correctly — that is, as authorized by the grammarians — that is the proper course to pursue. This, however, is not the way really to understand the language. The time must soon come, or it has come already, when the endeavor shall be instead to explain the grammar from the language; to test in all details, so far as shall be found possible, the reason of Pāṇini's rules (which contain not a little that seems problematical, or even sometimes perverse); to determine what and how much genuine usage he had everywhere as foundation, and what traces may be left in the literature of usages possessing an inherently authorized character, though unratified by him.

By the term "classical" or "later" language, then, as constantly used below in the grammar, is meant the language of those literary monuments which are written in conformity with the rules of the native grammar: virtually, the whole proper Sanskrit literature. For although parts of this are doubtless earlier than Pāṇini, it is impossible to tell just what parts, or how far they have escaped in their style the levelling influence of the grammar. The whole, too, may be called so far an artificial literature as it is written in a phonetic form (see grammar, **103**) which never can have been a truly vernacular and living one. Nearly all of it is metrical: not poetic works only, but narratives, histories (so far as anything deserving that name can be said to exist), and scientific treatises of every variety, are done into verse; a prose and a prose literature (except in the commentaries) hardly has an existence. Of linguistic history there is next to nothing in it all; but only a history of style, and this

for the most part showing a gradual depravation. an increase of artificiality and an intensification of certain more undesirable features of the language — such as the use of passive constructions and of participles instead of verbs, and the substitution of compounds for sentences.

This being the condition of the later literature, it is of so much the higher consequence that there is an earlier literature, to which the suspicion of artificiality does not attach, or attaches at least only in a minimal degree, which has a truly vernacular character, and abounds in prose as well as verse.

The results of the very earliest literary productiveness of the Indian people are the hymns with which, when they had only crossed the threshold of the country, and when their geographical horizon was still limited to the river-basin of the Indus with its tributaries, they praised their gods, the deified powers of nature, and accompanied the rites of their comparatively simple worship. At what period these were made and sung cannot be determined with any approach to accuracy: it may have been as early as 2000 B.C. They were long handed down by oral tradition, preserved by the care, and increased by the additions and imitations, of succeeding generations; the mass was ever growing, and, with the change of habits and beliefs and religious practices, was becoming variously applied — sung in chosen extracts, mixed with other material into liturgies, adapted with more or less of distortion to help the needs of a ceremonial which was coming to be of immense elaboration and intricacy. And, at some time in the course of this history, there was made for preservation a great collection of the hymn-material, mainly its oldest and most genuine part, to the extent of over a thousand hymns and ten thousand verses, arranged according to traditional authorship and to subject and length of hymn: this collection is the *Rig-Veda*, 'Veda of verses (*ṛc*) or hymns'. Other collections were made also out of the same general mass of traditional material: doubtless later, although the interrelations of this period are as yet too unclear to allow of

our speaking with entire confidence as to anything concerning them. Thus, the *Sāma-Veda*, 'Veda of chants (*sāman*)', containing only about a sixth as much, its verses nearly all found in the Rig-Veda also, but appearing here with numerous differences of reading; these were passages put together for chanting at the soma-sacrifices. Again, collections called by the comprehensive name of *Yajur-Veda*, 'Veda of sacrificial formulas (*yajus*)': these contained not verses alone, but also numerous prose utterances, mingled with the former, in the order in which they were practically employed in the ceremonies; they were strictly liturgical collections. Of these, there are in existence several texts, which have their mutual differences: the *Vājasaneyi-Saṁhitā* (in two slightly discordant versions, *Mādhyandina* and *Kāṇva*), sometimes also called the White Yajur-Veda; and the various and considerably differing texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, namely the *Tāittirīya-Saṁhitā*, the *Māitrāyaṇī-Saṁhitā*, and the *Kāṭhaka* (the two last not yet published). Finally, another historical collection, like the Rig-Veda, but made up mainly of later and less accepted material, and called (among other less current names) the *Atharva-Veda*, 'Veda of the Atharvans (a legendary priestly family)'; it is somewhat more than half as bulky as the Rig-Veda, and contains a certain amount of material corresponding to that of the latter, and also a number of brief prose passages. To this last collection is very generally refused in the orthodox literature the name of Veda; but for us it is the most interesting of all, after the Rig-Veda, because it contains the largest amount of hymn-material (or *mantra*, as it is called, in distinction from the prose *brāhmaṇa*), and in a language which, though distinctly less antique than that of the other, is nevertheless truly Vedic. Two versions of it are extant, one of them only in a single known manuscript.

A not insignificant body of like material, and of various period (although doubtless in the main belonging to the latest time of Vedic productiveness, and in part perhaps the imitative work of a yet more modern time), is scattered through the texts to be later described, the *Brāhmaṇas* and

the *Sūtras*. To assemble and sift and compare it is now one of the pressing needs of Vedic study.

The fundamental divisions of the Vedic literature here mentioned all have had their various schools of sectaries, each of these with a text of its own, showing some differences from those of the other schools: but those mentioned above are all that are now known to be in existence; and the chance of the discovery of others grows every year smaller.

The labor of the schools in the conservation of their sacred texts was extraordinary, and has been crowned with such success that the text of each school, whatever may be its differences from those of other schools, is virtually without various readings, preserved with all its peculiarities of dialect, and its smallest and most exceptional traits of phonetic form, pure and unobscured. It is not the place here to describe the means by which, in addition to the religious care of the sectaries, this accuracy was secured: forms of text, lists of peculiarities and treatises upon them, and so on. When this kind of care began in the case of each text, and what of original character may have been effaced before it, or lost in spite of it, cannot be told. But it is certain that the Vedic records furnish, on the whole, a wonderfully accurate and trustworthy picture of a form of ancient Indian language (as well as ancient Indian beliefs and institutions) which was a natural and undistorted one, and which goes back a good way behind the classical Sanskrit. Its differences from the latter the following treatise endeavors to show in detail.

Along with the verses and sacrificial formulas and phrases in the texts of the Black Yajur-Veda are given long prose sections, in which the ceremonies are described, their meaning and the reason of the details and the accompanying utterances are discussed and explained, illustrative legends are reported or fabricated, and various speculations, etymological and other, are indulged in. Such matter comes to be called *brāhmaṇa* (apparently 'relating to the *brahman* or worship'). In the White Yajur-Veda, it is separated into

a work by itself, beside the *saṁhitā* or text of verses and formulas, and is called the *Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa*, 'Brāhmaṇa of a hundred ways'. Other similar collections are found, belonging to various other schools of Vedic study, and they bear the common name of *Brāhmaṇa*, with the name of the school, or some other distinctive title, prefixed. Thus, the *Āitareya* and *Kāushītaki-Brāhmaṇas*, belonging to the schools of the Rig-Veda, the *Pañcaviñça* and *Shaḍviñça-Brāhmaṇas* and other minor works, to the Sāma-Veda; the *Gopatha-Brāhmaṇa*, to the Atharva-Veda; and a *Jāimini-Brāhmaṇa*, to the Sāma-Veda, has just (Burnell) been discovered in India; the *Tāittirīya-Brāhmaṇa* is a collection of mingled *mantra* and *brāhmaṇa*, like the *saṁhitā* of the same name, but supplementary and later. These works are likewise regarded as canonical by the schools, and are learned by their sectaries with the same extreme care which is devoted to the *saṁhitās*, and their condition of textual preservation is of a kindred excellence. To a certain extent, there is among them the possession of common material: a fact the bearings of which are not yet fully understood.

Notwithstanding the inanity of no small part of their contents, the Brāhmaṇas are of a high order of interest in their bearings on the history of Indian institutions; and philologically they are not less important, since they represent a form of language in most respects intermediate between the classical and that of the Vedas, and offer specimens on a large scale of a prose style, and of one which is in the main a natural and freely developed one — the oldest and most primitive Indo-European prose.

Beside the Brāhmaṇas are sometimes found later appendices, of a similar character, called *Āraṇyakas* ('forest-sections'): as the *Āitareya-Āraṇyaka*, *Tāittirīya-Āraṇyaka*, *Bṛhad-Āraṇyaka*, and so on. And from some of these, or even from the Brāhmaṇas, are extracted the earliest *Upanishads* ('sittings, lectures on sacred subjects') — which, however, are continued and added to down to a comparatively modern time. The Upanishads are one of the lines

by which the Brāhmaṇa literature passes over into the later theological literature.

Another line of transition is shown in the *Sūtras* ('lines, rules'). The works thus named are analogous with the Brāhmaṇas in that they belong to the schools of Vedic study and are named from them, and that they deal with the religious ceremonies: treating them, however, in the way of prescription, not of dogmatic explanation. They, too, contain some *mantra* or hymn-material, not found to occur elsewhere. In part (*çrāuta* or *kalpa-sūtras*), they take up the great sacrificial ceremonies, with which the Brāhmaṇas have to do; in part *(gṛhya-sūtras),* they teach the minor duties of a pious householder; in some cases *(sāmayācārika-sūtras)* they lay down the general obligations of one whose life is in accordance with prescribed duty. And out of the last two, or especially the last, come by natural development the law-books *(dharma-çāstras),* which make a conspicuous figure in the later literature: the oldest and most noted of them being that called by the name of *Manu* (an outgrowth, it is believed, of the Mānava Vedic school); to which are added that of Yājnavalkya, and many others.

Respecting the chronology of this development, or the date of any class of writings, still more of any individual work, the less that is said the better. All dates given in Indian literary history are pins set up to be bowled down again. Every important work has undergone so many more or less transforming changes before reaching the form in which it comes to us, that the question of original construction is complicated with that of final redaction. It is so with the law-book of Manu, just mentioned, which has well-founded claims to being regarded as one of the very oldest works of the proper Sanskrit literature, if not the oldest (it is variously assigned, to periods from six centuries before Christ to soon after Christ). It is so, again, in a still more striking degree, with the great legendary epic of the *Mahābhārata.* The ground-work of this is doubtless of very early date; but it has served as a text into which

materials of various character and period have been inwoven, until it has become a heterogeneous mass, a kind of cyclopedia for the warrior-caste, hard to separate into its constituent parts. The story of *Nala*, and the philosophical poem *Bhagavad-Gītā*, are two of the most noted of its episodes. The *Rāmāyaṇa*, the other most famous epic, is a work of another kind: though also worked over and more or less altered in its transmission to our time, it is the production, in the main, of a single author (Vālmīki); and it is generally believed to be in part allegorical, representing the introduction of Aryan culture and dominion into Southern India. By its side stand a number of minor epics, of various authorship and period, as the *Raghuvañça* (ascribed to the dramatist Kālidāsa), the *Māghakāvya*, the *Bhaṭṭikāvya* (the last, written chiefly with the grammatical intent of illustrating by use as many as possible of the numerous formations which, through taught by the grammarians, find no place in the literature).

The *Purāṇas*, a large class of works mostly of immense extent, are best mentioned in connection with the epics. They are pseudo-historical and prophetic in character, of modern date, and of very small value. Real history finds no place in Sanskrit literature, nor is there any conscious historical element in any of the works composing it.

Lyric poetry is represented by many works, some of which, as the *Meghadūta* and *Gītagovinda*, are of no mean order of merit.

The drama is a still more noteworthy and important branch. The first indications of dramatical inclination and capacity on the part of the Hindus are seen in certain hymns of the Veda, where a mythological or legendary situation is conceived dramatically, and set forth in the form of a dialogue — well-known examples are the dialogue of Saramā and the Paṇis, that of Yama and his sister Yamī, that of Vasishtha and the rivers, that of Agni and the other gods — but there are no extant intermediaries between these and the standard drama. The beginnings of the latter date from a period when in actual life the higher and educated

characters used Sanskrit, and the lower and uneducated used the popular dialects derived from it, the Prakrits; and their dialogue reflects this condition of things. Then, however, learning (not to call it pedantry) intervened, and stereotyped the new element; a Prakrit grammar grew up beside the Sanskrit grammar, according to the rules of which Prakrit could be made indefinitely on a substrate of Sanskrit; and none of the existing dramas need to date from the time of vernacular use of Prakrit, while most or all of them are undoubtedly much later. Among the dramatic authors, Kālidāsa is incomparably the chief, and his *Çakuntalā* as distinctly his masterpiece. His date has been a matter of much inquiry and controversy; it is doubtless some centuries later than our era. The only other work deserving to be mentioned along with Kālidāsa's is the *Mṛchakaṭī* of Çūdraka, also of questionable period, but believed to be the oldest of the extant dramas.

A partly dramatic character belongs also to the fable, in which animals are represented as acting and speaking. The most noted works in this department are the *Pañcatantra*, which through Persian and Semitic versions has made its way all over the world, and contributes a considerable quota to the fable-literature of every European language, and, partly founded on it, the comparatively recent and popular *Hitopadeça* ('salutary instruction').

Two of the leading departments of Sanskrit scientific literature, the legal and the grammatical, have been already sufficiently noticed; of those remaining, the most important by far is the philosophical. The beginnings of philosophical speculation are seen already in some of the later hymns of the Veda, more abundantly in the Brāhmaṇas and Āraṇyakas, and then especially in the Upanishads. The evolution and historic relation of the systems of philosophy, and the age of their text-books, are matters on which much obscurity still rests. There are six systems of primary rank, and reckoned as orthodox, although really standing in no accordance with approved religious doctrines. All of them seek the same end, the emancipation of the soul from the

necessity of continuing its existence in a succession of bodies, and its unification with the All-soul; but they differ in regard to the means by which they seek to attain this end.

The astronomical science of the Hindus is a reflection of that of Greece, and its literature is of recent date; but as mathematicians, in arithmetic and geometry, they have shown more independence. Their medical science, although its beginnings go back even to the Veda, in the use of medicinal plants with accompanying incantations, is of little account, and its proper literature by no means ancient.

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ABBREVIATIONS.

AB. Aitareya-Brāhmana.
APr. Atharva-Prātiçākhya.
AV. Atharva-Veda.
BR. Böhtlingk and Roth (Petersburg Lexicon).
Ç or Çak. Çakuntalā.
ÇB. Çatapatha-Brāhmana.
ÇGS. Çānkhāyana-Grihya-Sūtra.
GB. Gopatha-Brāhmana.
H. Hitopadeça.
K. Kāthaka.
KB. Kāushītaki-Brāhmana.
KSS. Kathā-Sarit-Sāgara.
M. Manu.
MBh. Mahābhārata.
Megh. Meghadūta.
MS. Māitrāyanī-Sanhitā.
PB. Pancavinça-Brāhmana.
R. Rāmāyana.
Ragh. Raghuvança.
RPr. Rigveda-Prātiçākhya.
RV. Rig-Veda.
ṢB. Shadvinça-Brāhmana.
SV. Sāma-Veda.
TA. Tāittirīya-Aranyaka.
TB. Tāittirīya-Brāhmana.
TPr. Tāittirīya-Prātiçākhya.
Tribh. Tribhāshyaratna.
TS. Tāittirīya-Sanhitā.
V. Veda.
VPr. Vājasaneyi-Prātiçākhya.
VS. Vājasaneyi-Sanhitā.

CHAPTER I.

ALPHABET.

1. The natives of India write their ancient and sacred language in a variety of alphabets — generally, in each part of the country, in the same alphabet which they use for their own vernacular. The mode of writing, however, which is employed throughout the heart of Aryan India, or in Hindustan proper, is alone adopted by European scholars: it is called the *devanāgarī*.

This name is of doubtful origin and value. A more comprehensive name is *nāgarī* (perhaps, 'of the city'); and *deva-nāgarī* is '*nāgarī* of the gods,' or 'of the Brahmans.'

2. Much that relates to the history of the Indian alphabets is still obscure. The earliest written monuments of known date in the country are the inscriptions containing the edicts of Açoka or Piyadasi, of about the middle of the third century B. C. They are in two different systems of characters, of which one shows distinct signs of derivation from a Semitic source, while the other is also probably, though much less evidently, of the same origin (Burnell). From the latter, the *Laṭh*, or Southern Açoka character (of Girnar), come the later Indian alphabets, both those of the northern Aryan languages, and those of the southern Dravidian languages. The *nāgarī*, *devanāgarī*, Bengālī, Guzerātī, and others, are varieties of its northern derivatives; and with them are related some of the alphabets of peoples outside of India — as in Tibet and Farther India — who have adopted Hindu culture or religion.

There is reason to believe that writing was first employed in India for practical purposes — for correspondence and business and the like — and only by degrees came to be applied also to literary use. The literature, to a great extent, and the more fully in proportion to its claimed sanctity and authority, ignores all written record, and assumes to be kept in existence by oral tradition alone.

3. Of the *devanāgarī* itself there are minor varieties, depending on differences of locality or of period, as also of individual hand (see examples

in Weber's catalogue of the Berlin Sanskrit MSS., in Rājendralāla Mitra's notices of MSS. in Indian libraries, in the published fac-similes of inscriptions, and so on); and these are in some measure reflected in the type prepared for printing, both in India and in Europe. But a student who makes himself familiar with one style of printed characters will have little difficulty with the others, and will soon learn, by practice, to read the manuscripts. A few specimens of types other than those used in this work will be given in an Appendix.

On account of the difficulty of combining them with the smaller sizes of our Roman and Italic type, the *devanāgarī* characters will be used below only in connection with the first or largest size. And, in accordance with the laudable usage of recent grammars, they will, wherever given, be also transliterated in *italic* letters; while the latter alone will be used in the other sizes.

4. The student may be advised to try to familiarize himself from the start with the *devanāgarī* mode of writing. At the same time, it is not necessary that he should do so until, having learned the principal paradigms, he comes to begin reading and analysing and parsing; and many will find the latter the more practical, and in the end equally or more effective, way.

5. The characters of the *devanāgarī* alphabet, and the European letters which will be used in transliterating them, are as follows:

		short.	long.
Vowels: simple		1 अ *a*	2 आ *ā*
	palatal	3 इ *i*	4 ई *ī*
	labial	5 उ *u*	6 ऊ *ū*
	lingual	7 ऋ *ṛ*	8 ॠ *ṝ*
	dental	9 ऌ *ḷ*	[10 ॡ *ḹ*]
diphthongs	palatal	11 ए *e*	12 ऐ *āi*
	labial	13 ओ *o*	14 औ *āu*
Visarga		15 ः *ḥ*	
Anusvāra		16 ं, ँ *ṅ* or *ṁ* (see **73**)	

		surd	surd asp.	sonant	son. asp.	nasal
Mutes	guttural	17 क *k*	18 ख *kh*	19 ग *g*	20 घ *gh*	21 ङ *ṅ*
	palatal	22 च *c*	23 छ *ch*	24 ज *j*	25 झ *jh*	26 ञ *ñ*
	lingual	27 ट *ṭ*	28 ठ *ṭh*	29 ड *ḍ*	30 ढ *ḍh*	31 ण *ṇ*
	dental	32 त *t*	33 थ *th*	34 द *d*	35 ध *dh*	36 न *n*
	labial	37 प *p*	38 फ *ph*	39 ब *b*	40 भ *bh*	41 म *m*

Semivowels	palatal	42	य	*y*
	lingual	43	र	*r*
	dental	44	ल	*l*
	labial	45	व	*v*
Sibilants	palatal	46	श	*ç*
	lingual	47	ष	*ṣ*
	dental	48	स	*s*
Aspiration		49	ह	*h*

To these may be added a lingual *l̤* ळ, which in some of the Vedic texts takes the place of ड *ḍ* when occurring between two vowels (**54**).

6. A few other sounds, recognized by the theories of the Hindu grammarians, but either having no separate characters to represent them, or only very rarely and exceptionally written, will be noticed below (**71**, **230**). Such are the guttural and labial breathings, the nasal semivowels, and others.

7. The order of arrangement given above is that in which the sounds are catalogued and described by the native grammarians; and it has been adopted by European scholars as the alphabetic order, for indexes, dictionaries, etc. (to the Hindus, the idea of an alphabetic arrangement for such practical uses is wanting).

In some works (as the Petersburg lexicon), a *visarga* which is regarded as equivalent to and exchangeable with a sibilant (**172**) is, though written as *visarga*, given the alphabetic place of the sibilant.

8. The theory of the *devanāgarī*, as of the other Indian modes of writing, is syllabic and consonantal. That is to say, it regards as the written unit, not the simple sound, but the syllable (*akṣara*); and further, as the substantial part of the syllable, the consonant (or the consonants) preceding the vowel — this latter being merely implied, or, if written, being written by a subordinate sign attached to the consonant.

9. Hence follow these two principles:

A. The forms of the vowel-characters given in the

alphabetic scheme above are used only when the vowel forms a syllable by itself, or is not combined with a preceding consonant: that is, when it is initial, or preceded by another vowel. In combination with a consonant, other modes of representation are used.

B. If more consonants than one precede the vowel, forming with it a single syllable, their characters must be combined into a single compound character.

Ordinary Hindu usage does not divide the words of a sentence, any more than the syllables of a word; a final consonant is combined into one syllable with the initial vowel or consonant of the next following word.

10. Under **A**, it is to be noticed that the modes of indicating a vowel combined with a preceding consonant are as follows:

a. The short अ *a* has no written sign at all: the consonant-sign itself implies a following अ *a*, unless some other vowel-sign is attached to it (or else the *virāma:* **11**). Thus the consonant-signs as given above in the alphabetic scheme are really the signs of the syllables *ka, kha,* etc. etc. (to *ha*).

b. The long आ *ā* is written by a perpendicular stroke after the consonant: thus, का *kā,* धा *dhā,* हा *hā.*

c. Short इ *i* and long ई *ī*, by a similar stroke, which for short *i* is placed before the consonant and for long *ī* is placed after it, and in either case is connected with the consonant by a hook above the upper line: thus, कि *ki,* की *kī;* भि *bhi,* भी *bhī;* नि *ni,* नी *nī.*

The hook above, turning to the left or to the right, is historically the essential part of the character, having been originally the whole of it; the hooks were only later prolonged, so as to reach all the way down beside the consonant. In the MSS., they almost never have the horizontal stroke drawn across them above, though this is added in all the printed forms of the characters*.

---

* Thus, originally के *ki*, कि *kī*; in the MSS., कि, की; in print, कि, की.

d. The *u*-sounds, short and long, are written by hooks attached to the lower end of the consonant-sign: thus, कु *ku*, कू *kū*; दु *ḍu*, दू *ḍū*. On account of the necessities of combination, *du* and *dū* are somewhat disguised: thus, दु, दू; and the forms with र *r* and ह *h* are still more irregular: thus, रु *ru*, रू *rū*; हु *hu*, हू *hū*.

e. The *ṛ*-vowels, short and long, are written by a subjoined hook, single or double, opening toward the right: thus, कृ *kṛ*, कॄ *kṝ*; दृ *dṛ*, दॄ *dṝ*. In the *h*-sign, the hooks are usually attached to the middle: thus, हृ *hṛ*, हॄ *hṝ*.

As to the combination of *ṛ* with preceding *r*, see below, **14**.

f. The *ḷ*-vowel is written with a reduced form of its full initial character: thus, कॢ *kḷ*: the corresponding long has no real occurrence (**23**), but would be written with a similar reduced sign.

g. The diphthongs are written by strokes, single or double, above the upper line, combined, for ओ *o* and औ *āu*, with the *ā*-sign after the consonant: thus, के *ke*, कै *kāi*; को *ko*, कौ *kāu*.

In some *devanāgarī* MSS. (as in the Bengālī alphabet), the single stroke above, or one of the double ones, is replaced by a sign like the *ā*-sign before the consonant: thus, कॆ *ke*, कॆ *kāi*, कॊ *ko*, कॊ *kāu*.

11. A consonant-sign, however, is capable of being made to signify the consonant-sound alone, without an added vowel, by having written beneath it a stroke called the *virāma* ('rest, stop'): thus, क् *k*, द् *d*, ह् *h*.

Since, as was pointed out above, the Hindus write the words of a sentence continuously, like one word (**9**, end), the *virāma* is in general called for only when a final consonant occurs before a pause. But it is also occasionally resorted to by scribes, or in print, in order to avoid an awkward or difficult combination of consonant-signs; and it is used freely in published texts which for the convenience of beginners have their words printed separately.

12. Under **B**, it is to be noticed that the consonant combinations are for the most part not at all difficult to

make or to recognise for one who is familiar with the simple signs. The characteristic part of a consonant-sign that is to be added to another is taken (to the exclusion of the horizontal or of the perpendicular framing-line, or of both), and they are put together according to convenience, either side by side, or one above the other: in some combinations either arrangement is allowed. The consonant that is to be pronounced first is set before the other in the one order, and above it in the other order.

Examples of the side-by-side arrangement are: ग्ग *gga*, ज्ज *jja*, प्य *pya*, न्म *nma*, त्थ *ttha*, भ्य *bhya*, स्क *ska*, ष्ण *ṣṇa*, त्क *tka*.

Examples of the above-and-below arrangement are: क्क *kka*, च्च *cca*, ञ्ज *ñja*, द्द *dda*, प्त *pta*, त्न *tna*.

13. In some cases, however, there is more or less abbreviation or disguise of the independent form of a consonant-sign in combination.

Thus, of क *k* in क्त *kta*, क्ल *kla;* and in क्ण *kṇa* etc.;

of त *t* in त्त *tta;*

of द *d* in द्ग *dga*, द्न *dna*, etc.;

of म *m* and य *y*, when following other consonants: thus, क्य *kya*, क्म *kma*, ङ्म *ñma*, ङ्य *ñya*, द्म *dma*, द्य *dya*, ह्म *hma*, ह्य *hya*, छ्य *chya*, ढ्य *ḍhya;*

of श *ç*, which generally becomes श when followed by a consonant: thus, श्च *çca*, श्न *çna*, श्व *çva*, श्य *çya*. The same change is usual when a vowel-sign is added below: thus, शु *çu*, शृ *çṛ*.

Other combinations, of not quite obvious value, are ण्ण *ṇṇa*, ल्ल *lla*, द्ध *ddha*, द्भ *dbha*, ष्ट *ṣṭa*, ष्ठ *ṣṭha;* and the compounds of ह *h:* as ह्ण *hṇa*, ह्न *hna*.

In a case or two, no trace of the constituent letters is recognisable: thus, क्ष *kṣa*, ज्ञ *jña*.

14. The semivowel र *r*, in making combinations with

other consonants, is treated in a wholly peculiar manner, analogous with that of the vowels. If pronounced before another consonant (or consonant-combination), it is written with a hook above, opening to the right (like the subjoined sign of *ṛ*: **10e**): thus, र्क *rka*, र्ष *rṣa* (र्त्स्न *rtsna*). If pronounced after another consonant (alone or in combination), it is written with a slanting stroke below: thus, ग्र *gra*, प्र *pra*, स्र *sra* (and ग्र्य *grya*, स्र्व *srva*); and, with modifications of the preceding consonant-sign like those noted above, त्र *tra*, श्र *çra*, द्र *dra*.

When र *r* is to be combined with a following ऋ *ṛ*, it is the vowel which is written in full, with its initial character, and the consonant in subordination to it: thus, ॠ *rṛ*.

15. Further combinations, of three, or four, or even five consonant-signs, are made according to the same rules. Examples are:

of three consonants, त्त्व *ttva*, द्ध्य *ddhya*, द्व्य *dvya*, द्र्य *drya*, ध्र्य *dhrya*, प्स्व *psva*, श्च्य *çcya*, ष्ट्य *ṣṭya*, ह्व्य *hvya*;

of four consonants, क्त्र्य *ktrya*, ङ्क्ष्य *ñkṣya*, ष्ट्र्य *ṣṭrya*, त्स्म्य *tsmya*;

of five consonants, र्त्स्न्य *rtsnya*.

The manuscripts, and the type-fonts as well, differ from one another more in their management of consonant combinations than in any other respect, often having peculiarities which one needs a little practice to understand. It is quite useless to give in a grammar the whole series of possible combinations (many of them excessively rare) which are provided for in any given type-font, or even in all. There is nothing which due familiarity with the simple signs and with the above rules of combination will not enable the student to analyse and explain.

16. A sign called the *avagraha* ('separator') — namely, ऽ — is used in the manuscripts, sometimes in the manner of a hyphen, sometimes as a mark of hiatus, sometimes to mark the elision of initial अ *a* after final ए *e* or ओ *o* (**135**). In printed texts, especially European, it is ordinarily limited

to the use last mentioned: thus, ते ऽब्रुवन् *te 'bruvan*, सो ऽब्रवीत् *so 'bravīt*, for *te abruvan, so abravīt*.

The sign ° is used to mark an omission of something. In some texts, it has also the value of a hyphen.

Signs of punctuation are । and ॥.

17. The numeral figures are

१ 1, २ 2, ३ 3, ४ 4, ५ 5, ६ 6, ७ 7, ८ 8, ९ 9, ० 0.

In combination, to express larger numbers, they are used in precisely the same way with European digits: thus, २५ 25, ६३० 630, १००० 1000, १८७९ 1879.

18. The Hindu grammarians call the different sounds, and the characters representing them, by a *kāra* ('maker') added to the sound of the letter, if a vowel, or to the letter followed by *a*, if a consonant. Thus, the sound or character *a* is called *akāra; k* is *kakāra;* and so on. But the *kāra* is also omitted, and *a, ka,* etc. are used alone. The *r*, however, is never called *rakāra,* but only *ra* or *repha* ('snarl': the only example of a specific name for an alphabetic element of its class). The *anusvāra* and *visarga* are also known by these names alone.

CHAPTER II.

SYSTEM OF SOUNDS; PRONUNCIATION.

I. Vowels.

19. THE *a, i,* and *u*-vowels. The Sanskrit has these three earliest and most universal vowels of Indo-European language, in both short and long form — अ *a* and आ *ā*, इ *i* and ई *ī*, उ *u* and ऊ *ū*. They are to be pronounced in the "Continental" or "Italian" manner — as in *far* or *father*, *pin* and *pique*, *pull* and *rule*.

20. The *a* is the openest vowel, an utterance from the ex-

panded throat; it stands, therefore, in no relation of kindred with any of the classes of consonantal sounds. The *i* and *u* are close vowels, made with marked approach of the articulating organs to one another: *i* is palatal, and shades through *y* into the palatal and guttural consonant-classes; *u* is similarly related, through *v*, to the labial class, as involving in its utterance a narrowing and rounding of the lips.

The Paninean scheme (commentary to Pāṇini's grammar, i. 1. 9) classes *a* as guttural, but apparently only in order to give that series as well as the rest a vowel: no one of the Prātiçākhyas puts *a* into one class with *k* etc. All these authorities concur in calling the *i* and *u*-vowels respectively palatal and labial.

21. The short *a* is not pronounced in India with the full openness of *ā*, as its corresponding short, but usually as the "neutral vowel" (English so-called "short *u*", of *but, son, blood,* etc.). This peculiarity appears very early, being acknowledged by Pāṇini and by two of the Prātiçākhyas (APr. i. 36; VPr. i. 72), which call the utterance *saṁvṛta*, 'covered up, dimmed'. It is, however, of course not original; and it is justly wont to be ignored by Western scholars (except those who have studied in India).

22. The *a*-vowels are the prevailing vowel-sounds of the language, being about twice as frequent as all the others (including diphthongs) taken together. The *i*-vowels, again, are about twice as numerous as the *u*-vowels. And, in each pair, the short vowel is more than twice (2½ to 3 times) as common as the long.

For more precise estimates of frequency, of these and of the other alphabetic elements, and for the way in which they were obtained, see below, **75.**

23. The *ṛ* and *ḷ*-vowels. To the three simple vowels already mentioned the Sanskrit adds two others, the *ṛ*-vowels and the *ḷ*-vowel, both of them plainly generated by the abbreviation of syllables containing a र् *r* or ल् *l* along with another vowel: the ऋ *ṛ* coming (almost always: see **237, 241-3**) from अर् *ar* or र *ra*, the ऌ *ḷ* from अल् *al*.

Some of the Hindu grammarians add to the alphabet also a long *ḹ*; but this is only for the sake of an artificial symmetry, since the sound does not occur in a single genuine word in the language.

24. The vowel ऋ *ṛ* is simply a smooth or untrilled *r*-sound, assuming a vocalic office in syllable-making —

as, by a like abbreviation, it has done also in certain Slavonic languages. The vowel लृ *ḷ* is an *l*-sound similarly uttered — like the English *l*-vowel in such words as *able, angle, addle.*

The modern Hindus pronounce these vowels as *ri, rī, li* (or even *lri*), having long lost the habit and the facility of giving a vowel value to the pure *r* and *l*-sounds. Their example is widely followed by European scholars; and hence also the (distorting and quite objectionable) transliterations *ṛi, ṛī, ḷi.* There is no real difficulty in acquiring and practising the true utterance.

Some of the grammarians (see APr. i. 37, note) attempt to define more nearly the way in which, in these vowels, a real *r* or *l*-element is combined with something else.

25. Like their corresponding semivowels, *r* and *l*, these vowels belong respectively in the general lingual and dental classes; the euphonic influence of *ṛ* and *ṝ* (**180**) shows this clearly. They are so ranked in the Paninean scheme; but the Prātiçākhyas in general strangely class them with the *jihvāmūlīya* sounds, our "gutturals".

26. The short *ṛ* is found in every variety of word and of position, and is not rare, being just about as frequent as long *ū*. Long *ṝ* is very much more unusual, occurring only in certain plural cases of noun-stems in *ṛ* (**374, 378**). The *ḷ* is met with only in some of the forms and derivatives of a single not very common verbal root (*kḷp*).

27. The diphthongs. Of the four diphthongs, two, the ए *e* and ओ *o*, are in great part original Indo-European sounds. In the Sanskrit, they wear the aspect of being products of the increment or strengthening of इ *i* and उ *u* respectively; and they are called the corresponding *guṇa*-vowels to the latter (see below, **235**). The other two, ऐ *āi* and औ *āu*, are by the prevalent and preferable opinion held to be of peculiar Sanskrit growth (there is no certain trace of them to be found even in the Zend); they are also in general results of another and higher increment of इ *i* and उ *u*, to which they are called the corresponding *vṛddhi*-vowels (below, **235**). But all are likewise sometimes gene-

rated by euphonic combination (**127**); and ओ *o*, especially, is common as result of the alteration of a final अस् *as* (**175**).

28. The ए *e* and ओ *o* are, both in India and in Europe, usually pronounced as they are transliterated — that is, as long *e* (English "long *a*", or *e* in *they*) and *o*-sounds, without diphthongal character.

Such they apparently already were to the authors of the Prātiçākhyas, which, while ranking them as diphthongs (*sandhyakṣara*), give rules respecting their pronunciation in a manner implying them to be virtually unitary sounds. But their euphonic treatment (**131–4**) clearly shows them to have been still at the period when the euphonic laws established themselves, as they of course were at their origin, real diphthongs, *ai* (*a* + *i*) and *au* (*a* + *u*). From them, on the same evidence, the heavier or *vṛddhi* diphthongs were distinguished by the length of their *a*-element, as *āi* (*ā* + *i*) and *āu* (*ā* + *u*).

The recognisable distinctness of the two elements in the *vṛddhi*-diphthongs is noticed by the Prātiçākhyas (see APr. i. 40, note); but the relation of those elements is either defined as equal, or the *a* is made of less quantity than the *i* and *u*.

29. The lighter or *guṇa*-diphthongs are much more frequent (6 or 7 times) than the heavier or *vṛddhi*-diphthongs, and the *e* and *āi* than the *o* and *āu* (a half more). Both pairs are somewhat more than half as common as the simple *i* and *u*-vowels.

30. The general name given by the Hindu grammarians to the vowels is *svara*, 'tone'; the simple vowels are called *samānākṣara*, 'homogeneous syllable', and the diphthongs are called *sandhyakṣara*, 'combination-syllable'. The position of the organs in their utterance is defined to be one of openness, or of non-closure.

As to quantity and accent, see below, **76** ff., **80** ff.

II. Consonants.

31. The Hindu name for 'consonant' is *vyañjana*, 'manifester'. The consonants are divided by the grammarians into *sparça*, 'contact' or 'mute', *antaḥsthā*, 'intermediate' or 'semivowel', and *ūṣman*, 'spirant'. They will here be taken up and described in this order.

32. M u t e s. The mutes, *sparça*, are so called as involving a complete closure or contact (*sparça*), and not an approximation

only, of the mouth-organs by which they are produced. They are divided into five classes or series (*varga*), according to the organs and parts of organs by which the contact is made; and each series is composed of five members, differing according to the accompaniments of the contact.

33. The five mute-series are called respectively guttural, palatal, lingual (or cerebral), dental, and labial; and they are arranged in the order as just mentioned, beginning with the contact made furthest back in the mouth, coming forward from point to point, and ending with the frontmost contact.

34. In each series there are two surd members, two sonant, and one nasal (which is also sonant): for example, in the labial series, प् *p* and फ् *ph*, ब् *b* and भ् *bh*, and म् *m*.

The members are by the Hindu grammarians called respectively 'first', 'second', 'third', 'fourth', and 'last' or 'fifth'.

The surd consonants are known as *aghoṣa*, 'toneless', and the sonants as *ghoṣavant*, 'having tone'; and the descriptions of the grammarians are in accordance with these terms. All alike recognise a difference of tone, and not in any manner a difference of force, whether of contact or of expulsion, as separating the two great classes in question. That the difference depends on *vivāra*, 'opening', or *saṁvāra*, 'closure' (of the glottis), is also recognised by them.

35. The first and third members of each series are the ordinary corresponding surd and sonant mutes of European languages: thus, क् *k* and ग् *g*, त् *t* and द् *d*, प् *p* and ब् *b*.

36. Nor is the character of the nasal any more doubtful. What म् *m* is to प् *p* and ब् *b*, or न् *n* to त् *t* and द् *d*, that is also each other nasal to its own series of mutes: a sonant expulsion into and through the nose, while the mouth-organs are in the mute-contact.

The Hindu grammarians give distinctly this definition. The nasal (*anunāsika*, 'passing through the nose') sounds are declared to be formed by mouth and nose together; or their nasality (*ānunāsikya*) to be given them by unclosure of the nose.

37. The second and fourth of each series are aspirates: thus, beside the surd mute क् *k* we have the corresponding

surd aspirate ख् *kh*, and beside the sonant ग् *g*, the corresponding sonant aspirate घ् *gh*. Of these, the precise character is more obscure and difficult.

That the aspirates, all of them, are real mutes or contact sounds, and not fricatives (like European *th* and *ph* and *ch*, etc.), is beyond question.

It is also not doubtful in what way the surd *th*, for example, differs from the unaspirated *t*: such aspirates are found in many Asiatic languages, and even in some European: they involve the slipping-out of an audible bit of *flatus* or aspiration between the breach of mute-closure and the following sound, whatever it may be. They are accurately enough represented by the *th* etc., with which, in imitation of the Latin treatment of the similar ancient Greek aspirates, we are accustomed to write them.

The sonant aspirates are generally understood and described as made in a similar way, with a perceptible *h*-sound after the breach of sonant mute-closure. But there are insuperable theoretical difficulties in the way of accepting this explanation; and some of the best phonetic observers (as A. J. Ellis) deny that the modern Hindu pronunciation is of such a character, and define the element following the mute as a "glottal buzz", rather, or an emphasized utterance of the beginning of the suceeding sound. The question is one of great difficulty, and upon it the opinions of the highest authorities are still much at variance. Sonant aspirates are still in use in India, in the pronunciation of the vernacular as well as of the learned languages.

By the Prātiçākhyas, the aspirates of both classes are called *soṣman*: which might mean either 'accompanied by a rush of breath' (taking *ūṣman* in its more etymological sense), or 'accompanied by a spirant' (below, **59**). And some authorities define the surd aspirates as made by the combination of each surd non-aspirate with its own corresponding surd spirant; and the sonant aspirates, of each sonant non-aspirate with the sonant spirant, the *h*-sound (below, **65**). But this would make the two classes of aspiratès of quite diverse character, and would also make *th* the same as *ts*, *ṭh* as *ṭṣ*, *ch* as *cç* — which is in any measure plausible only of the last. Pāṇini has no name for aspirates; the scheme given in his comment (to i. 1. 9) attributes to them *mahāprāṇa*, 'great expiration', and to the non-aspirates *alpaprāṇa*, 'small expiration'.

It is usual among European scholars to pronounce both classes of aspirates as the corresponding non-aspirates with a following *h*: for example, थ् *th* nearly as in English *boat-hook*, फ् *ph* as in *haphazard*, ध् *dh* as in *madhouse*, and so on. This is (as we have seen above) confessedly accurate only as regards the surd aspirates.

38. The sonant aspirates are (in the opinion of most), or at least represent, original Indo-European sounds, while the surd

aspirates are generally regarded as a special Indian development. The former are more than twice as common as the latter. The unaspirated (non-nasal) mutes are very much more frequent (5 times) than the aspirates (for the special frequency of *bh* and original *gh*, see **50** and **66**); and among them the surds are more numerous ($2^{1}/_{2}$ times) than the sonants. The nasals (chiefly *n* and *m*) are nearly as frequent as the surd non-aspirates.

We take up now the several mute-series.

39. Guttural series: क् *k*, ख् *kh*, ग् *g*, घ् *gh*, ङ् *ṅ*. These are the ordinary European *k* and *g*-sounds, with their corresponding aspirates and nasal (the last, like English *ng* in *singing*).

The gutturals are defined by the Prātiçākhyas as made by contact of the base of the tongue with the base of the jaw, and they are called, from the former organ, *jihvāmūlīya*, 'tongue-root sounds'. The Paninean scheme describes them simply as made in the throat (*kaṇṭha*). From the euphonic influence of a *k* on a following *s* (below, **180**), we may perhaps infer that in their utterance the tongue was well drawn back into the hinder mouth.

40. The *k* is by far the commonest of the guttural series, occurring considerably more often than all the other four taken together. The nasal, except as standing before one of the others of the series, is found only as final (after the loss of a following *k*), and in a very small number of words.

41. The Sanskrit guttural series represents only a minority of Indo-European gutturals; these last have suffered more and more general corruption than any other class of consonants. By processes of alteration which are proved to have begun in the Indo-European period, since the same words exhibit connected changes also in other languages of the family, the palatal mutes, the palatal sibilant *ç*, and the aspiration *h*, have come from gutturals. See these various sounds below.

42. Palatal series: च् *c*, छ् *ch*, ज् *j*, झ् *jh*, ञ् *ñ*. This whole series is derivative, being generated by the corruption of original gutturals. The *c* comes from an original *k* — as does also, by another degree of alteration, the palatal sibilant *ç* (see below, **64**). The *j*, in like manner, comes from a *g*; but the Sanskrit *j* includes in itself two degrees of alteration, one corresponding to the alteration of *k* to *c*, the other to that of *k* to *ç* (see below, **219**: in the Zend, these two degrees are held distinctly apart). The *c* is somewhat more common than the *j* (about as four to three). The aspirate *ch* is very much less frequent (a tenth of *c*), and comes from the original group *sk*. The sonant aspirate *jh* is excessively rare (occurring but once

in the Vedic texts, and not half-a-dozen times in the Brāhmaṇas); where found, it is either onomatopoetic or of anomalous or not Indo-European origin (in the so-called root *ujh*, it comes from *j* and *h*). The nasal, *ñ*, never occurs except immediately before — or, in a small number of words, also after (**201**) — one of the others of the series.

43. Hence, in the euphonic processes of the language, the treatment of the palatals is in many respects peculiar. In some situations, the original unaltered guttural shows itself — or, as it appears from the point of view of the Sanskrit, the palatal reverts to its original guttural. No palatal ever occurs as a final. The *j* is differently treated, according as it represents the one or the other degree of alteration. And *c* and *j* (except artificially, in the algebraic rules of the grammarians) do not interchange, as corresponding surd and sonant.

44. The palatal mutes are by European scholars, as by the modern Hindus also, pronounced with the compound sounds of English *ch* and *j* (in *church* and *judge*).

Their description by the old Hindu grammarians, however, gives them a not less absolutely simple character than belongs to the other mutes. They are called *tālavya*, 'palatal', and declared to be formed against the palate by the middle of the tongue. They seem to have been, then, brought forward in the mouth from the guttural point, and made against the hard palate at a point not far from the lingual one (below, **45**), but with the upper flat surface of the tongue instead of its point. Such sounds, in all languages, pass easily into the (English) *ch* and *j*-sounds. The value of the *ch* as making the preceding vowel "long by position" (**227**), and its frequent origination from *t* + *ç* (**203**), lead to the suspicion that it, at least, may have had this character from the beginning: compare **37**, above.

45. Lingual series: ट् *ṭ*, ठ् *ṭh*, ड् *ḍ*, ढ् *ḍh*, ण् *ṇ*. The lingual mutes are by all the native authorities defined as uttered with the tip of the tongue turned up and drawn back into the dome of the palate (somewhat as the usual English smooth *r* is pronounced). They are called by the grammarians *mūrdhanya*, literally 'head-sounds, capitals, cephalics'; which term is in many European grammars rendered by 'cerebrals'. In practice, among European Sanskritists, no attempt is made to distinguish them from the dentals: ट् *ṭ* is pronounced like त् *t*, ड् *ḍ* like द् *d*, and so with the rest.

46. The linguals are another non-original series of sounds, coming mainly from the phonetic alteration of the next series, the dentals, but also in part occurring in words that have no traceable Indo-European connection, and are perhaps derived from the aboriginal languages of India. The tendency to lingualization is a positive one in the history of the language: dentals easily pass into linguals under the influence of contiguous or neighboring lingual sounds, but not the contrary; and all the sounds of the class become markedly more frequent in the later literature. The conditions of their ordinary occurrence are briefly these: **a.** *ṣ* comes from *s*, much more rarely from *ç, j, kṣ,* in euphonic circumstances stated below (**180, 218,** etc.); **b.** a dental mute following *ṣ* is assimilated to it, becoming lingual (*ṭ, ṭh, ṇ*); **c.** *n* is often changed to *ṇ* after a lingual vowel or semivowel or sibilant in the same word (**189** etc.); **d.** *ḍh,* which is of very rare occurrence, comes from assimilation of a dental after *ṣ* (**198 a**) or *h* (**222**); **e.** *ṭ* and *ḍ* come occasionally by substitution for some other sound which is not allowed to stand as final (**142, 145**). When originated in these ways, the lingual letters may be regarded as normal; in any other cases of their occurrence, they are either products of abnormal corruption, or signs of the non-Indo-European character of the words in which they appear.

In a certain number of passages numerically examined (below, **75**), the abnormal occurences of lingual mutes were less than half of the whole number (74 out of 159), and most of them (43) were of *ṇ*: all were found more frequent in the later passages. In the Rig-Veda, only 15 words have an abnormal *ṭ*; only 6, such a *ṭh*; only 1, such a *ḍh*; about 20 (including 9 roots, nearly all of which have derivatives) show an abnormal *ḍ*, besides 9 that have *ṇḍ*; and 30 (including 1 root) show a *ṇ*.

Taken all together, the linguals are by far the rarest class of mutes (about $1^1/_2$ per cent. of the alphabet) — hardly half as frequent even as the palatals.

47. Dental series: त् *t*, थ् *th*, द् *d*, ध् *dh*, न् *n*. These are called by the Hindus also *dantya*, 'dental', and are described as formed at the teeth (or at the roots of the teeth), by the tip of the tongue. They are practically the equivalents of our European *t, d, n.*

But the modern Hindus are said to pronounce their dentals with the tip of the tongue thrust well forward against the upper teeth, so that these sounds get a slight tinge of the quality belonging to the English and Modern Greek *th*-sounds. The absence of that quality in the European (especially

the English) dentals is doubtless the reason why to the ear of a Hindu the latter appear more analogous with his linguals, and he is apt to use the linguals in writing European words.

48. The dentals are one of the three Indo-European original mute-classes. In their occurrence in Sanskrit they are just about as frequent as all the other four classes taken together.

49. Labial series: प् *p*, फ् *ph*, ब् *b*, भ् *bh*, म् *m*. These sounds are called *oṣṭhya*, 'labial', by the Hindu grammarians also. They are, of course, the equivalents of our *p*, *b*, *m*.

50. The numerical relations of the labials are a little peculiar. Owing to the absence (or almost entire absence) of *b* in Indo-European, the Sanskrit *b* also is greatly exceeded in frequency by *bh*, which is the most common of all the sonant aspirates, as *ph* is the least common of the surd. The nasal *m* (notwithstanding its frequent euphonic mutations when final: **212** ff.) occurs just about as often as all the other four members of the series together.

51. Semivowels: य् *y*, र् *r*, ल् *l*, व् *v*. The name given to this class of sounds by the Hindu grammarians is *antaḥsthā*, 'standing between' — either from their character as utterances intermediate between vowel and consonant, or (more probably) from the circumstance of their being placed between the mutes and spirants in the arrangement of the consonants.

The semivowels are clearly akin with the several mute series in their physical character, and they are classified along with those series — though not without some discordances of view — by the Hindu grammarians. They are said to be produced with the organs "slightly in contact" (*īṣatspṛṣṭa*), or "in imperfect contact" (*duḥspṛṣṭa*).

52. The र् *r* is clearly shown by its influence in the euphonic processes of the language to be a lingual sound, or one made with the the tip of the tongue turned up into the dome of the palate. It thus resembles the English smooth *r*, and, like this, seems to have been untrilled.

The Paninean scheme reckons *r* as a lingual. None of the Prātiçākhyas, however, does so; nor are they entirely consistent with one another in its description. For the most part, they define it as made at 'the roots of the teeth'. This would give it a position like that of the vibrated *r*; but no authority hints at a vibration as belonging to it.

In point of frequency, *r* stands very high on the list of consonants; it is about equal with *v, n, m,* and *y,* and only exceeded by *t.*

53. The ल् *l* is a sound of dental position, and is so defined and classed by all the native authorities.

The peculiar character of an *l*-sound, as involving expulsion at the sides of the tongue along with contact at its tip, is not noticed by any Hindu phonetist.

It is a disputed question whether *r* and *l* were distinguished from one another in Indo-European speech; in the Sanskrit, at any rate, they are very widely interchangeable, both in roots and in suffixes: there is hardly a root containing an *l* which does not show also forms with *r;* words written with the one letter are found in other texts, or in other parts of the same texts, written with the other. In the later periods of the language they are more separated, and the *l* becomes decidedly more frequent, though always much rarer than the *r* (only as 1 to 7 or 8 or 10).

54. Some of the Vedic texts have another *l*-sound, written with a slightly different character (it is given at the end of the alphabet, **5**), which is substituted for a lingual *ḍ* (as also the same followed by *h* for a *ḍh*) when occurring between two vowels. It is, then, doubtless a lingual *l*, one made by breach (at the sides of the tongue) of the lingual instead of the dental mute-closure.

55. The य् *y* in Sanskrit, as in other languages generally, stands in the closest relationship with the vowel इ *i* (short or long); the two exchange with one another in cases innumerable.

And in the Veda (as the metre shows) an *i* is very often to be read where, in conformity with the rules of the later Sanskrit euphony, a *y* is written. Thus, the final *i*-vowel of a word remains *i* before an initial vowel; that of a stem maintains itself unchanged before an ending; and an ending of derivation — as *ya, tya* — has *i* instead of *y.* Such cases will be considered in more detail later, as they arise. The constancy of the phenomenon in certain words and classes of words shows that this was no merely optional interchange. Very probably, the Sanskrit *y* had everywhere more of an *i*-character than belongs to the corresponding European sound.

56. The *y* is by its physical character a palatal utterance; and it is classed as a palatal semivowel by the Hindu phonetists. It is one of the most common of Sanskrit sounds.

57. The व् *v* is pronounced as English or French *v* (German *w*) by the modern Hindus — except when pre-

ceded by a consonant in the same syllable, in which case it has the sound of English *w;* and European scholars follow the same practice (with or without the same exception).

By its whole treatment in the euphony of the language, however, the *v* stands related to an *u*-vowel precisely as *y* to an *i*-vowel. It is, then, a *v* only according to the original Roman value of that letter — that is to say, a *w*-sound in the English sense: though (as was stated above for the *y*) it may well have been less markedly separated from *u* than English *w*, more like French *ou* in *oui* etc. But, as the original *w* has in most European languages been changed to *v* (English), so also in India, and that from a very early time: the Paninean scheme and two of the Prātiçākhyas (VPr. and TPr.) distinctly define the sound as made between the upper teeth and the lower lip — which, of course, identifies it with the ordinary modern *v*-sound. As a matter of practice, the usual pronunciation need not be seriously objected to; yet the student should not fail to note that the rules of Sanskrit euphony and the name of "semivowel" have no application except to a *w*-sound in the English sense: a *v*-sound (German *w*) is no semivowel, but a spirant, standing on the same articulate stage with the English *th*-sounds and the *f*.

58. *V* is classed as a labial semivowel by the Hindu phonetical authorities. It has a somewhat greater frequency than the *y*.

In the Veda, under the same circumstances as the *y* (above, **55**), *v* is to be read as *u*.

59. Spirants. Under the name *ūṣman* (literally 'heat, steam, *flatus*'), which is usually and well represented by 'spirant', some of the Hindu authorities include all the remaining sounds of the alphabet; others apply the term only to the three sibilants and the aspiration — to which it will here also be restricted.

The term is not found in the Paninean scheme; by different treatises the guttural and labial breathings, these and the *visarga*, or all these and *anusvāra*, are called *ūṣman* (see APr. i. 31 note). The organs of utterance are described as being in the position of the mute-series to which each spirant belongs respectively, but unclosed, or unclosed in the middle.

60. The स् *s*. Of the three sibilants, or surd spirants, this is the one of plainest and least questioned character:

it is the ordinary European *s* — a hiss expelled between the tongue and the roof of the mouth directly behind the upper front teeth.

It is, then, dental, as it is classed by all the Hindu authorities. It is the one primitive Indo-European sibilant. Notwithstanding the great losses which it suffers in Sanskrit euphony, by conversion to the other sibilants, to *r*, to *visarga*, etc., it is still very high among the consonants in the order of frequency, or considerably more common than both the other two sibilants together.

61. The ष *ṣ*. As to the character of this sibilant, also, there is no ground for real question: it is the one produced in the lingual position, or with the tip of the tongue reverted into the dome of the palate. It is, then, a kind of *sh*-sound; and by European Sanskritists it is pronounced as an ordinary *sh* (French *ch*, German *sch*), no attempt being made (any more than in the case of the other lingual sounds: **45**) to give it its proper lingual quality.

Its lingual character is shown by its whole euphonic influence, and it is described and classed as lingual by all the Hindu authorities (the APr. adds, i. 23, that the tongue in its utterance is trough-shaped). In its audible quality, it is a *sh*-sound rather than a *s*-sound; and, in the considerable variety of sibilant-utterance, even in the same community, it may coincide with some people's *sh*. Yet the general and normal *sh* is palatal (see below, **63**); and therefore the sign *ṣ*, marked in accordance with the other lingual letters, is the only unexceptionable transliteration for the Hindu character.

In modern pronunciation in India, *ṣ* is much confounded with *kh;* and the MSS. are apt to exchange the characters. Later grammatical treatises, too, take note of the relationship (see Weber's Prātijñā, p. 84).

62. This sibilant (as was noticed above, **46**, and will be more particularly explained below, **180** ff.) is no original sound, but a product of the lingualization of *s* under certain euphonic conditions. The exceptions are extremely few (9 out of 145 noted occurrences: **75**), and of a purely sporadic character. The Rig-Veda has (apart from √ *sah*, **182**) only twelve words which show a *ṣ* under other conditions.

The final *ṣ* of a root has in some cases attained a more independent

value, and does not revert to *s* when the euphonic conditions are removed, but shows anomalous forms (**225**).

63. The श *ç*. This sibilant is by all the native authorities classed and described as palatal, nor is there anything in its history or its euphonic treatment to cast doubt on its character as such. It is, then, made with the flat of the tongue against the forward part of the palatal arch — that is to say, it is the usual and normal *sh*-sound. By European scholars it is variously pronounced — more often, perhaps, as *s* than as *sh*.

The two *sh*-sounds, *ṣ* and *ç*, are made in the same part of the mouth (the *ṣ* probably rather further back), but with a different part of the tongue; and they are doubtless not more unlike than, for example, the two *t*-sounds, written *ṭ* and *t*; and it would be not less proper to pronounce them both as one *sh* than to pronounce the linguals and dentals alike. To neglect the difference of *s* and *ç* is much less to be approved. The very near relationship of *ṣ* and *ç* is attested by their euphonic treatment, which is to a considerable extent the same, and by their not infrequent confusion by the writers of manuscripts.

64. As was mentioned above (**41**), the *ç*, like *c*, comes from the corruption of an original *k*-sound, by loss of mute-contact as well as forward shift of the articulating point. In virtue of this derivation, it sometimes (though less often than *c*) "reverts" to *k* — that is, the original *k* appears instead of it; while, on the other hand, as a *sh*-sound, it is to a certain extent convertible to *ṣ*. In point of frequency, it slightly exceeds the latter.

65. The remaining spirant, ह *h*, is ordinarily pronounced like the usual European surd aspiration *h*.

This is not, however, its true character. It is defined by all the native authorities as not a surd element, but a sonant (or else an utterance intermediate between the two); and its whole value in the euphony of the language is that of a sonant: but what is its precise value is very hard to say. The Paninean scheme ranks it as guttural, as it does also *a*: this means nothing. The Prātiçākhyas bring it into no relation with the guttural class: one of them quotes the opinion of some authorities that "it has the same position with the beginning of the following vowel" (TPr. ii. 47) — which so far identifies it with our *h*. There is nothing in its euphonic influence to mark it as retaining any trace of gutturally articulated character. By some of the native phonetists it is identified with the aspiration of the sonant aspirates

— with the element by which, for example, *gh* differs from *g*. This view is supported by the derivation of *h* from the aspirates (next paragraph), by that of *ḷ*+*h* from *ḍh* (**54**), and by the treatment of initial *h* after a final mute (**163**).

66. The *h*, as already noticed, is not an original sound, but comes in nearly all cases from an older *gh* (for the few instances of its derivation from *dh* and *bh*, see below, **223**). It is a vastly more frequent sound than the unchanged *gh* (namely, as 7 to 1): more frequent, indeed, than any of the guttural mutes except *k*. It appears, like *j* (**219**), to include in itself two stages of corruption of *gh*: one corresponding with that of *k* to *c*, the other with that of *k* to *ç*; see below, **223**, for the roots belonging to the two classes respectively. Like the other sounds of guttural derivation, it sometimes exhibits "reversion" to its original.

67. The : *ḥ*, or *visarga* (*visarjanīya*, as it is uniformly called by the Prātiçākhyas and by Pāṇini, probably as 'belonging to the end' of a word), appears to be merely a surd breathing, a final *h*-sound (in the European sense of *h*), uttered in the articulating position of the preceding vowel.

One Prātiçākhya (TPr. ii. 48) gives just this last description of it. It is by various authorities classed with *h*, or with *h* and *a*: all of them are alike sounds in whose utterance the mouth-organs have no definite shaping action.

68. The *visarga* is not original, but always only a substitute for final *s* or *r*, neither of which is allowed to maintain itself unchanged. It is a comparatively recent member of the alphabetic system; the other euphonic changes of final *s* and *r* have not passed through *visarga* as an intermediate stage. And the Hindu authorities are considerably discordant with one another as to how far *ḥ* is a necessary substitute, and how far a permitted one, alternative with a sibilant, before a following initial surd.

69. Before a surd guttural or labial, respectively, some of the native authorities permit, while others require, conversion of final *s* or *r* into the so-called *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* spirants. It may be fairly questioned, perhaps, whether these two sounds are not pure grammatical abstractions, devised (like the long *ḷ*-vowel: **23**) in order to round out the alphabet to greater symmetry. At any rate, neither printed texts nor manuscripts (except in the rarest and most sporadic cases) make any account of them. Whatever individual character they may have must be,

it would seem, in the direction of the (German) *ch* and *f*-sounds. When written at all, they are wont to be transliterated by χ and φ.

70. The ⁚ *anusvāra, ṅ* or *ṁ*, is a nasal sound lacking that closure of the organs which is required to make a nasal mute (**36**); in its utterance there is nasal resonance along with some degree of openness of the mouth.

71. There is discordance of opinion both among the Hindu phonetists and their modern European successors respecting the real character of this element: hence a little detail is necessary here with regard to its occurrence and their views of it.

Certain nasals in Sanskrit are of servile character, always to be assimilated to a following consonant, of whatever character that may be. Such are final *m* in sentence-combination (**213**), the penultimate nasal of a root, and a nasal of increment (**255**) in general. If one of these nasals stands before a contact-letter or mute, it becomes a nasal mute corresponding to the latter — that is, a nasal utterance in the same position of the mouth-organs which gives the succeeding mute. If, on the other hand, the following consonant does not involve a contact (being a semivowel or spirant), the nasal element is also without contact: it is a nasal utterance with unclosed mouth-organs. The question is, now, whether this nasal utterance becomes merely a nasal infection of the preceding vowel, turning it into a nasal vowel (as in French *on, en, un,* etc., by reason of a similar loss of a nasal mute); or whether it is an element of more individual character, having place between the vowel and the consonant; or, once more, whether it is sometimes the one thing and sometimes the other. The opinions of the Prātiçākhyas and Pāṇini are briefly as follows:

The Atharva-Prātiçākhya holds that the result is everywhere a nasalized vowel, except when *n* or *m* is assimilated to a following *l;* in that case, the *n* or *m* becomes a nasal *l:* that is, the nasal utterance is made in the *l*-position, and has a perceptible *l*-character.

The other Prātiçākhyas teach a similar conversion into a nasal counterpart to the semivowel, or nasal semivowel, before *y* and *l* and *v* (not before *r* also). In most of the other cases where the Atharva-Prātiçākhya acknowledges a nasal vowel — namely, before *r* and the spirants — the others teach the intervention after the vowel of a distinct nasal element, called the *anusvāra*, 'after-tone'.

Of the nature of this nasal afterpiece to the vowel no intelligibly clear account is given. It is said (RPr.) to be either vowel or consonant; it is declared (RPr., VPr.) to be made with the nose alone, or (TPr.) to be nasal like the nasal mutes; it is held by some (RPr.) to be the sonant tone of the nasal mutes; in its formation, as in that of vowel and spirant, there is (RPr.) no contact. As to its quantity, see farther on.

There are, however, certain cases and classes of cases where these other

authorities also acknowledge a nasal vowel. So, especially, wherever a final *n* is treated (**208**) as if it were *ns* (its historically older form); and also in a small number of specified words. They also mentiou the doctrine of nasal vowel instead of *anusvāra* as held by some (and TPr. is uncertain and inconsistent in its choice between the one and the other).

In Pāṇini, finally, the prevailing doctrine is that of *anusvāra* everywhere; and it is even allowed in many cases where the Prātiçākhyas prescribe only a nasal mute. But a nasal semivowel is also allowed instead before a semivowel, and a nasal vowel is allowed in the cases (mentioned above) where some of the Prātiçākhyas require it by exception.

It is evidently a fair question whether this discordance and uncertainty of the Hindu phonetists is owing to a real difference of utterance in different classes of cases and in different localities, or whether to a different scholastic analysis of what is really everywhere the same utterance. If *anusvāra* is a nasal element following the vowel, it cannot well be any thing but either a prolongation of the same vowel-sound with nasality added, or a nasalised bit of neutral-vowel sound (in the latter case, however, the altering influence of an *i* or *u*-vowel on a following *s* ought to be prevented, which is not the case: see **183**).

72. The assimilated nasal element, whether viewed as nasalized vowel, nasal semivowel, or independent *anusvāra*, has the value of something added, in making a heavy syllable, or length by position (**79**).

The Prātiçākhyas (VPr., RPr.) give determinations of the quantity of the *anusvāra* combining with a short and with a long vowel respectively to make a long syllable.

73. Two different signs, ं and ँ, are found in the MSS., indicating the nasal sound here treated of. Usually they are written above the syllable, and there they seem most naturally to imply a nasal affection of the vowel of the syllable, a nasal (*anunāsika*) vowel. Hence some texts (Sāma and Yajur Vedas), when they mean a real *anusvāra*, bring one of the signs down into the ordinary consonant-place; but the usage is not general. As between the two signs, some MSS. employ, or tend to employ, the ँ where a nasalized (*anunāsika*) vowel is to be recognized, and elsewhere the ं; and this distinction is consistently observed in many European printed texts; and the former is called the *anunāsika* sign: but it is very doubtful whether the two are not originally and properly equivalent.

It is a very common custom of the manuscripts to write the *anusvāra*-sign for any nasal following the vowel of a syllable, either before another consonant or as final (not before a vowel), without any reference to whether it is to be pronounced as nasal mute, nasal semivowel, or *anusvāra*. Some printed texts follow this slovenly and undesirable habit; but most write a nasal mute

whenever it is to be pronounced — excepting where it is an assimilated *m* (**213**).

It is convenient also in transliteration to distinguish the assimilated *m* by a special sign, *ṁ*, from the *anusvāra* of more independent origin, *ṅ*; and this method will be followed in the present work.

74. This is the whole system of sounds recognised by the written character; for certain transitional sounds, more or less widely recognised in the theories of the Hindu phonetists, see below, **230**.

75. The whole spoken alphabet, then, may be arranged in the following manner, so as to show, so far as is possible in a single scheme, the relations and important classifications of its various members:

		Gutt.	Pal.	Ling.	Dent.	Lab.	
Son.		*a, ā* 19·78 8·19					Vowels
			āi, e ·51 2·84			*o, āu* 1·88 ·18	
			i, ī 4·85 1·19	*ṛ, ṝ* ·74 ·01	*ḷ* ·01	*u, ū* 2·61 ·73	
			y 4·25	*r* 5·05	*l* ·69	*v* 4·99	Semivowels
		ṅ ·22	*ñ* ·35	*ṇ* 1·03	*n* 4·81	*m* 4·34	Nasals
	ṅ ·63						Anusvāra
	h 1·07						Aspiration
Surd	*ḥ* 1·31						Visarga
			ç 1·57	*ṣ* 1·45	*s* 3·56		Sibilants
Son.		*gh* ·15	*jh* ·01	*ḍh* ·03	*dh* ·83	*bh* 1·27	asp. — Mutes
		g ·82	*j* ·94	*ḍ* ·21	*d* 2·85	*b* ·46	unasp. — Mutes
Surd		*kh* ·13	*ch* ·17	*ṭh* ·06	*th* ·58	*ph* ·03	asp. — Mutes
		k 1·99	*c* 1·26	*ṭ* ·26	*t* 6·65	*p* 2·46	unasp. — Mutes
		Gutt.	Pal.	Ling.	Dent.	Lab.	

The figures set under the characters give the average percentage of frequency of each sound, found by counting the number of times which it occurred in an aggregate of 10,000 sounds of continuous text, in 10 different passages, of 1,000 sounds each, selected from different epochs of the literature: namely, two from the Rig-Veda, one from the Atharva-Veda, two from different Brāhmaṇas, and one each from Manu, Bhagavad-Gītā, Çakuntalā, Hitopadeça, and Vāsavadattā *.

III. Quantity of sounds and syllables.

76. The Hindu grammarians take the pains to define the quantity of a consonant (without distinction among consonants of different classes) as half that of a short vowel.

77. They also define the quantity of a long (*dīrgha*) vowel or diphthong as twice that of a short vowel — making no distinction in this respect between the *guṇa* and the *vṛddhi*-diphthongs.

78. Besides these two vowel-quantities, the Hindus acknowledge a third, called *pluta* (literally 'swimming'), or protracted, and having three *moras*, or three times the quantity of a short vowel. A protracted vowel is marked by a following figure 3: thus, आ३ *ā3*.

The protracted vowels are practically of rare occurrence (in RV., three cases; in AV., fifteen; in the Brāhmaṇa literature, rather more frequent). They are used in cases of questioning, especially of a balancing between two alternatives, and also of calling to a distance or urgently. The protraction is of the last syllable in a word, or in a whole phrase; and the protracted syllable has usually the acute tone, in addition to any other accent the word may have; sometimes it takes also *anusvāra*, or is made nasal.

Examples are: *adháḥ svid āsī́3d upári svid āsī3t* (RV.), 'was it, forsooth, below? was it, forsooth, above?' *idám bhū́yā3 idā́3m íti* (AV.), 'saying, is this more, or is that?' *ágnā́3i pátnīvā́3ḥ sómam piba* (TS.), 'oh Agni! thou with thy spouse! drink the soma'.

A diphthong is protracted by prolongation of its first or *a*-element: thus, *e* to *ā3i*, *o* to *ā3u*.

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* See J. A. O. S., vol. X.

The sign of protraction is also sometimes written as the result of accentual combination, when so-called *kampa* occurs: see below, **90b**.

79. For metrical purposes, syllables (not vowels) are distinguished by the grammarians as 'heavy' *(guru)* or 'light' *(laghu)*. A syllable is heavy if its vowel is long, or short and followed by more than one consonant ("long by position"). *Anusvāra* and *visarga* count as full consonants in making a heavy syllable. The last syllable of a *pāda* (primary division of a verse) is reckoned as either heavy or light.

The distinction in terms between the difference of long and short in vowel-sound and that of heavy and light in syllable-construction is valuable, and should be retained.

IV. Accent.

80. The phenomena of accent are, by the Hindu grammarians of all ages alike, described and treated as depending on a variation of tone or pitch; of any difference of stress involved, they make no account.

81. The primary tones *(svara)* or accent-pitches are two: a higher (*udātta*, 'raised'), or acute; and a lower (*anudātta*, 'not raised'), or grave. A third (called *svarita:* a term of doubtful meaning), is always of secondary origin, being (when not enclitic: see below, **85**) the result of actual combination of an acute vowel and a following grave vowel into one syllable. It is also uniformly defined as compound in pitch, a union of higher and lower tone within the limits of a single syllable. It is thus identical in physical character with the Greek and Latin circumflex, and fully entitled to be called by the same name.

82. Strictly, therefore, there is but one distinction of tone in the Sanskrit accentual system: the accented syllable is raised in tone above the unaccented; while then further, in certain cases of the fusion of an accented and an unaccented element

into one syllable, that syllable retains the compounded tone of both elements.

83. The *svarita* or circumflex is only rarely found on a pure long vowel or diphthong, but almost always on a syllable in which a vowel, short or long, is preceded by a *y* or *v* representing an originally acute *i* or *u*-vowel.

In transliteration, in this work, the *udātta* or acute will be marked with the ordinary sign of acute, and the *svarita* or circumflex (as being a downward slide of the voice forward) with what is usually called the grave accent: thus, *á*, acute, *yà* or *và*, circumflex.

84. The Prātiçākhyas distinguish and name separately the circumflexed tones arising by different processes of combination: thus, the circumflex is called

a. *Kṣāipra* ('quick'), when an acute *i* or *u*-vowel (short or long) is converted into *y* or *v* before a dissimilar vowel of grave tone: thus, *vyā̀pta* from *ví-āpta, apsvàntár* from *apsú antár.*

b. *Jātya* ('native') or *nitya* ('own'), when the same combination lies further back, in the make-up of a stem or form, and so is constant, or belongs to a word in all circumstances of its occurrence: thus, *kvà* (from *kúa*), *svàr* (*súar*), *nyàk* (*níak*), *budhnyà* (*budhnía*), *kanyā̀* (*kaníā*), *nadyàs* (*nadī́-as*), *tanvā̀* (*tanū́-ā*).

The words of both these classes are in the Veda, in the great majority of cases, to be read with restoration of the acute vowel as a separate syllable: thus, *apsú antár, súar, nadī́as*, etc. In some texts, part of them are written correspondingly: thus, *súvar, tanúvā, budhníya.*

c. *Praçliṣṭa*, when the acute and grave vowels are of such character that they are fused into a long vowel or diphthong (**128**): thus *divī̀ 'va* (RV. and AV.), from *diví iva; sū̀dgātā* (TS.), from *sú-udgātā; naì 'vā̀ 'çnīyāt* (ÇB.), from *ná evá açnīyāt.*

d. *Abhinihita*, when an initial grave *a* is absorbed by a final acute *é* or *ó* (**135**): thus, *tè 'bruvan*, from *té abruvan; sò 'bravīt*, from *só abravīt.*

85. But further, the Hindu grammarians agree in declaring the (naturally grave) syllable following an acute, whether in the same or in another word, to be *svarita* or circumflex — unless, indeed, it be itself followed by an acute or circumflex; in which case it retains its grave tone. This is called by European scholars the enclitic or dependent circumflex.

Thus, in *téna* and *té ca*, the syllable *na* and word *ca* are regarded and marked as circumflex; but in *téna té* and *té ca svàr* they are grave.

This seems to mean that the voice, which is borne up at the higher pitch to the end of the acute syllable, does not ordinarily drop to grave pitch by an instantaneous movement, but descends by a more or less perceptible slide in the course of the following syllable. No Hindu authority suggests the theory of a middle or intermediate tone for the enclitic, any more than for the independent circumflex. For the most part, the two are identified with one another, in treatment and designation. The enclitic circumflex is likewise divided into a number of sub-varieties, with different names: they are of too little consequence to be worth reporting.

86. The essential difference of the two kinds of circumflex is shown clearly enough by these facts: **a.** the independent circumflex takes the place of the acute as the proper accent of a word, while the enclitic is the mere shadow following an acute, and following it in another word precisely as in the same word; **b.** the independent circumflex maintains its character in all situations, while the enclitic before a following circumflex or acute loses its circumflex character, and becomes grave; moreover, **c.** in many of the systems of marking accent (below, **88**), the two are quite differently indicated.

87. The accentuation is marked in manuscripts only of the older literature: namely, in the different Vedic texts, in two of the Brāhmaṇas (Tāittirīya and Çatapatha), and in the Tāittirīya-Āraṇyaka. There are a number of methods of writing accent, more or less different from one another; the one found in MSS. of the Rig-Veda, which is most widely known, and of which most of the others are only slight modifications, is as follows: the acute syllable is left unmarked; the circumflex, whether independent or enclitic, has a brief perpendicular stroke above; and the grave next preceding an acute or (independent) circumflex has a brief horizontal stroke below. Thus,

अ॒ग्निम् *agním*; जु॒होति॑ *juhóti*; त॒न्वा॑ *tanvā̀*; क्वा॑ *kvā̀*.

The introductory grave stroke below, however, cannot be given if an acute syllable is initial, whence an unmarked syllable at the beginning of a word is to be understood as acute; and hence also, if several grave syllables precede an acute at the beginning of a sentence, they must all alike have the grave sign. Thus,

इन्द्र॑ः *índraḥ*; ते॑ *té*; क॒रि॒ष्यसि॑ *kariṣyási*; तु॒वि॒जा॒ता *tuvijātā́*.

All the grave syllables, however, which follow a marked circumflex are left unmarked, until the occurrence of another accented syllable causes the one which precedes it to take the preparatory stroke below. Thus,

सु॒दृशी॑कसंदृक् *sudṛ́çīkasaṁdṛk*;

but सु॒दृशी॑कसंदृ॒ग्गवा॑म् *sudṛ́çīkasaṁdṛg gávām*.

88. The other methods it is not worth while to attempt to set forth. They may be found illustrated in the different texts, and explained by the editors of them. In part, their peculiarities consist in other forms or places given to the grave and circumflex signs. In some methods, the acute is itself marked, by a slight stroke above. In several, the independent circumflex is distinguished from the enclitic. The most peculiar systems are the scanty and imperfect one of the Çatapatha-Brāhmaṇa, with a single sign, written below; and the highly intricate one of the Sāma-Veda, with a dozen different signs, written above.

89. In this work, as everything given in the *devanāgarī* characters is also given in transliteration, it will in general be unnecessary to mark the accent except in the transliterated form; where, however, the case is otherwise, there will be adopted the method* of marking only the accented syllables, the acute and the independent circumflex: the latter by the usual *svarita*-sign, the former by a small *u* (for *udātta*) above the syllable: thus,

इन्द्र *índra*, अग्ने *ágne*, स्वर् *svàr*, नद्यस् *nadyàs*.

These being given, everything else which the Hindu theory recognises as dependent on and accompanying them can readily be understood as implied.

90. The theory of the Sanskrit accent, as here given (a consistent and intelligible body of phenomena), has been overlaid by the Hindu theorists, especially of the Prātiçākhyas, with a number of added features, of a much more questionable character. Thus:

a. The unmarked grave syllables, following a circumflex (either at the end of a sentence, or till the near approach of another acute), are declared to have the same high tone with the (also unmarked) acute. They are called *pracaya* or *pracita* ('accumulated': because liable to occur in an indefinite series of successive syllables).

b. The circumflex, whether independent or enclitic, is declared to begin on a higher pitch than acute, and to descend to acute pitch in ordinary cases: the concluding instant of it being brought down to grave pitch, however, in the case of an independent circumflex which is immediately followed by another ascent of the voice to higher pitch (in acute or independent circumflex).

This last case, of an independent circumflex followed by acute or circumflex, receives peculiar written treatment. In the Rig-Veda method, a figure 1 or 3 is set after the circumflexed vowel, according as it is short or long, and the signs of accent are thus applied:

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* Introduced by Böhtlingk, and used in the Petersburg lexicon and elsewhere.

अप्स्व१न्त: *apsv à1ntáḥ* from *apsú antáḥ;*

रायो३वनि: *rāyò3 'vániḥ* from *rāyó aváṇiḥ.*

The other methods, more or less akin with this, need not be given.

In the scholastic utterance of such a syllable is made a peculiar quaver or *roulade* of the voice, which is called *kampa* or *vikampana.*

c. Pāṇini gives the ambiguous name of *ekaçruti* ('monotone') to the *pracita* syllables, and says nothing of the uplifting of the circumflex to a higher plane: he teaches, however, a depression below the grave pitch for the marked grave syllable before acute or circumflex, calling it *sannatara* (otherwise *anudāttatara*).

91. The system of accentuation as marked in the Vedic texts has assumed in the traditional recitation of the Brahmanic schools a peculiar and artificial form, in which the designated syllables, grave and circumflex (equally the enclitic and the independent circumflex), have acquired a conspicuous value, while the undesignated, the acute, has sunk into insignificance*.

92. The Sanskrit accent taught in the native grammars and represented by the accentuated texts is essentially a system of word-accent only. No general attempt is made (any more than in the Greek system) to define or mark a sentence-accent, the effect of the emphasis and modulation of the sentence in modifying the independent accent of individual words. The only approach to it is seen in the treatment of vocatives and personal verb-forms.

A vocative is usually without accent except at the beginning of a sentence: for further details, see the chapter on Declension.

A personal verb-form is usually accentless in an independent clause, except when standing at the beginning of the clause: for further details, see the chapter on Conjugation.

93. Certain other words also are, usually or always, without accent.

a. The particles *ca, vā, u, sma, iva, cid, svid, ha,* are always without accent.

b. The same is true of certain pronouns and pronominal stems: *mā, me, nāu, nas, tvā, te, vām, vas, ena-, tva-.*

c. The cases of the pronominal stem *a* are sometimes accented and sometimes accentless.

An accentless word is not allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence: also not of a *pāda* or primary division of a verse; a *pāda* is, in all matters relating to accentuation, treated like an independent sentence.

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* Haug, Wedischer Accent, in Abh. d. Bayr. Akad., vol. XIII, 1874.

94. Some words have more than a single accented syllable. Such are:

a. Dual collective compounds: as *índrāvárunāu.*

b. A few other compounds, in which each member irregularly retains its own accent: as *tánūnápāt, vánaspáti, bṛ́haspáti.* In a rare case or two, also their further compounds, as *bṛ́haspátipraṇutta.*

c. Infinitive datives in *tavāí:* as *étavāí.*

d. A word naturally barytone, but having its final syllable protracted: see above, **78.**

e. The particle *vā́vā́* (in the Brāhmaṇas).

95. On the place of the accented syllable in a Sanskrit word there is no restriction whatever depending upon either the number or the quantity of the preceding or following syllables. The accent rests where the rules of inflection or derivation or composition place it, without regard to any thing else.

Thus, *indre, agnāú, indreṇa, agninā́, agnīnā́m, bāhúcyuta, ánapacyuta, parjányajinvita, abhimātiṣāhá, ánabhimlātavarṇa, abhiçastícātana, hiraṇyavāçīmattama.*

96. Since the accent is marked only in the older literature, and the statements of the grammarians, with the deduced rules of accentuation, are far from being sufficient to settle all cases, the place of the stress of voice for a considerable part of the vocabulary is undetermined. Hence it is a general habit with European scholars to pronounce Sanskrit words according to the rules of the Latin accent.

97. In this work, the accent of each word and form will in general be marked, so far as there is authority determining its place and character. Where specific words and forms are quoted, they will only be so far accentuated as they are found with accent in accentuated texts.

CHAPTER III.

RULES OF EUPHONIC COMBINATION.

Introductory.

98. THE individual elements composing a language as actually used are its words. These are in part uninflected vocables (indeclinables, particles); in the main, they are inflected forms.

99. The inflected forms are analysable into inflective endings, of declension or of conjugation, and inflected stems to which those endings are added.

100. The inflected stems, again, are for the most part — as are also in part the uninflected words — analysable into derivative endings or suffixes, and roots, to which, either directly or through more primary stems, those endings are added.

But, not a few stems and particles are irreducible to roots; and, on the other hand, roots are often used directly as inflected stems, in declension as well as in conjugation.

101. The roots are, in the condition of the language as it lies before us, the ultimate attainable elements; to a great extent not actually ultimate, but, where otherwise, the result of processes of development too irregular and obscure to be made the subject of treatment in a grammar.

102. The formative processes by which both inflectional forms and derivative stems are made, by the addition of endings to bases and to roots, are more regular and transparent in Sanskrit than in any other Indo-European language, and the grammatical analysis of words into their component elements is correspondingly complete. Hence it became the method of the native grammarians, and has continued to be that of their European successors, to teach the language by presenting the endings and stems and roots in their analysed forms, and laying down the ways in which these are to be combined together to make words. And hence a statement of the euphonic rules which govern the combination of elements occupies in Sanskrit grammar a more prominent and important place than in other grammars.

103. Moreover, the formation of compound words, by the putting together of two or more stems, is a process of very exceptional frequency in Sanskrit; and this kind of combination also has its own euphonic rules. And once more, in the form

in which the language is handed down to us by the literature, the words composing a sentence or paragraph are adapted to and combined with each other by nearly the same rules which govern the making of compounds, so that it is impossible to take apart and understand the simplest sentence in Sanskrit without understanding those rules. Hence also a greatly added degree of practical importance belonging to the subject of euphonic combination.

This euphonic interdependence of the words of a sentence, which is unknown to any other language in anything like the same degree, is shown to be at least in considerable measure artificial, implying an erection into necessary and invariable rules of what in the living language were only optional practices, by the evidence of the older dialect of the Vedas and the younger Prakritic dialects, in both of which these rules (especially as regards hiatus: **113**) are very often violated.

104. We have, therefore, in the first place to consider the euphonic principles and laws which govern the combination of the elements of words (and the elements of the sentence); and then afterward to take up the subject of inflection, under the two heads of declension and conjugation; to which will succeed some account of the classes of uninflected words.

105. The formation of conjugational stems (tense and mode-stems, etc.) will be taught, as is usual, in connection with the processes of conjugational inflection; that of uninflected words, in connection with the various classes of those words. But the general subject of derivation, or the formation of declinable stems, will be taken up by itself later for a brief presentation; and it will be followed by an account of the formation of compound stems.

Although, namely, the general plan of this series of grammars excludes the subject of derivation, yet, because of the comparative simplicity and regularity of the principal processes of derivation in Sanskrit, and the importance to the student of accustoming himself from the beginning to trace those processes, in connection with the analysis of derived forms, back to the root, an exception will be made in regard to the subject in the present work.

106. We assume, then, for the purposes of the present chapter, the existence of the material of the language in a grammatically analysed condition, in the form of roots, stems, and endings.

107. What is to be taken as the proper form of a root or stem is not in all cases clear. Very many of both classes show in a part of their derivatives a stronger and in a part a weaker form (**260**). This is, in most cases, the only difficulty affecting

stems — whether, for example, we shall speak of derivatives in *mat* or in *mant*, of comparatives in *yas* or in *yāṅs*, of a perfect participle in *vat* or in *vāṅs* or in *us*. The Hindu grammarians usually give the weaker form as the normal one, and derive the other from it by a strengthening change; some European authorities adopt the one form and some the other: the question is an unessential one, giving rise to no practical difficulty.

108. As regards the roots, the difficulty is greater, partly because complicated with other questions, arising from practices of the Hindu grammarians, which have been more or less widely followed by their European successors. Thus:

a. More than half of the whole number of roots given by the Hindu authorities (which are over 2000) have never been found actually used in the literature; and although some of these may yet come to light, or may have existed without finding their way into any of the preserved literary documents, it is certain that most are fictitious, made in part for the explanation of words claimed to be their derivatives, and in part for other and perhaps unexplainable reasons. Of the roots unauthenticated by traceable use no account will be made in this grammar — or, if at all considered, they will be carefully distinguished from the authenticated.

b. Those roots of which the initial *n* and *s* are regularly converted to *ṇ* and *ṣ* after certain prefixes are by the Hindu grammarians given as beginning with *ṇ* and *ṣ:* no European authority follows this example.

c. A number of roots ending in *ā* which is irregularly treated in the inflection of the present-system are written in the Hindu lists with diphthongs — *e* or *āi* or *o;* and so, after this example, by many Western scholars. Here they will be regarded as *ā*-roots: compare below, **251**. The *o* of such roots, especially, is purely arbitrary; no forms made from the root justify it.

d. The roots showing interchangeably *ṛ*, *ar*, and *ir* and *īr* or *ur* and *ūr* forms are written by the Hindus with *ṛ*, or with *ṝ*, or with both. Here also the *ṝ* is arbitrary and indefensible. As between *ṛ* and *ar*, even the latest European authorities are at variance, and it may be left to further research to settle whether the one or the other is alone worthy to be accepted. Here (mainly as a matter of convenience: compare below, **237**) the *ṛ*-forms will be used.

e. In the other cases of roots showing a stronger and a weaker form, choice is in great measure a matter of minor consequence — unless further research and the settlement of pending phonetic questions shall show that the one or the other is decidedly the truer and more original. From the point of view of the Sanskrit alone, the question is often impossible to determine.

f. The Hindus classify as simple roots a number of derived stems: reduplicated ones, as *dīdhī*, *jāgṛ*, *daridrā;* present-stems, as *ūrṇu;* and denominative stems, as *avadhīr*, *kumār*, *sabhāj*, *mantr*, *sāntv*, *arth*, and the like. These are in European works generally reduced to their true value.

g. But it is impossible to draw any definite line between these cases

and others in which root-forms evidently of secondary origin have attained a degree of independent value in the language which almost or quite entitles them to rank as individual roots. Even the weak and strong forms of the same root — as *vad* and *vand*, *cit* and *cint*, *mah* and *maṅh* — may have such a difference of use that they count as two; or a difference of inflection combined with a difference of meaning in a root has the same effect — as in *vṛ vṛṇoti* and *vṛ vṛṇīte*, in *hā jahāti* and *hā jihīte;* or an evident present-stem becomes a separate root — as *jinv* and *pinv*. Not a few roots occur in more or less clearly related groups, the members of which are of various degrees of independence. Thus, a considerable class of roots show an added *ā;* and such as *mnā* and *dhmā* are reckoned only as side-forms of *man* and *dham;* while *trā*, *prā*, *pyā*, *psā*, and others, presumably made in the same manner, figure as separate from their probable originals. Many final consonants of roots have the value of "root-determinatives", or elements of obscure or unknown origin added to simpler forms. A class of derivative roots show signs of reduplication, as *cakṣ*, *jakṣ*, *dudh;* or of a desiderative development, as *bhakṣ* and *bhikṣ*, *çruṣ*, *akṣ*, *nakṣ*. Yet another class seem to contain a preposition fused with a root, as *vyac*, *āp*, and the later *ujh* and *vyas*.

With most of such cases it is not the part of a Sanskrit grammar, but rather of a general Indo-European comparative grammar, to deal according to their historical character. We must be content to accept as roots what elements seem to have on the whole that value in the existing condition of the language; with due recognition of authorized differences of opinion on many points, as well as of the fact that further knowledge will set many things now doubtful in a clearer light.

Principles of Euphonic Combination.

109. The rules of combination are in some respects different, according as they apply

a. to the internal make-up of a word, by the addition of derivative and inflectional endings to roots and stems;

b. to the more external putting together of stems to make compound stems, and the yet looser and more accidental collocation of words in the sentence.

Hence they are usually divided into rules of internal combination (or *sandhi*, 'putting together'), and rules of external combination.

110. In both classes of cases, however, the general principles of combination are the same — and likewise, to a great extent, the specific rules. The differences depend in part on

the occurrence or non-occurrence of certain combinations in the one class or the other; in part, on the difference of treatment of the same sound as final of a root or of an ending, the former being much more persistent than the latter; in part, on the occurrence in external combination of certain changes which are apparently phonetic but really historical; and, most frequent and conspicuous of all, on the fact that (**157**) vowels and semivowels and nasals exercise a sonantizing influence in external combination, but not in internal. Hence, to avoid unnecessary repetition as well as the separation of what really belongs together, the rules for both kinds of combination will be given below in connection with one another.

111. Moreover, before case-endings beginning with *bh* and *s* (namely, *bhis, bhyas, bhyām, su*), the treatment of the finals of stems is in general the same as in the combinations of words (*pada*) with one another — whence those endings are sometimes called *pada*-endings, and the cases they form are known as *pada*-cases. And with some of the suffixes of derivation the same is the case.

The importance of this distinction is somewhat exaggerated by the ordinary statement of it. In fact, *dh* is the only sonant mute initial of an ending occurring in conjugation, as *bh* in declension; and the difference of their treatment is in part owing to the one coming into collision usually with the final of a root and the other of an ending, and in part to the fact that *dh*, as a dental, is more assimilable to palatals and linguals than *bh*. A more marked and problematic distinction is made between *su* and the verbal endings *si, sva*, etc., especially after palatal sounds and *ṣ*.

112. The leading rules of internal combination are those which are of highest and most immediate importance to a beginner in the language, since his first task is to master the principal paradigms of inflection; the rules of external combination may better be left untouched until he comes to dealing with words in sentences, or to translating. Then, however, they are indispensable, since the proper form of the words that compose the sentence is not to be determined without them.

The general principles of combination underlying the euphonic rules, and determining their classification, may be stated as follows:

113. Hiatus. A hiatus is avoided.

There are but two or three words in the language which in their accepted written form exhibit successive vowels forming different syllables: they are *títaü*, 'sieve' (perhaps for *títasu*, BR.) and *práüga*, 'wagon-pole' (for *prayuga?*); and, in RV., *suūtí*. For the not infrequent instances of composition and sentence combination where the recent loss of *s* or *y* or *v* leaves a permanent hiatus, see below, **132**ff., **175b**, **177**.

It has been already noticed that in the Veda, as the metrical form of the hymns plainly shows, there is no avoidance of hiatus, either as between the stem-finals and endings of words, between the members of compounds, or between the words composing a sentence. In cases innumerable, a *y* and *v* (especially after two consonants, or a long vowel and consonant) are to be read as *i* and *u*. But also a long vowel is sometimes to be resolved into two syllables — oftenest, *ā* into *a-a:* this resolution is sometimes historical, but ordinarily purely metrical. For details, see below. It is with regard to the hiatus that the rules of the grammatically regulated classical Sanskrit are most demonstrably and conspicuously different from the more living usages of the sacred dialect.

114. Deaspiration. An aspirate mute is liable to lose its aspiration, being allowed to stand unchanged only before a vowel or semivowel or nasal.

115. Assimilation. The great body of euphonic changes in Sanskrit, as elsewhere, falls under the general head of assimilation — which takes place both between sounds which are so nearly alike that the difference between them is too insignificant to be worth preserving, and between those which are so diverse as to be practically incompatible.

116. In part, assimilation involves the conversion of one sound to another of the same series, without change of articulating position; in part, it involves a change of position, or transfer to another series.

117. Of changes within the series, the most frequent and important occur in the adaptation of surd and sonant sounds to one another; but the nasals and *l* have also in certain cases their special assimilative influence. Thus:

a. In the two classes of non-nasal mutes and spirants, surd and sonant are wholly incompatible; no surd of either class can either precede or follow a sonant of either.

A mute, surd or sonant, is assimilated by being changed to its correspondent of the other kind; of the spirants, the surd *s* is the only one having a sonant correspondent, namely *r*, to which it is convertible in external combination.

b. The nasals are more freely combinable: a nasal may either precede or follow a mute of either kind, or the sonant spirant *h;* it may also follow a surd spirant (sibilant); no nasal, however, ever precedes a sibilant in the

interior of a word (it is changed instead to *anusvāra*); and in external combination their concurrence is usually avoided by insertion of a surd mute.

c. A semivowel has still less sonantizing influence; and a vowel least of all*: both are freely preceded and followed by sounds of every other class, in the interior of a word.

Before a sibilant, however, is found, of the semivowels, only *r* and very rarely *l*. Moreover, in external combination, *r* is often changed to its surd corrspondent *s*.

But

d. In composition and sentence-collocation, initial vowels and semivowels and nasals also require the preceding final to be sonant. And

e. Before a nasal and *l*, the assimilative process is sometimes carried further, by the conversion of a final mute to a nasal or *l* respectively.

118. Of conversions involving a change of articulate position, the most important are those of dental sounds to lingual, and, less often, to palatal. Thus:

a. The dental *s* and *n* are very frequently converted to *ṣ* and *ṇ* by the assimilating influence of contiguous or neighboring lingual sounds: the *s*, even by sounds — namely, *i* and *u*-vowels and *k* — which have themselves no lingual character.

b. A non-nasal dental mute is (with a few exceptions in external combination) made lingual when it comes into collision with a lingual sound.

c. The dental mutes and sibilant are made palatal by a contiguous palatal.

But also:

d. A *m* (not radical) is assimilated to a following consonant, of whatever kind.

119. The euphonic combinations of the palatal mutes, the palatal sibilant, and the aspiration, as being sounds derived by phonetic alteration from more original gutturals (**42** ff.), are made peculiar and complicated by two circumstances: their reversion to a guttural form (or the appearance of the unaltered guttural instead of them); and the different treatment of *j* and *h* according as they represent one or another degree of alteration — the one tending, like *c*, more to the guttural reversion, the other showing, like *ç*, a more sibilant and lingual character.

120. The lingual sibilant *ṣ*, also of derivative character (from dental *s*), shows as radical final a peculiar and problematic mode of combination.

121. E x t e n s i o n a n d a b b r e v i a t i o n o f c o n s o n a n t - g r o u p s. The native grammarians allow or require certain extensions, by duplication or insertion, of groups of consonants. And, on the other hand, abbreviation of cer-

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* In conformity with general phonetic law: see Sievers, Lautphysiologie, p. 140.

tain other groups is allowed, and found often practised in the manuscripts.

122. Permitted Finals. The permitted occurrence of consonants at the end of a word is quite narrowly restricted. In general, only one consonant is allowed after the last vowel; and that must be neither the aspiration, nor a sibilant, nor a semivowel (save rarely ल् *l*), nor an aspirate mute, nor a sonant mute if not nasal, nor a palatal.

123. Increment and Decrement. Besides these more or less regular changes accompanying the combination of the parts that make up words, there is another class of a somewhat different character, not consisting in the mutual adaptations of the parts, but in strengthening or weakening changes of the parts themselves.

124. It is impossible to carry through a perfectly systematic arrangement of the detailed rules of euphonic combination, because the different varieties of euphonic change more or less overlap and intersect one another. The order followed below will be as follows:

1. Rules of vowel combination, for the avoidance of hiatus.
2. Rules as to permitted finals (since these underlie the farther treatment of final consonants in external combination).
3. Rules for loss of aspiration of an aspirate mute.
4. Rules of surd and sonant assimilation, including those for final *s* and *r*.
5. Rules for the conversion of dental sounds to lingual and palatal.
6. Rules for the changes of final nasals, including those in which a former final following the nasal reappears in combination.
7. Rules regarding the special changes of the derivative sounds — the palatal mutes and sibilant, the aspiration, and the lingual sibilant.
8. Rules as to extension and abbreviation of consonant groups.
9. Rules for strengthening and weakening processes.

Everywhere, rules for more sporadic and less classifiable cases will be given in the most practically convenient connection; and the Index will render what help is needed toward finding them.

Rules of Vowel Combination.

125. The concurrence of two vowels, or of vowel and diphthong, without intervening consonant, is forbidden by the euphony of the later or classical language. It is avoided, according to the circumstances of the case, either by fusion of the two concurrent sounds into one, by the reduction of one of them to a semivowel, or by development of a semivowel between them.

The texts of the older or Vedic dialect are written according to the euphonic rules of the later, although in them (as was pointed out above, **113**) the hiatus is really of very frequent occurrence. Hence they are not to be read as written, but with almost constant reversal of the processes of vowel combination which they have artificially undergone.

The rules of vowel combination, as regards both the resulting sound and its accent, are nearly the same in internal and in external *sandhi*.

126. Two similar simple vowels, short or long, coalesce and form the corresponding long vowel: thus, two *a*-vowels (either or both of them short or long) form आ *ā*; two *i*-vowels, ई *ī*; two *u*-vowels, ऊ *ū*; and, theoretically, two *ṛ*-vowels form ॠ *ṝ*, but it is questionable whether the case ever practically occurs. Examples are:

स चाप्रजः *sa cā 'prajaḥ (ca + aprajaḥ);*

अतीव *atī 'va (ati + iva);*

सूक्तम् *sūktam (su-uktam);*

राजासीत् *rājā "sīt (rājā + āsīt);*

अधीश्वरः *adhīçvaraḥ (adhi-īçvaraḥ).*

As the above examples indicate, it will be the practice everywhere in this work, in transliteration (but not in the *devanāgarī* text), to separate independent words; and if an initial vowel of a following word has coalesced with a final of the preceding, this will be indicated by an apostrophe — single if the initial vowel be the shorter, double if it be the longer, of the two different initials which in every case of combination yield the same result.

127. An *a*-vowel combines with a following *i*-vowel to ए *e;* with an *u*-vowel, to ओ *o;* with ऋ *ṛ*, to अर् *ar;* with

ऌ् (theoretically), to अल् *al;* with ए *e* or ऐ *āi,* to ऐ *āi;* with ओ *o* or औ *āu,* to औ *āu.* Examples are:

राजेन्द्र *rājendra (rāja-indra);*
हितोपदेशः *hitopadeçaḥ (hita-upadeçaḥ);*
महर्षिः *maharṣiḥ (mahā-ṛṣiḥ);*
सैव *sai 'va (sā + eva);*
राजैश्वर्यम् *rājāiçvaryam (rāja-āiçvaryam);*
दिवौकसः *divāukasaḥ (divā-okasaḥ);*
ज्वरौषधम् *jvarāuṣadham (jvara-āuṣadham).*

In some of the Vedic texts, the vowel *ṛ* is written unchanged after the *a*-vowel, which, if long, is shortened: thus, *maharṣiḥ* instead of *maharṣiḥ.* The two vowels, however, are usually pronounced as one syllable.

When successive words like *indra ā ihi* are to be combined, the first combination, to *indrā,* is made first, and the result is *indre " 'hi* (not *indrai " 'hi,* from *indra e 'hi*).

128. As regards the accent of these vowel combinations, it is to be noticed that, **a.** as a matter of course, the union of acute with acute yields acute, and that of grave with grave yields grave: that of circumflex with circumflex cannot occur; **b.** a circumflex with following acute yields acute, the final grave element of the former being raised to acute pitch; a grave with following acute does the same, as no upward slide of the voice on a syllable is acknowledged in the language; but, **c.** when the former of the fused elements is acute and the latter grave, we might expect the resulting syllable to be in general circumflex, to represent both the original tones. Pāṇini in fact allows this accent in every such case; and in a single accentuated Brāhmaṇa text (ÇB.), the circumflex is regularly written. But the language shows, on the whole, an indisposition to allow the circumflex to rest on either long vowel or diphthong as its sole basis, and the acute element is suffered to raise the other to its own level of pitch, making the whole syllable acute. The only exception to this, in most of the texts, is the combination of *í* and *i,* which becomes *ì:* thus, *divì 'va,* from *diví iva;* in the Tāittirīya texts alone such a case follows the general rule, while *ú* and *u,* instead, make *ù:* thus, *sùdgātā* from *sú-udgātā.*

129. The *i*-vowels, the *u*-vowels, and ऋ *ṛ,* before a dissimilar vowel or a diphthong, are regularly converted each into its own corresponding semivowel, य् *y* or व् *v* or र् *r.* Examples are:

इत्याह *ity āha (iti + āha);*

मध्विव *madhv iva (madhu + iva);*

दुहित्रर्थे *duhitrarthe (duhitṛ-arthe);*

स्त्र्यस्य *stry asya (strī + asya);*

वध्वै *vadhvāi (vadhū-āi).*

But in internal combination (never in external) the *i* and *u*-vowels are not seldom changed instead to *iy* and *uv* — and this especially in monosyllables, or after two consonants, where otherwise a group of consonants difficult of pronunciation would be the result. The cases will be noticed below, in explaining inflected forms.

A radical *i*-vowel is converted into *y* even before *i* in perfect tense-inflection: so *ninyima (ninī + ima).*

130. As regards the accent — here, as in the preceding case (**128**), the only combination requiring notice is that of an acute *i* or *u*-vowel with a following grave: the result is circumflex; and such cases of circumflex are many times more frequent than any and all others. Examples are:

व्युष्टि *vyùṣṭi (ví-uṣṭi);* अभ्यर्चति *abhyàrcati;*

नद्यौ *nadyāù (nadī́-āu);*

स्विष्ट *svìṣṭa (sú-iṣṭa);* तन्वस् *tanvàs (tanū́-as).*

Of a similar combination of acute *ṛ́* with following grave, only a single case has been noted in accented texts: namely, *vijñātr ètā́t* (ÇB. xiv. 6. 8[11]): the accentuation is in accordance with the rules for *i* and *u*.

131. Of a diphthong, the final *i* or *u*-element is changed to its corresponding semivowel, य् *y* or व् *v*, before any vowel or diphthong: thus, ए *e* (really *ai*: **28**) becomes अय् *ay*, and ओ *o* (that is, *au*) becomes अव् *av*; ऐ *āi* becomes आय् *āy*, and औ *āu* becomes आव् *āv*.

No change of accent, of course, occurs here; each original syllable retains its syllabic identity, and hence also its own tone.

Examples can be given only for internal combination, since in external combination there are further changes: see the next paragraph. Thus,

नय *naya (ne-a);* नाय *nāya (nāi-a);*

भव *bhava (bho-a);* भाव *bhāva (bhāu-a).*

132. In external combination, we have the important additional rule that the semivowel resulting from the conversion of the final element of a diphthong is in general

dropped; and the resulting hiatus is left without further change.

133. That is to say, a final ए *e* (by far the most frequent case) becomes simply अ *a* before an initial vowel (except अ *a*: see **135**, below), and both then remain unchanged; and a final ऐ *āi*, in like manner, becomes (everywhere) *ā*. Thus,

त आगताः *ta āgatāḥ (te + āgatāḥ)*;

नगर इह *nagara iha (nagare + iha)*;

तस्मा अददात् *tasmā adadāt (tasmāi + adadāt)*;

स्त्रिया उक्तम् *striyā uktam (striyāi + uktam)*.

The later grammarians allow the *y* in such combinations to be either retained or dropped; but the uniform practice of the MSS., of every age, in accordance with the strict requirement of the Vedic grammars (Prātiçākhyas), is to omit the semivowel and leave the hiatus.

The persistence of the hiatus caused by this omission is a plain indication of the comparatively recent loss of the intervening consonantal sound. Instances of the combination of the remaining final and initial are not unknown, but they are of sporadically rare occurrence.

134. The diphthong *o* (except as phonetic alteration of final *as*: see **175 a**) is an unusual final, appearing only in the stem *go* (**356**), in the voc. sing. of *u*-stems, in words of which the final *a* is combined with the particle *u*, as *atho*, and in a few interjections. In the last two classes it is uncombinable (below, **138**); the vocatives sometimes retain the *v* and sometimes lose it (the practices of different texts are too different to be briefly stated); *go* (in composition only) does not lose its final element, but remains *gav* or *go*. A final *as* becomes *a*, with following hiatus, before any vowel save *a* (for which, see the next paragraph).

The व् *v* of आव् *āv* from औ *āu* is usually retained: thus,

तावेव *tāv eva (tāu + eva)*;

उभाविन्द्राग्नी *ubhāv indrāgnī (ubhāu + indrāgnī)*.

In some texts, however, it is lost before an *u*-vowel, the *ā* alone remaining, with hiatus; in at least one text (Kāṭhaka), it is dropped before every vowel. The later grammarians allow it to be either retained or dropped.

135. After final ए *e* or ओ *o*, an initial अ *a* disappears.

The resulting accent is as if the *a* were not dropped, but rather absorbed into the preceding diphthong, having its tone

duly represented in the combination. If, namely, the *e* or *o* is grave or circumflex and the *a* acute, the former becomes acute; if the *e* or *o* is acute and the *a* grave, the former becomes circumflex, as usually in the fusion of an acute and a grave element. If both are acute or both grave, no change, of course, is seen in the result. Examples are:

ते ऽब्रुवन् *tè 'bruvan (té abruvan);*

सो ऽब्रवीत् *sò 'bravīt (sáḥ abravīt);*

ह्विंसितव्यो ऽग्निः *hiṅsitavyò 'gniḥ (hiṅsitavyàḥ agníh);*

यदिन्द्रो ऽब्रवीत् *yád indró 'bravīt (yád indraḥ ábravīt);*

यद्राजन्यो ऽब्रवीत् *yád rājanyó 'bravīt (yád rājanyàḥ ábravīt).*

As to the use of the *avagraha* sign in the case of such an elision, see above, **16**. In transliteration, the reversed apostrophe, or rough breathing, will be used in this work to represent it.

This elision or absorption of initial *a* after final *e* or *o*, which in the later language is the invariable rule, is in the Veda only an occasional occurrence; and there is no close accordance with regard to it between the written and the spoken form of the Vedic texts. In the Atharvan, for example, the *a* is omitted in writing in about one third of the cases, but is to be omitted in reading in less than one fifth (including a number in which the written text preserves it). See APr. iii. 54, note.

To the rules of vowel combination, as above stated, there are certain exceptions. Some of the more isolated of these will be noticed where they come up in the processes of inflection etc.; a few require mention here.

136. In internal combination:

a. The augment *a* makes with the initial vowel of a root the combinations *āi*, *āu*, *ār* (*vṛddhi*-vowels), instead of *e*, *o*, *ar* (*guṇa*-vowels), as required by **127**.

b. The final *o* of a strengthened stem (**238 b**) becomes *av* before the suffix *ya* (originally *ia*);

c. The final vowel of a stem is often dropped when a secondary suffix is added.

For the weakening and loss of radical vowels, and for certain insertions, see below, **249** ff., **257—8**.

137. In external combination:

a. The final *a* or *ā* of a preposition, with initial *ṛ* of a root, makes *ār* instead of *ar*.

b. The final *a* of a preposition before roots beginning with *e* or *o* is usually omitted.

c. A final *a* in composition may be cut off before *otu* and *oṣṭha*.

d. The form *ūh* from √*vah* sometimes makes the heavier (*vṛddhi*)

diphthongal combination with a preceding *a*; thus, *prāuha*, *prāuḍha*, *akṣāuhiṇī* (from *pra-ūha* etc.).

138. Certain final vowels, moreover, are uncombinable *(pragṛhya)*, or maintain themselves unchanged before any following vowel. Thus,

a. The vowels *ī*, *ū* and *e* as dual endings, both of declensional and of conjugational forms. Thus, *bandhū āsāte imāu*; *girī ārohatam*.

b. The pronoun *amī́* (nom. pl.); and the Vedic pronominal forms *asmé*, *yuṣmé*, *tvé*.

c. A final *o* made by combination of a final *a*-vowel with the particle *u*: thus, *atho*, *mo*, *no*.

d. A final *ī* or *ū* of a Vedic locative case.

e. A protracted final vowel (**78**).

f. The final, or only, vowel of an interjection, as *aho*, *he*, *ā*, *i*, *u*.

Permitted Finals.

139. The sounds allowed to occur as finals in Sanskrit words, standing by themselves (not in euphonic combination with something following), are closely limited, and those which would etymologically come to occupy such a position are often variously altered, in general accordance with their treatment in other circumstances, or are sometimes omitted altogether.

The variety of consonants that would ever come at the end of either an inflected form or a derivative stem in the language is very small: namely, in forms, only *t* (or *d*), *n*, *m*, *s*; in derivative stems, only *t*, *d*, *n*, *r*, *s* (and, in a few rare words, *j*). But almost all consonants occur as finals of roots; and every root is liable to be found, alone or as last member of a compound, in the character of a declined stem.

140. All the vowel sounds, both simple and diphthongal, may be sounded at the end of a word.

But neither *ṝ* nor *ḷ* ever actually occurs; and *ṛ* is very rare (only as neuter sing. of a stem in *ṛ* or *ar*, or as final of such a stem in composition).

Thus, *índra*, *çiváyā*, *ákāri*, *nadī́*, *dā́tu*, *camū́*, *janayitṛ́*, *ágne*, *çivā́yāi*, *vā́yo*, *agnā́u*.

141. Of the non-nasal mutes, only the first in each series, the non-aspirate surd, is allowed; the others — surd

aspirate, and both sonants — whenever they would etymologically occur, are converted into this.

Thus, *agnimát* for *agnimáth*, *suhṛ́t* for *suhṛ́d*, *vīrút* for *vīrúdh*.

In a few roots, when their final (sonant aspirate) thus loses its aspiration, the original sonant aspiration of the initial reappears: compare ह् *h*, below, **147**.

Thus, *dagh* becomes *dhak*, *budh* becomes *bhut*, and so on.

The roots exhibiting this change are stated below, **155**.

There was some question among the Hindu grammarians as to whether the final mute is to be estimated as of surd or of sonant quality; but the great weight of authority, and the invariable practice of the MSS., favor the surd.

142. The palatals, however, form here (as often elsewhere) an exception to the rules for the other mutes. No palatal is allowed as final. The च् *c* reverts to its original क् *k*: thus, वाक् *vák*, अंहोमुक् *aṅhomúk*. The छ् *ch* (extremely rare: perhaps only in the root प्रछ् *prach*) becomes ट् *ṭ*: thus, प्राट् *prāṭ*. The ज् *j* either reverts to its original guttural or becomes ट् *ṭ*, in accordance with its treatment in other combinations (**219**): thus, भिषक् *bhiṣák*, *virā́ṭ*. The झ् *jh* does not occur, but is by the native grammarians declared convertible to ट् *ṭ*.

143. Of the nasals, the म् *m* and न् *n* are extremely common, especially the former (म् *m* and स् *s* are of all final consonants the most frequent); the ण् *ṇ* is allowed, but is quite rare; ङ् *ṅ* is found (remaining after the loss of a following क् *k*) in a very small number of words; ञ् *ñ* never occurs.

But the final *m* of a root is changed to *n* (compare **212**, below): thus, *ágan* from *gam*, *ánān* from *nam*.

144. Of the semivowels, the ल् *l* alone is an admitted final, and it is very rare. The र् *r* is (like its nearest surd correspondent, स् *s*: **145**) changed as final to *visarga*. Of य् *y* and व् *v* there is no occurrence.

145. Of the sibilants, none may stand unaltered at the end of a word. The स् *s* (which of all final consonants

would otherwise be the commonest) is like र् *r* changed to a breathing, the *visarga*. The श् *ç* either reverts to its original क् *k*, or, in some roots, is changed to ट् *ṭ* (in accordance with its changes in inflection and derivation; see below, **218**). The ष् *ṣ* is likewise changed to ट् *ṭ*.

The change of *ṣ* to *ṭ* is of very rare occurrence: see below, **226**.

Final radical *s* is said by the grammarians to be changed to *t:* thus, *dhvat* from *dhvas:* but no example of the conversion appears to occur: see **168**.

146. The compound क्ष् *kṣ* is prescribed to be treated as simple ष् *ṣ* (not becoming क् *k* by **150**, below). But the case is a rare one, and its actual treatment in the older language irregular.

In the only RV. cases where the *kṣ* has a quasi-radical character — namely *anák* from *anákṣ*, and *ámyak* from √*myakṣ* — the conversion is to *k*. Also of forms of the *s*-aorist (see this aorist below) we have *adhāk*, *asrāk*, *arāik*, etc. for (*adhākṣ-t* etc.); but also *aprāṭ*, *abhrāṭ*, *ayāṭ* (for *aprākṣ-t* etc.). And AV. has in two cases *srāḥ* (i. e. *srās*), apparently for *asrākṣ-s*, from √*sṛj* (wrongly referred by BR. to √*sraṅs*).

The numeral *ṣaṣ*, 'six', is perhaps better to be regarded as *ṣakṣ*, with its *kṣ* treated as *ṣ*, according to the accepted rule.

147. The aspiration ह् *h* is not allowed to maintain itself, but (like ज् *j* and श् *ç*) either reverts to its original guttural form, appearing as क् *k*, or is changed to ट् *ṭ* — both in accordance with its treatment in inflection; see below, **222**. And, also as in inflection, the original sonant aspiration of a few roots (given at **155**) reappears when their final thus becomes unaspirated. Where the ह् *h* is from original ध् *dh* (**223**), it becomes त् *t*.

148. The *visarga* and *anusvāra* are nowhere etymological finals; the former is only the substitute for an original final स् *s* or र् *r;* the latter occurs as final only so far as some later grammarians allow it to be substituted for म् *m*.

149. Apart from the vowels, then, the usual finals, nearly in the order of their frequency, are : *ḥ*, म् *m*, न् *n*,

त् *t*, क् *k*, प् *p*, ट् *ṭ;* those of only sporadic occurrence are ङ् *ṅ*, ल् *l*, ण् *ṇ;* and, by permitted substitution, ं *ṁ*.

150. In general, only one consonant, of whatever kind, is allowed to stand at the end of a word; if two or more would etymologically occur there, the last is dropped, and again the last, and so on, till only one remains.

Thus, *tudants* becomes *tudant*, and this *tudan; udañc-s* becomes *udaṅk*, and this *udaṅ;* and *achāntst* (*s*-aor., 3d sing., of √*chand*) is in like manner reduced to *achān*.

But a non-nasal mute, if radical and not suffixal, is retained after *r:* thus, *ū́rk* from *ūrj*, *várk* from √*vṛj*, *ámārṭ* from √*mṛj*, *suhā́rt* from *suhārd*. The case is not a common one.

For relics of former double finals, preserved by the later language under the disguise of apparent euphonic combinations, see below, **207 ff.**

151. Anomalous conversions of a final mute to one of another class are occasionally met with. Examples are:

a. Of final *t* to *k*, in a few words that have assumed a special value as particles: thus, *jyók*, *tāják* (beside *tāját*), *pṛ́thak*, *ṛ́dhak;* — but also now and then in a verbal form, as *sāviṣak* (AV. and VS. Kāṇ.), *aviṣyak* (Pārask.); — and in the feminines in *knī* (as *asiknī* beside *asita*). SV. has once *pṛkṣú* for *pṛtsú*.

b. Of *k* or *j* to *t*, in an isolated example or two, as *samyát* and *ásṛt* (TS., K.).

c. In Tāittirīya texts, of the final of *anuṣṭúbh* and *triṣṭúbh* to a guttural: as, *anuṣṭúk ca, triṣṭúgbhis* (Weber, Ind. St., xiii. 109 ff.).

d. Of a labial to a dental: in *kakúd* for and beside *kakúbh;* in *saṁsṛ́dbhis* (TS.) from √*sṛp;* and in *adbhís*, *adbhyás*, from *ap* or *āp* (chap. V). Excepting the first, these look like cases of dissimilation; yet examples of the combination *bbh* are not unknown in the older language: thus, *kakubbhyām*, *triṣṭubbhis*, *anuṣṭub bhi*.

152. For all the processes of external combination — that is to say, in composition and sentence-collocation — a stem-final or word-final is in general to be regarded as having, not its etymological form, but that given it by the rules as to permitted finals. From this, however, are to be excepted the *s* and *r:* the various transformations of these sounds have nothing to do with the *visarga* to which as finals before a pause they have come — doubtless at a comparatively recent period of phonetic history — to be reduced. Words will everywhere in this work be written with final *s* or *r* instead of *ḥ;* and the rules of combination will be stated as for the two more original sounds, and not for the *visarga*.

Deaspiration.

153. An aspirate mute is changed to its corresponding non-aspirate before another non-nasal mute or before a sibilant; it stands unaltered only before a vowel or semivowel or nasal.

Such a case can only arise in internal combination, since the processes of external combination presuppose the reduction of the aspirate to a non-aspirate surd (**152**).

Practically, also, the rules as to changes of aspirates concern almost only the sonant aspirates, since the surd, being of later development and rarer occurrence, are hardly ever found in situations that call for their application.

154. Hence, if such a mute is to be doubled, it is doubled by prefixing its own corresponding non-aspirate.

But in the MSS., both Vedic and later, an aspirate mute is not seldom found written double — especially, if it be one of rare occurrence: for example (RV.), *akhkhalī*, *jájhjhatī*.

155. In a few roots, when a final sonant aspirate (घ् *gh*, ध् *dh*, भ् *bh;* also ह् *h*, as representing an original घ् *gh)* thus loses its aspiration, the initial sonant consonant (ग् *g* or द् *d* or ब् *b*) becomes aspirate.

That is to say, the original initial aspirate of such roots is restored, when its presence does not interfere with the euphonic law, of comparatively recent origin, which (in Sanskrit as in Greek) forbids a root to both begin and end with an aspirate.

The roots which show this peculiar change are:

in *gh* — *dagh;*

in *h* (for original *gh*) — *dah*, *dih*, *duh*, *druh*, *dṛṅh*, *guh;* and *grah* (in the later desiderative *jighṛkṣa*);

in *dh* — *bandh*, *bādh*, *budh;*

in *bh* — *dabh* (but only in the later desiderative *dhipsa*, for which the older language has *dipsa*).

The same change appears when the law as to finals causes the loss of the aspiration at the end of the root: see above, **141**.

But from *dah*, *duh*, and *guh* are found in the Veda also forms without the restored initial aspirate: thus, *dakṣat;* *adukṣat*, *dudukṣa* etc.; *jugukṣa*.

The same analogy is followed by *dadh*, the abbreviated substitute of the present-stem *dadhā*, from √*dhā*, in some of the forms of conjugation; thus, *dhatthas* from *dadh* + *thas*, *adhatta* from *adadh* + *ta*, etc.

Surd and Sonant Assimilation.

156. Under this head, there is especially one very marked and important difference between the internal combinations of a root or stem with suffixes and endings, and the external combinations of stem with stem in composition and of word with word in sentence-making: namely,

157. In internal combination, the initial vowel or semivowel or nasal of an ending of derivation or inflection exercises no altering influence upon a final consonant of the root or stem to which it is added.

To this rule there are a few exceptions only: thus, a reverted palatal sometimes before a nasal (**216.** 4,5); *d* before the participle-suffix *na* (**161**); a final consonant before *maya* (**161**).

In external combination, on the other hand, an initial sonant of whatever class, even a vowel or semivowel or nasal, requires the conversion of a final surd to sonant.

It has been pointed out above (**152**) that in the rules of external combination only admitted finals, along with *s* and *r*, need be taken account of, all others being regarded as reduced to these before combining with initials.

158. Final vowels, nasals, and ल् *l* are nowhere liable to change in the processes of surd and sonant assimilation.

The *r*, however, has a corresponding surd in *s*, to which it is changed in external combination under circumstances that favor a surd utterance.

159. With the exceptions above stated, the collision of surd and sonant sounds is avoided in combinations — and, regularly and usually, by assimilating the final to the following initial.

Thus, in internal combination: *átsi, átti, atthás, attá* (√*ad* + *si* etc.); *çagdhí, çagdhvám* (√*çak* + *dhi* etc.); — in external combination, *ábhūd ayám, jyóg jīva, ṣáḍ açītáyaḥ, triṣṭúb ápi; diggaja, ṣaḍahá, bṛhádbhānu, abjá.*

160. If, however, the final sonant aspirate of a root is followed by त् *t* or थ् *th* of an ending, the assimilation is in

the other direction: the combination is made sonant, and the aspiration of the final (lost according to **153**, above) is transferred to the initial of the ending.

Thus, *gh* with *t* or *th* becomes *gdh; dh* with the same becomes *ddh,* as *baddhá* (√*badh* + *ta*), *runddhás* (√*rundh* + *thas* or *tas*); *bh* with the same becomes *bdh,* as *labdhá* (√*labh* + *ta*), *labdhvā́* (√*labh* + *tvā*).

Moreover, *h,* as representing original *gh,* is treated in the same manner: thus, *dugdhá, dogdhúm* from *duh* — and compare *rūḍhá* and *līḍhá* from *ruh* and *lih* etc., **222**.

In this combination, as the sonant aspiration is not lost but transferred, the restoration of the initial aspiration (**155**) does not take place.

In *dadh* from √*dhā* (**155**, end), the more normal method is followed; the *dh* is made surd, and the initial aspirated: thus, *dhatthas, dhattas.* And RV. has *dhaktam* instead of *dagdham* from √*dagh.*

161. Before a nasal in external combination, a final mute may be simply made sonant, or it may be still further assimilated, being changed to the nasal of its own class.

Thus, either *tád námas* or *tán námas, vā́g me* or *vā́ṅ me, báḍ mahā́n* or *báṇ mahā́n, triṣṭúb nūnám* or *triṣṭúm nūnám.*

In practice, the conversion into a nasal is almost invariably made in the MSS., as, indeed, it is by the Prātiçākhyas required and not permitted merely. Even by the general grammarians it is required in the compound *ṣáṇṇavati,* and before *mātrā,* and the suffix *maya* (really a noun in composition): thus, *vāṅmáya, mṛnmáya.*

Even in internal combination, final *d* of a root becomes *n* before the participle-suffix *na*: thus, *bhinná, sanná, tunná.*

162. Before *l,* a final *t* is not merely made sonant, but fully assimilated, becoming *l:* thus, *tál labhate, úlluptam.*

163. Before ह् *h* (the case occurs only in external combination), a final mute is made sonant; and then the *h* may either remain unchanged or be converted into the sonant aspirate corresponding with the former: thus, either तद्धि *tád hí* or तद्धि *tád dhí.*

In practice, the latter method is almost invariably followed; and the grammarians of the Prātiçākhya period are nearly unanimous in requiring it. The phonetic difference between the two is very slight.

Examples are: *vā́g ghutáḥ, ṣáḍḍhotā* (*ṣaṭ* + *hotā*), *taddhita* (*tat* + *hita*), *anuṣṭúb bhí.*

Combinations of final *s* and *r*.

164. The euphonic changes of स् *s* and र् *r* may best be considered together, because of the practical relation of the two sounds, in composition and sentence-collocation, as corresponding surd and sonant: in a host of cases स् *s* becomes र् *r* in situations requiring or favoring the occurrence of a sonant; and, less often, र् *r* becomes स् *s* where a surd is required.

In internal combination, the two are far less exchangeable with one another: and this class of cases may best be taken up first.

165. Final *r* radical or quasi-radical (that is, not belonging to an ending of derivation) remains unchanged before both surd and sonant sounds, and even before *su* in declension: thus, *píparṣi, caturthá, catúrṣu, pūrṣú.*

166. Final radical *s* remains before a surd in general, and usually before *s*, as in *çássi, çāssva, āçíṣṣu* (but the last is also written *āçíḥṣu*: **172**): it is however dropped in *ási* (for *assi*: √*as* + *si*). Before a sonant (that is, *bh*) in declension, it is treated as in external combination: thus, *āçírbhis*. Before a sonant (that is, *dh*) in conjugation, it is dropped: thus, *çādhí, ādhvám* (but cases like the latter may be by abbreviation [**232**] for *āddhvam*): in *edhí* (*as* + *dhi*), the preceding vowel is anomalously altered.

167. In a very few cases, final radical *s* before *s* is changed to *t* (perhaps by dissimilation): they are, from √*vas*, the future *vatsyā́mi* and aorist *ávātsam;* from √*ghas*, the desiderative stem *jíghatsa.*

168. According to the grammarians, the final *s* of certain other roots, used as noun-stems, becomes *t* at the end of the word, and before *bh* and *su:* thus, *dhvat, dhvadbhis, sradbhyas, sratsu.* But genuine examples of such change do not appear to have been met with in use.

Sporadic cases of a like conversion are found in the Veda: namely, *mādbhís* and *mādbhyás* from *mā́s; uṣádbhis* from *uṣás; svátavadbhyas* from *svátavas; svávadbhis* etc. (not found in use), from *svávas.* But the reality of the conversion here is open to grave doubt; it rather seems the substitution of a *t*-stem for a *s*-stem. The same is true of the change of *vāṅs* to *vat* in the declension of perfect participles (chap. V.).

In the compounds *ducchúnā (dus-çunā)* and *párucchepa (parus-çepa)*, the final *s* of the first member is treated as if a *t* (**203**).

For *t* as apparent ending of the 3d sing. in *s*-verbs, see chap. VIII.

169. As the final consonant of derivative stems and of inflected forms, both of declension and of conjugation, *s* is extreme-

ly frequent; and its changes form a subject of first-rate importance in Sanskrit euphony. The *r*, on the other hand, is quite rare, being found only in certain forms of *ṛ*-stems and in a few particles.

The euphonic treatment of *s* and *r* yielding precisely the same result after all vowels except *a* and *ā*, there are certain forms with regard to which it is uncertain whether they end in *s* or *r*, and opinions differ respecting them. Such are *us* (or *ur*) of the gen.-abl. sing. of *ṛ*-stems, and *us* (or *ur*) of the 3d plur. of verbs.

170. a. The स् *s*, as already noticed (**145**), becomes *visarga* before a pause.

b. It is retained unchanged only when followed by त् *t* or थ् *th*, the surd mutes of its own class.

c. Before the palatal and lingual surd mutes — च् *c* and छ् *ch*, ट् *ṭ* and ठ् *ṭh* — it is assimilated, becoming the sibilant of either class respectively, namely श् *ç* or ष् *ṣ*.

d. Before the guttural and labial surd mutes — क् *k* and ख् *kh*, प् *p* and फ् *ph* — it is also theoretically assimilated, becoming respectively the *jihvāmūlīya* and *upadhmānīya* spirants (**69**); but in practice these breathings are unknown, and the conversion is to *visarga*.

Examples are: to **b.** *tatas te, cakṣus te*; to **c.** *tataç ca, tasyāç chāyā*; to **d.** *nalaḥ kāmam, puruṣaḥ khanati*; *yaçaḥ prāpa, vṛkṣaḥ phalavān*.

171. The first three of these rules are almost universal; to the last there are numerous exceptions, the sibilant being retained (or, by **180**, converted into *ṣ*), especially in compounds; but also, in the Veda, even in sentence combination.

In the Veda, the retention of the sibilant in compounds is the general rule, the exceptions to which are detailed in the Vedic grammars.

In the later language, the retention is mainly determined by the intimacy or the antiquity and frequency of the combination. Thus, the final sibilant of a preposition or a word filling the office of a preposition before a verbal root is wont to be preserved; and that of a stem before a derivative of √*kṛ*, before *pati*, before *kalpa* and *kāma*, and so on. Examples are *namaskāra, vācaspati, āyuṣkāma, payaskalpa*.

The Vedic retention of the sibilant in sentence-collocation is detailed in full in the Prātiçākhyas. The chief classes of cases are: **a.** the final of a preposition or its like before a verbal form; **b.** of a genitive before a governing noun: as *divás putráḥ, iḍás padé;* **c.** of an ablative before *pári:* as

himávatas pári; **d.** of other less classifiable cases: as *dyāúṣ pitā́, tríṣ pūtvā́, yás pátiḥ, paridhī́ṣ pátāti,* etc.

172. Before an initial sibilant — श् *ç*, ष् *ṣ*, स् *s* — स् *s* is either assimilated, becoming the same sibilant, or it is changed into *visarga*.

The native grammarians are in some measure at variance (see APr. ii. 40, note) as to which of these changes should be made, and in part they allow either at pleasure. The usage of the MSS. is also discordant; the conversion to *visarga* is the prevalent practice, though the sibilant is also not infrequently found written. European editors generally write *visarga;* but the later dictionaries and glossaries make the alphabetic place of a word the same as if the sibilant were read instead.

Examples are: *manuḥ svayam* or *manus svayam; indraḥ çūraḥ* or *indraç çūraḥ*.

173. There are one or two exceptions to these rules:

a. If the initial sibilant has a surd mute after it, the final *s* may be dropped altogether — and by some authorities is required to be so dropped. Thus, *vāyava stha* or *vāyavaḥ stha; catustanām* or *catuḥstanām*.

With regard to this point the usage of the different MSS. and editions is greatly at variance.

b. Before *ts*, the *s* is allowed to become *visarga*, instead of being retained.

174. Before a sonant, either vowel or consonant (except र् *r:* see **179**), स् *s* is changed to the sonant र् *r* — unless, indeed, it be preceded by अ *a* or आ *ā*.

Examples are: *devapatir iva, çrīr iva; manur gacchati, tanūr apsu; tayor adṛṣṭakāmaḥ; sarvāir guṇāiḥ; agner manve.*

For a few cases like *dūḍāça, dūṇāça,* see below, **199**.

The endings अस् *as* and आस् *ās* (both of which are extremely common) follow rules of their own, as follows:

175. a. Final अस् *as*, before any sonant consonant and before short अ *a*, is changed to ओ *o* — and the अ *a* after it is lost.

The resulting accentuation, and the fact that the loss of *a* is only occasional in the older language of the Veda, have been pointed out above, **135**.

Examples are: *nalo nāma, brahmaṇyo vedavit; hantavyo 'smi.*

b. Final अस् *as* before any other vowel than अ *a* loses its स् *s*, becoming simple अ *a;* and the hiatus thus occasioned remains.

That is to say, *as* is treated as an original *o*, or an *e*, would be treated in the same situation: see **132—4**.

Examples are: *vṛhadaçva uvāca, āditya iva, námaüktí.*

176. Exceptions to the rules as to final *as* are:

a. The pronouns *sas* and *eshas* (also *syas* in the Veda) lose their *s* before any consonant: thus, *sa dadarça, esha puruṣaḥ;* but *sadā tu saḥ, so 'bravīt.* The exclamation *bhos* loses its *s* before all vowels and all sonant consonants.

b. In the Veda, and more rarely in the later language, the rule for the maintenance of the hiatus is sometimes violated, and the remaining contiguous vowels are combined into one: for example, *se 'd agne, se 'mām, sāu 'ṣadhīḥ* (for *sa id agne, sa imām, sa oṣadhīḥ*).

c. A few instances are found (almost all Vedic) of *s* apparently changed to *r* after *a*, as after other vowels: but in nearly every case there is to be assumed, rather, a stem in *ar* beside that in *as*, evidences of the former being sometimes found in the kindred languages: thus, in forms of *ū́dhas* and *áhas* (see chap. V.); in *amnas* (no occurrence); in *bhúvas* (second of the trio *bhūs, bhuvas, svar*), except in its oldest occurrences; in *avás* (once, in RV.); in *uṣás* (voc., and in *uṣarbudh*); in *vádhar* and *vadhary* (RV.); in *vanargú, ánarviç, vasarhán, sabardúgha*, and one or two other more doubtful words; and in a series of words in a single passage of TS. and K., viz. *jinvár, ugrár, bhīmár, tveṣár, çrutár, bhūtár*, and (K. only) *pūtár.*

In *aharpáti* (VS.), and *vanarsád* and *vanarṣád* (RV.), we see the same change even before a surd consonant.

d. Final *as* is once changed to *o* in RV. before a surd consonant: thus, *adó pito.*

177. Final आस् *ās* before any sonant, whether vowel or consonant, loses its स् *s*, becoming simple आ *ā;* and the hiatus thus occasioned remains.

The maintenance of the hiatus in these cases, as in that of *o* and *e* and *āi* (above, **133—4**), seems to indicate a recent loss of the intermediate sound. Opinions are divided as to what this should have been. Some of the native grammarians assimilate the case of *ās* to that of *āi*, assuming the conversion to *āy* in both alike — but probably only as a matter of formal convenience in rule-making.

178. Final र् *r*, in general, shows the same form which स् *s* would show under the same conditions. But

a. Original final *r*, after *a* or *ā*, maintains itself unchanged before a sonant: thus, *púnar eti, prātar-jit, áhār dā́mnā, ákar jyótiḥ.*

b. Also before a surd, *r* is preserved in a few Vedic compounds: thus, *svàrcanas, svàrcakṣas, svàrpati, svarṣā́, svàrṣāti; dhūrṣád, dhūrṣáh; pū́rpati,*

vārkāryá, *āçīrpada*, *punartta*. In some of these, the *r* is optionally retained even in the later language.

c. On the other hand, *r* is lost, like *s*, in one or two Vedic cases: *akṣā́ índuḥ*, *áha evá*.

179. A double *r* is nowhere admitted: if such would occur, either by retention of an original *r* or by conversion of *s* to *r*, one *r* is omitted, and the preceding vowel, if short, is made long by compensation.

In some Vedic texts, however (Yajur-Veda), *ar* becomes *o* before initial *r*: thus, *svò rohāva*.

Conversion of स् *s* to ष् *ṣ*.

180. The dental sibilant स् *s* is changed to the lingual ष् *ṣ*, if immediately preceded by any vowel save अ *a* and आ *ā*, or by क् *k* or र् *r* — unless the स् *s* be final, or followed by र् *r*.

The assimilating influence of the preceding lingual vowels and semivowel is obvious enough; that of *k* and the other vowels appears to be due to a somewhat retracted position of the tongue in the mouth during their utterance, causing its tip to reach the roof of the mouth more easily at a point further back than the dental one.

The general Hindu grammar prescribes the same change after a *l* also; but the Prātiçākhyas give no such rule, and phonetic considerations, the *l* being a dental sound, are decidedly against it. Actual cases of the combination, if they occur at all, are excessively rare.

The vowels that cause the alteration of *s* to *ṣ* may be called for brevity's sake "alterant" vowels.

As a consequence of this rule,

181. In the interior of a Sanskrit word, the dental *s* is not usually found after any vowel save *a* and *ā*, but, instead of it, the lingual *ṣ*. But

a. A following *r* prevents the conversion: thus, *usra, tisras, tamisra*. And it is but seldom made in the forms and derivatives of a root containing an *r*-element (whether *r* or *ṛ*), whatever the position of that element: thus, *sisarti, sisṛtam, sarīsṛpá, tistire, parisrút*. To this rule there are a few exceptions, as *viṣṭārá, niṣṭṛta, viṣpardhas, gáviṣṭhira*, etc. In *ajuṣran* the final *ṣ* of a root is preserved even immediately before *r*.

This dissimilating influence of a following *r*, as compared with the invariable assimilating influence of a preceding *r*, is peculiar and problematical.

b. The recurrence of *ṣ* in successive syllables is sometimes avoided by

leaving the former *s* unchanged: thus, *sisakṣi*, but *siṣakti*; *yāsisīṣṭhās*, but *yāsiṣīmahi*. Similarly, in certain desiderative formations: see below, **184c.**

c. Other cases are sporadic: RV. has the forms *sisice* and *sisicus* (but *siṣicatus*), and the stems *ṛbīsa*, *kīstá*, *bísa*, *busá*, *bṛsaya*; a single root *pis*, with its derivative *pesuka*, is found once in ÇB.; for *puṅs* and the roots *niṅs* and *hiṅs*, see below, **183.**

182. On the other hand (as was pointed out above, **62**), the occurrence of *ṣ* in Sanskrit words is nearly limited to cases falling under this rule: others are rather sporadic anomalies — except where *ṣ* is the product of *ç* or *kṣ* before a dental, as in *draṣṭum, caṣṭe, tvaṣṭar:* see **218, 221**). Thus, we find:

a. Four roots, *kaṣ, laṣ, bhaṣ, bhāṣ*, of which the last is common and is found as early as the Brāhmaṇas.

b. Further, in RV., *áṣa, kaváṣa, caṣā́la, cā́ṣa, jálāṣa, pāṣyà, baṣkáya, váṣaṭ* (for *vakṣat?*), *kā́ṣṭhā* (for *kaksta*, Fick); and, by anomalous alteration of original *s*, *-ṣāh* (*turāṣā́h*, etc.), *áṣāḍha, upaṣṭút*, and probably *apāṣṭhá* and *aṣṭhīvánt*. Such cases grow more common later.

The numeral *ṣaṣ*, as already noted, is more probably *ṣakṣ*.

183. The nasalization of the alterant vowel — or, in other words, its being followed by *anusvāra* — does not prevent its altering effect upon the sibilant: thus, *havīṅṣi, parūṅṣi*. And the alteration takes place in the initial *s* of an ending after the final *s* of a base, whether the latter be regarded as also changed to *ṣ* or as converted into *visarga*: thus, *haviṣṣu* or *haviḥṣu, paruṣṣu* or *paruḥṣu*.

But the *s* of *puṅs* (chap. V.) remains unchanged, apparently on account of the retained sense of its value as *pums;* also that of √*hiṅs*, because of its value as *hins (hinasti* etc.*);* √*niṅs* (RV. only) is more questionable (perhaps *nims*, from *nam)*.

184. The principal cases of alteration of *s* in internal combination are:

a. In endings, inflectional or derivative, beginning with *s* — *su; si, se, sva; s* of sibilant-aorist, future, and desiderative; suffixes *sna, snu, sya*, etc. — after a final alterant vowel or consonant of root or stem, or a union-vowel: thus, *juhoṣi, çeṣe, anāiṣam, bhaviṣyāmi, çuçrūṣe, deṣṇa, jiṣṇu, vikṣu, akārṣam.*

b. The final *s* of a stem before an ending or suffix: thus, *haviṣā, haviṣas*, etc., from *havis; çakṣuṣmant, çociṣka, mānuṣa, manuṣya.*

Roots having a final sibilant (except *ç*) after an alterant vowel are — with the exception of fictitious ones and *pis, niṅs, hiṅs* — regarded as ending in *ṣ*, not *s;* and concerning the treatment of this *ṣ* in combination, see below, **225** ff.

c. The initial *s* of a root after a reduplication: thus, *siṣyade, suṣvāpa, siṣāsati, coṣkūyate, saniṣvaṇat.*

Excepted is in general an initial radical *s* in a desiderative stem, when the desiderative-sign becomes *ṣ:* thus, *sisaniṣati* from √*san*, *sisañkṣati* from √*sañj*.

185. But the same change occurs also, on a considerable scale, in external combination, especially in composition: thus,

Both in verbal forms and in derivatives, the final *i* or *u* of a preposition or other like prefix ordinarily lingualizes the initial *s* of the root to which it is prefixed; since such combinations are both of great frequency and of peculiar intimacy, analogous with those of root or stem and affix: thus, *abhiṣác, pratiṣṭhā́, niṣikta, viṣita; anuṣvadhám, suṣéka.*

The principal exceptions are in accordance with the principles already laid down: namely, when the root contains an *r*-element, and when a recurrence of the sibilant would take place. But there are also others, of a more irregular character; and the complete account of the treatment of initial radical *s* after a prefix would be a matter of great detail, and not worth giving here.

In a few cases, the initial *s*, usually altered after a certain prefix, retains the altered sibilant even after an interposed *a* of augment or reduplication: thus, *abhy aṣṭhām, pary aṣasvajat, vy aṣahanta, ny aṣadāma, abhy aṣiñcan, vy aṣṭabhnāt; vi taṣṭhe, vi taṣṭhire.*

Much more anomalous is the occasional alteration of initial radical *s* after an *a*-element of a prefix. Such cases are *ava ṣṭambh* (against *ni stambh* and *prati stambh*) and (according to the grammarians) *ava ṣvan.*

186. In other compounds, the final alterant vowel of the first member not infrequently (especially in the Veda) lingualizes the initial *s* of the second: for example, *yudhiṣṭhira, pitṛṣvasṛ, goṣṭhá, agniṣṭomá, anuṣṭúbh, triṣandhi, diviṣád, parameṣṭhín, abhiṣeṇá, pitṛṣád, puruṣṭutá.*

A very few cases occur of the same alteration after an *a*-element: thus, *savyaṣṭhā́, apāṣṭhá, upaṣṭút;* also √*sah*, when its final, by **146**, becomes *ṭ:* thus; *satrāṣā́ṭ* (but *satrāsā́ham*).

187. The final *s* of the first member of a compound often becomes *ṣ* after an alterant vowel: thus, the *s* of a prepositional prefix, as *niṣṣídhvan, duṣṭára* (for *duṣṣṭára*), *āviṣkṛta;* and, regularly, a *s* retained instead of being converted to *visarga* before a labial or guttural mute (**171**), as *haviṣpā́, jyotiṣkṛ́t; tapuṣpā́.*

188. Once more, in the Veda, the same alteration, both of an initial and of a final *s*, is not infrequent even between the words composing a sentence. The cases are detailed in the Prātiçākhya belonging to each text, and are of very various character. Thus,

a. The initial *s*, especially of particles: as *ū ṣú, hí ṣma, kám u ṣvít;*

— also of pronouns: as *hí ṣáḥ;* — of verb-forms, especially from √*as:* as *hí ṣṭhá, diví ṣṭha;* — and in other scattering cases: as *u ṣṭuhi, nū́ ṣṭhirám, trī́ ṣadhásthā.*

b. A final *s*, oftenest before pronouns (especially toneless ones): as *agníṣ ṭvā, níṣ ṭe, īyúṣ ṭé, çúciṣ ṭvám, sádhiṣ ṭáva;* — but also in other cases, and wherever a final *s* is preserved, instead of being turned into *visarga*, before a guttural or labial (**171**): as *tríṣ pūtvā́, ā́yuṣ kṛṇotu, vā́stoṣ pátiḥ, dyāúṣ pitā́.*

Conversion of *n* to *ṇ*.

189. The dental nasal न् *n*, when immediately followed by a vowel or by न् *n* or म् *m* or य् *y* or व् *v*, is turned into the lingual ण् *ṇ* if preceded in the same word by the lingual sibilant or semivowel or vowels — that is to say, by ष् *ṣ*, र् *r*, or ऋ *ṛ* or ॠ *ṝ* —: and this, not only if the altering letter stands immediately before the nasal, but at whatever distance from the latter it may be found: unless, indeed, there intervene (a consonant moving the front of the tongue: namely) a palatal (except य् *y*), a lingual, or a dental.

We may thus figure to ourselves the *rationale* of the process: in the marked proclivity of the language toward lingual utterance, especially of the nasal, the tip of the tongue, when once reverted into the loose lingual position by the utterance of a non-contact lingual element, tends to hang there and make its next nasal contact in that position: and does so, unless the proclivity is satisfied by the utterance of a lingual mute, or the organ is thrown out of adjustment by the utterance of an element which causes it to assume a different posture. This is not the case with the gutturals or labials, which do not move the front part of the tongue (and, as the influence of *k* on following *s* shows, the guttural position favors the succession of a lingual): and the *y* is too weakly palatal to interfere with the alteration (as its next relative, the *i*-vowel, itself lingualises a *s*).

This is a rule of constant application; and (as was pointed out above) the great majority of occurrences of *ṇ* in the language are the result of it.

190. The rule has force especially

a. When suffixes, of inflection or derivation, are added to roots or stems containing one of the altering sounds: thus, *rudréṇa, rudrā́ṇām, vā́riṇe, vā́riṇī, vā́rīṇi, dātṝ́ṇi, hárāṇi, dvéshāṇi, krīṇā́mi, çṛṇóti, kṣubhāṇá, ghṛṇá, kárṇa, vṛkṇá, rugṇá, dráviṇa, iṣáṇi, purāṇá, rékṇas, cákṣaṇa, cíkīrṣamāṇa, kṛ́pamāṇa.*

b. When the final *n* of a root or stem comes to be followed, in inflection or derivation, by such sounds as allow it to feel the effect of a preceding altering cause: thus, from √*ran*, *rá̄ṇanti*, *rá̄ṇyati*, *rā́raṇa*, *arā́ṇiṣus*; from *brahman*, *bráhmaṇā*, *bráhmāṇi*, *brāhmaṇá*, *brahmaṇyà*, *bráhmaṇvant*.

191. This rule (like that for the change of *s* to *ṣ*) applies strictly and especially when the nasal and the cause of its alteration both lie within the limits of the same integral word; but (also like the other) it is extended, within certain limits, to compound words — and even, in the Veda, to contiguous words in the sentence.

192. Especially, a preposition or similar prefix to a root, if it contain *r* or end in euphonic *r* for *s* (**174**), very often lingualizes the *n* of a root or of its derived stems and forms. Thus:

a. The initial *n* of a root is usually and regularly so altered, in all forms and derivatives, after *parā*, *pari*, *pra*, *nir* (for *nis*), *antar*, *dur* (for *dus*): thus, *párā ṇaya*, *pári ṇīyate*, *prá ṇudasva*; *parāṇutti*, *pariṇā́ma*, *praṇavá*, *nirṇíj*, *durṇáça*.

Roots suffering this change are written with initial *ṇ* in the native root-lists. The only exceptions of importance are *nṛt*, *nabh*, *nand* (very rare), and *naç* when its *ç* becomes *ṣ* (as in *prá̄naṣṭa*).

b. The final *n* of a root is lingualized in some of the forms of *an* and *han*: thus, *prá̄ 'ṇiti*, *prāṇá*, *prá haṇyate*, *prahá̄ṇana*.

c. The class-signs *nu* and *nā* are altered after the roots *hi* and *mi*: thus, *pári hiṇomi*, *prá miṇanti* (but the latter not in the Veda).

d. The 1st sing. impv. ending *āni* is sometimes altered: thus, *prá bhavāṇi*.

e. Derivatives by suffixes containing *n* sometimes have *ṇ* by influence of a preposition: thus, *prayā́ṇa*.

f. The *n* of the preposition *ni* is sometimes altered, like the initial of a root, after another preposition: thus, *praṇipāta*, *praṇidhi*.

193. In compound words, an altering cause in one member sometimes lingualizes a *n* of the next following member — either its initial or final *n*, or *n* in its inflectional or derivative ending. The exercise of the altering influence can be seen to depend in part upon the closeness or frequency of the compound, or its integration by being made the base of a derivative. Examples are: *grāmaṇī́*, *triṇā́man*, *urūṇasá*; *vṛtrahá̄ṇam* etc. (but *vṛtraghná̄* tc.: **195**), *nṛmá̄ṇas*, *drughaṇá*; *pravā́haṇa*, *nṛpā́ṇa*, *pūryā́ṇa*, *pitṛyā́ṇa*; *svargéṇa*, *durgā́ṇi*, *usráyāmṇe*, *tryaṅgā́ṇām*.

194. Finally, in the Veda, a *n* (usually initial) is lingualized even by an altering sound in another word. The toneless pronouns *nas* and *ena-* are oftenest thus affected: thus, *pári ṇas*, *prāí 'ṇān*, *índra eṇam*; but also the particle *ná*, 'like': thus, *vā́r ṇá*; and a few other cases, as *vā́r ṇā́ma*, *púnar ṇayāmasi*, *agnér áveṇa*.

195. The immediate combination of a *n* with a preceding guttural or labial seems in some cases to hinder the conversion to *ṇ*: thus, *vṛtraghnā́* etc. *kṣubhnāti*, *tṛpnoti* (but in Veda *tṛpṇu*).

Conversion of dental mutes to linguals and palatals.

196. When a dental mute comes in contact with a lingual or palatal mute or sibilant, the dental is usually assimilated, becoming lingual or palatal respectively.

The cases are the following:

197. A dental surd mute or nasal, or the dental sibilant, when immediately preceded by a ṣ, is everywhere converted into the corresponding lingual.

Under this rule, the combinations *ṣṭ*, *ṣṭh*, and *ṣṇ* are very common; *ṣṣ* is rarely so written, the *visarga* being put instead of the former sibilant: thus, *jyótiḥṣu* instead of *jyótiṣṣu*.

Those cases in which final *ṣ* becomes *ṭ* before *su* (**226 b**) do not, of course, fall under this rule.

198. In the other (comparatively infrequent) cases where a dental is preceded by a lingual in internal combination, the dental (except of *su* loc. pl.) becomes lingual. Thus:

a. A *dh* after *ḍ* from *ṣ* of a root or stem (**226 b**): as *ádviḍḍhvam* etc.

b. Only a very few other instances occur: *ī́ṭṭe* and *ā́iṭṭa* from √*īḍ*; *ṣaḍḍhā́* (also *ṣaḍdhā́* and *ṣoḍhā́*), and *ṣaṇṇā́m* (*ṣaṣ* + *nām*: anomalous gen. pl. of *ṣaṣ*); *tṛṇṇá* (√*tṛd* + *na*). A small number of words follow the same rule in external combination: see below, **199**.

But *tāḍhi* (Vedic: √*taḍ* + *dhi*) shows loss of the final lingual after assimilation of the dental, and compensatory lengthening.

Some of the cases of abnormal occurrence of *ḍ* are explained in a similar way, as results of a lingualized and afterward omitted sibilant before *d*: thus *nīḍá* from *nisda*, √*pīḍ* from *pisd*, √*mṛḍ* from *mṛsd* (Zend *marezhdā*). For words exhibiting a like change in composition, see below, **199 b**.

199. In external combination,

a. A final *t* is directed to be assimilated to an initial lingual mute: thus, *taṭ-ṭīkā*, *taḍ ḍayate*, *taṭ-ṭhālinī*, *taḍ ḍhāukate*: but the case never occurs in the older language, and very rarely in the later. For final *n* before a lingual, see **205**.

b. An initial dental after a final lingual usually remains unchanged; and *su* of the loc. pl. follows the same rule: thus, *ṣaṭsú*, *rāṭsú*.

Exceptions are: a few compounds with *ṣaṣ*, 'six': namely, *ṣáṇṇavati*, *ṣaṇṇābhi* (and one or two others not quotable from the literature).

In a few compounds, moreover, there appears a lingualized dental, with compensatory lengthening, after a lost lingual sibilant or its representative: namely, in certain Vedic compounds with *dus: dūḍábha, dūḍáç, dūḍhī́, dūṇáça, dūṇā́ça*; and, in the language of every period, certain compounds of *ṣaṣ*, with change of its vowel to an alterant quality (as in *voḍhum* and *soḍhum*: **224** b): *ṣóḍaça, ṣoḍhā́* (also *ṣaḍḍhā́* and *ṣaḍḍhā́*), *ṣoḍant*.

c. Between final *ṭ* and initial *s*, the insertion of a *t* is permitted — or, according to some authorities, required: thus, *ṣáṭ sahásrāḥ* or *ṣáṭt sahásrāḥ*.

200. The cases of assimilation of a dental to a contiguous palatal occur almost only in external combination, and before an initial palatal. There is but one case of internal combination, namely:

201. A न् *n* coming to follow a palatal mute in internal combination is itself made palatal:

Thus, *yācñā́* (the only instance after *c*), *yajñá, jajñé, ajñata, rā́jñā, rā́jñī*.

202. An final त् *t* before an initial palatal mute is assimilated to it, becoming च् *c* before च् *c* or छ् *ch*, and ज् *j* before ज् *j* (झ् *jh* does not occur).

A final न् *n* is assimilated before ज् *j*, becoming ञ् *ñ*.

All the grammarians, of every period, require this assimilation of *n*; but it is more often neglected, or only sporadically made, in the MSS.

For *n* before a surd palatal, see below, **208**.

203. Before the palatal sibilant श् *ç*, both त् *t* and न् *n* are assimilated, becoming respectively च् *c* and ञ् *ñ*; and then the following श् *ç* may be, and in practice almost always is, converted to छ् *ch*.

Some authorities regard the conversion of *ç* to *ch* as everywhere obligatory, others as only optional; some except, peremptorily or optionally, a *ç* followed by a mute. And some require the same conversion after every mute save *m*, reading also *vípāṭ chutudrī́, ā́naṭ chúci, anuṣṭup chāradī, çuk chuci*. The MSS. generally write *ch*, instead of *cch*, as result of the combination of *t* and *ç*.

Combinations of final *n*.

204. Final radical *n* is assimilated in internal combination to a following sibilant, becoming *anusvāra*.

Thus, *váṅsi, váṅsva, váṅsat, maṅsyáte, jíghāṅsati*.

According to the grammarians, it is treated before *bh* and *su* in declen-

sion as in external combination. But the cases are extremely rare, and RV. has *ráṅsu* and *váṅsu* (the only Vedic examples).

Final *n* of a derivative suffix is regularly and usually dropped before a consonant in inflection and composition — in composition, even before a vowel; and a radical *n* occasionally follows the same rule.

For assimilation of *n* to a preceding palatal, see **201**.

The remaining cases are those of external combination.

205. The assimilation of *n* in external combination to a following sonant palatal and the palatal sibilant *ç* have been already treated (**202**, **203**).

The *n* is also declared to be assimilated (becoming *ṇ*) before a sonant lingual (*ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*), but the case hardly ever occurs.

206. A *n* is also assimilated to a following initial *l*, becoming (like *m*: **213 c**) a nasal *l*.

The MSS. in general attempt to write the combination in accordance with this rule.

207. Before the lingual and dental sibilants, *ṣ* and *s*, final *n* remains unchanged; but a *t* may also be inserted between the nasal and the sibilant: thus, *tā́n ṣáṭ* or *tā́nt ṣáṭ; mahā́n sán* or *mahā́nt sán*.

According to most of the grammarians of the Prātiçākhyas (not RPr.), the insertion of the *t* in such cases is a necessary one. In the MSS. it is very frequently made, but not uniformly. It is probably a purely phonetic phenomenon, a transition-sound to ease the double change of sonant to surd and nasal to non-nasal utterance — although the not infrequent cases in which final *n* stands for original *nt* (as *bharan, abharan, agnimān*) may have aided to establish it as a rule. Its analogy with the conversion of *n ç* into *ñch* (**203**) is palpable.

208. Before the surd palatal, lingual, and dental mutes, there is inserted after final *n* a sibilant of each of those classes respectively, before which the *n* becomes *anusvāra*: thus, *ṅç c; ṅç ch; ṅṣ ṭ; ṅṣ ṭh; ṅs t; ṅs th.*

This rule, which in the classical language has established itself in the form here given, as a phonetic rule of unvarying application, really involves a historic survival. The large majority of cases of final *n* in the language (not far from three quarters: see APr. ii. 26, note) are for original *ns*; and the retention of the sibilant in such cases, when once its historical ground had been forgotten, was extended by analogy to all others.

Practically, the rule applies only to *n* before *c* and *t*, since cases involving the other initials occur either not at all, or only with extreme rarity (the Veda does not present an example of any of them). In the Veda, the insertion is not always made, and the different texts have with regard to it different usages, which are fully explained in their Prātiçākhyas; in general,

it is less frequent in the older texts. When the *ç* does not appear between *n* and *c*, the *n* is assimilated, becoming *ñ* (as before *j*: **202**).

209. The same retention of original final *s* after a nasal, and consequent treatment of (apparent) final *ān*, *īn*, *ūn*, *ṝn* as if they were *āṅs*, *īṅs*, *ūṅs*, *ṝṅs* (long nasalized vowel with final *s*), shows itself also in other Vedic forms of combination, which, for the sake of unity, may be briefly stated here together:

a. Final *ān* becomes *āṅ* (nasalized *ā*) before a following vowel: that is to say, *āṅs*, with nasal vowel, is treated like *ās*, with pure vowel (**177**): thus, *devā́ṅ é 'há*, *úpabaddhāṅ ihá*, *mahā́ṅ asi*. This is an extremely common case, especially in RV. Once or twice, the *s* appears as *ḥ* before *p*: thus, *svátavāṅḥ pāyúḥ*.

b. In like manner, *s* is treated after nasal *ī*, *ū*, *ṝ* as it would be after those vowels when pure, becoming *r* before a sonant sound (**174**), and (much more rarely) *ḥ* before a surd (**170**): thus, *raçmī́ṅr iva*, *sūnū́ṅr yuvanyū́ṅr út*, *nṝ́ṅr abhí*; *nṝ́ṅḥ pātram*.

210. The nasals *n*, *ṇ*, *ṅ*, occurring as finals after a short vowel, are doubled before any initial vowel: thus, *pratyáṅṅ úd eṣi*, *udyánn ādityā́ḥ*.

This is also to be regarded as a historical survival, the second nasal being an assimilation of an original consonant following the first. It is always written in the MSS., although the Vedic metre seems to show* that the duplication was sometimes omitted.

211. The nasal *ṅ* and *ṇ* before a sibilant are allowed to insert respectively *k* and *ṭ* — as *n* (**207**) inserts *t*: thus, *pratyáṅk sómaḥ*.

Combinations of final *m*.

212. Final radical म् *m*, in internal combination, is assimilated to a following mute or spirant — in the latter case, becoming *anusvāra*; in the former, becoming the nasal of the same class with the mute.

Before *m* or *v* (as when final: **143**), it is changed to *n*: thus, from √*gam*, *áganma*, *aganmahi*, *ganvahi*, *jaganvā́ṅs* (which appear to be the only quotable cases). According to the grammarians, the same change is made in the inflection of root-stems, before *bh* and *su*: thus, *praçānbhis*, *praçānsu* (from *praçām*: *pra* + √*çam*). No derived noun-stem ends in *m*.

ÇB. has once the anomalous *kā́mvant*, from the particle *kā́m*.

213. Final म् *m* in external combination is a servile sound, being assimilated to any following consonant. Thus:

* Kuhn, in his Beiträge etc., iii. 125.

a. It remains unchanged only before a vowel or a labial mute.

But also, by an anomalous exception, before *r* of the root *rāj* in *samrā́j* and its derivatives *samrā́jñī* and *sā́mrājya*.

b. Before a mute of any other class than labial, it becomes the nasal of that class.

c. Before the semivowels *y*, *l*, *v* it becomes, according to the Hindu grammarians, a nasal semivowel, the nasal counterpart of each respectively (see **71**).

d. Before *r*, a sibilant, or *h*, it becomes *anusvāra* (see **71**).

The MSS. and the editions in general make no attempt to distinguish the nasal tones arising from the assimilation of *m* before a following semivowel from that before a spirant.

e. But if *h* be immediately followed by another consonant (which can only be a nasal or semivowel), the *m* is allowed to be assimilated to that following consonant.

This is because the *h* has no position of the mouth-organs peculiar to itself, but is uttered in the position of the next sound. The Prātiçākhyas do not take any notice of the case.

It has been pointed out above (**73**) that the assimilated *m* is generally represented in texts by the *anusvāra*-sign, and that in this work it is transliterated by *ṁ* (instead of a nasal mute or *ṅ*). Also, that the general grammarians allow *m* to be pronounced before any and every consonant as *anusvāra*.

The palatal mutes and sibilant, and *h*.

214. These sounds show in some situations a reversion to the original gutturals from which they are derived. The treatment of *j* and *h*, also, is different, according as they represent the one or the other of two different degrees of alteration from their originals.

215. The palatals and *h* are the least stable of alphabetic sounds, undergoing, in virtue of their derivative character, alteration in many cases where other similar sounds are retained.

216. Thus, in derivation, even before vowels, semivowels, and nasals, reversion to guttural form is by no means rare. The cases are the following:

1. Before *a* of suffix *a*, final *c* becomes *k* in *añká*, *arká*, *pāká*, *vāká*, *parka*, *marká*, *vṛ́ka*, *prátīka* etc., *reka*, *séka*, *moka*, *roká*, *çóka*, *toká*, *mroká*, *vraská*: — final *j* becomes *g* in *tyāgá*, *bhága*, *bhāgá*, *yāga*, *bhañgá*, *sañga*, *varga*, *mārga*, *mṛgá*, *sarga*, *vega*, *bhóga*, *yugá*, *yóga*, *róga*: — final *h* becomes *gh* in *aghá*, *maghá*, *arghá*, *dīrghá* (and *drā́ghīyas*, *drā́ghiṣtha*), *meghá*, *dógha*, *drógha*, *mógha*; and in *dúghāna*.

In another series of derivatives with *a*, the altered sound appears: examples are *ajá*, *yāja*, *çucá*, *çoca*, *vrajá*, *vevijá*, *yuja*, *ūrjā́*, *dóha*.

Before the suffixes *as* and *ana*, the guttural only rarely appears: namely, in *áñkas, ókas, rókas, çókas, bhárgas;* and in *rogaṇa.*

2. Before an *i*-vowel, the altered sound appears (except in the doubtful *ābhogí*): e. g. *ājí, tují, rúci, çácī, vívici, rociṣṇú.*

3. Before *u*, the guttural reappears, as a rule (the cases are few): thus, *añku, vañkú, rekú, bhṛ́gu.*

4. Before *n*, the examples of reversion are few, except of *j* (becoming *g*) before the participial ending *na:* thus, *rékṇas, vagnú* (with the final also made sonant); and participles *bhagná, rugṇá*, etc.; and apparently *pṛgṇa* from √*pṛc.*

5. Before *m* (of *ma, man, min*), the guttural generally appears: thus, *rukmá, tigmá, çagmá* (with sonant change); *vákman, sákman, rukmán; ṛgmín* and *vāgmín* (with sonant change): — but *ájman, ojmán, bhujmán.*

6. Before *y*, the altered sound is used: thus, *pacya, yajya, yajyu, yujya, bhujyu.* Such cases as *bhogya* and *yogya* are doubtless secondary derivatives from *bhoga* and *yoga.*

7. Before *r*, the cases are few, and the usage apparently divided: thus, *çukrá, ugrá, mṛgra;* but *vájra* and *pajrá (?).*

8. Before *v* (of the suffixes *va, van, vin*, etc., and participial *vāṅs*) the guttural is regularly preserved: thus, *ṛkvá, pakvá; ṛ́kvan, rikvan, çukvan, mṛgvan, yugvan; vāgvín* (with further sonant change); *ririkvā́ṅs, rurukvā́ṅs, çuçukvā́ṅs; çuçukvaná, çuçukvā́ni:* also before the union-vowel *i* in *okivā́ṅs* (RV., once). An exception is *yájvan.*

The reversion of *h* in derivation is exhibited only before the suffix *a* (and in the participle *dúghāna*, RV.). The final *j* which is analogous with *ç* (**219**) shows much less proclivity to reversion than that which corresponds with *c.*

9. A like reversion shows itself also to some extent in conjugational stem-formation and inflection. Thus, the initial radical becomes guttural after the reduplication in the present or perfect or desiderative or intensive stems of the roots *ci, cit, ji, hi, han;* and *han* becomes *ghn* on the elision of *a.* The RV. has *vivakmi* from √*vac.* And before *ran* etc. of 3d pl. mid. we have *g* for radical *j* in *asṛgran, asṛgram, asasṛgram* (all in RV.).

217. Final च् *c* of a root or stem, if followed in internal combination by any other sound than a vowel or semivowel or nasal, reverts to its original guttural value, and shows everywhere the same form which a क् *k* would show in the same situation.

Thus, *vákti, uváktha, vákṣi, vakṣyā́mi, vagdhi; vāgbhis, vākṣú; uktá, ukthá, vaktár.*

And, as final *c* becomes *k* (above, **142**), the same rule applies also to *c* in external combination: thus, *vā́k ca, vā́g ápi, vā́ñ me.*

Examples of *c* remaining unchanged in inflection are: *ucyáte, riricré, vācí, mumucmáhe.*

218. Final श् *ç* reverts to its original क् *k*, in internal combination, only before the स् *s* of a verbal stem or ending (whence, by **180**, क्ष् *kṣ*); before त् *t* and थ् *th*, it everywhere becomes ष् *ṣ* (whence, by **197**, ष्ट *ṣṭ* and ष्ठ *ṣṭh*); before ध् *dh*, भ् *bh*, and सु *su* of the loc. pl., as when final (**145**), it regularly becomes the lingual mute (ट् *ṭ* or ड् *ḍ*).

Thus, *ávikṣata, vekṣyā́mi; váṣṭi, viṣṭá, dídeṣṭu; didiḍḍhí, viḍbhís.*

But a few roots exhibit the reversion of final *ç* to *k* before *bh* and *su*, and also when final (**145**): they are *diç, dṛç, spṛç,* and optionally *naç* (always, in V.); and *viç* has in V. always *vikṣú*, loc. pl., but *víṭ, viḍbhís*, etc. Examples are *díksaṁçita, dṛgbhís, hṛdispṛ́k, nák.*

Examples of *ç* remaining unchanged before vowels etc. are: *viçí, viviçyās, aviçran, açnomi, vaçmi, uçmási.*

A *ç* remains irregularly unchanged before *p* in the compound *viçpáti.*

219. Final ज् *j* is in one set of words treated like च् *c*, and in another set like श् *ç*.

Thus, from *yuj: áyukthās, áyukta, yuñkté, yuktí, yóktra, yokṣyā́mi, yukṣú; yuñgdhí, áyugdhvam, yugbhís.*

Again, from *mṛj* etc.: *ámṛkṣat, srakṣyā́mi; mā́rṣṭi, mṛṣṭá, sṛ́ṣṭi, rāṣṭrá; mṛḍḍhí, mṛḍḍhvám, rāḍbhís, rāṭsú, rā́ṭ.*

To the former or *yuj*-class belong (as shown by their quotable forms) about twenty roots and radical stems: namely, *bhaj, saj, tyaj* (not V.), *raj* 'color', *svaj, majj, nij, tij, vij,* 1 and 2 *bhuj, yuj, ruj, vṛj, añj, bhañj, çiñj; ūrj, sraj, bhiṣáj, ásṛj;* — also, stems formed with the suffixes *aj* and *ij* (**383**. 5), as *tṛṣṇáj, vaníj:* and *ṛtvíj*, though containing the root *yaj*.

To the latter or *mṛj*-class belong only about one third as many: namely, *yaj, bhrajj, vraj, rāj, bhrāj, mṛj, sṛj.*

A considerable number of *j*-roots are not placed in circumstances to exhibit the distinction; but such roots are in part assignable to one or the other class on the evidence of the related languages*. The distinction appears, namely, only when the *j* occurs as final, or is followed, either in inflection or in derivation, by a dental mute (*t, th, dh*), or, in noun-inflection, by *bh* or *su*. In derivation (above, **216**) we find a *g* sometimes from the *mṛj*-class: thus, *mārga* (in *apāmārga*) and *sarga;* and before *r* of Vedic 3d pl. mid. endings, *asṛgran, asṛgram, asasṛgram* (beside *sasṛjrire*) — while from the *yuj*-class occur only *yuyujre, ayujran, bubhujrire,* with *j*.

* See Hübschmann, in KZ. xxiii. 384 ff.

220. Final *ch* falls under the rules of combination almost only in the root *prach,* in which it is treated as if it were *ç* (and *praç* is perhaps its more original form): thus, *prakṣyā́mi, pṛṣṭá;* and also the derivative *praçná.* As final and in noun-inflection (before *bh* and *su*), it is directed to be changed to the lingual mute.

Mūrtá is called the participle of *mūrch,* and a gerund *mūrtvā́* is given to the same root. They (with *mū́rti*) must doubtless come from a simpler form of the root.

Of *jh* there is no occurrence: the grammarians declare it to be treated like *c.*

221. The compound *kṣ* is not infrequent as final of a root (generally of demonstrably secondary origin), or of a tense-stem (*s*-aorist: see below, chap. XI.); and, in the not very frequent cases of its internal combination, it is treated as if a single sound, following the rules for *ç:* thus, *cákṣe (cakṣ + se), cákṣva; cáṣṭe, ácaṣṭa, ásrāṣṭam, ásṛṣṭa, tváṣṭar.* As to its treatment when final, see **146.** We are taught by the grammarians to make such forms as *gorát, gorádbhis, gorátsu* (from *gorákṣ*); and we actually have *ṣáṭ, ṣaḍbhís, ṣaṭsú* from *ṣakṣ* or *ṣaṣ* (**146**, end).

In the single anomalous root *vraçc,* the compound *çc* is said to follow the rule for simple *ç:* thus, *vrakṣyáti, ávrākṣam; vrā́ṣṭum, vraṣṭā́.* Its *c* reverts to *k* in *vraska.* Its participle is *vṛkṇá;* it has a Vedic gerund *vṛktvī́.*

222. The roots in final ह *h,* like those in ज *j,* fall into two classes, exhibiting a similar diversity of treatment, appearing in the same kinds of combination.

In the one class, as *duh,* we have a reversion of *h* (as of *c*) to a guttural form, and its treatment as if it were still its original *gh:* thus, *ádhukṣam, dhokṣyā́mi; dugdhā́m, dugdhá; ádhok, dhúk, dhugbhís, dhukṣú.*

In the other class, as *ruh* and *sah,* we have a guttural reversion (as of *ç*) only before *s* in verb-formation and derivation: thus, *árukṣat, rokṣyā́mi, sākṣīyá, sakṣáṇi.* As final, in external combination, and in noun-inflection before *bh* and *su,* the *h* (like *ç*) becomes a lingual mute: thus, *turāṣā́ṭ, pṛtanāṣā́ḍ ayodhyáḥ, turāṣā́ḍbhis, turāṣā́ṭsu.* But before a dental mute *(t, th, dh)* in verb-inflection and in derivation, its euphonic effect is peculiarly complicated: it turns the dental into a lingual (as would *ç*); but it also makes it sonant and aspirate (as would *ḍh:* see **160**); and further, it disappears itself, and the preceding vowel, if short, is lengthened by way of compensation: thus, from *ruh* with *ta* comes *rūḍhá,* from *leh* with *ti* comes *léḍhi,* from *guh* with *tar* comes *gūḍhár,* from *meh* with *tum* comes *méḍhum,* from

lih with *tas* or *thas* comes *līḍhás*, from *lih* with *dhvam* comes *līḍhvám*, etc.

This is as if we had to assume as transition sound a sonant aspirate lingual sibilant *ẓh*, with the euphonic effects of a lingual and of a sonant aspirate (**160**), itself disappearing under the law of the existing language which admits no sonant sibilant.

223. The roots of the two classes, as shown by their forms found in use, are:

of the first or *duh*-class: *dah, dih, duh, druh, muh, snih* (and the final of *uṣṇíh* is similarly treated);

of the second or *ruh*-class: *vah, sah, mih, rih* or *lih, guh, ruh, dṛṅh, tṛṅh, bṛh, baṅh, spṛh (?)*.

But *muh* forms also (not in RV.) the participle *mūḍha* and agent-noun *mūḍhár*, as well as *mugdhá* and *mugdhár;* and *druh* and *snih* are allowed by the grammarians to do likewise: such forms as *drūḍha* and *snīḍha*, however, do not appear to have been met with in use.

From roots of the *ruh*-class we find also in the Veda the forms *gartārúk*, nom. sing., and *prāṇadhṛ́k* and *dadhṛ́k;* and hence *puruspṛ́k* (the only occurrence) does not prove √*spṛh* to be of the *duh*-class.

A number of other *h*-roots are not proved by their occurring forms to belong to either class; they, too, are with more or less confidence assigned to the one or the other by comparison with the related languages*.

In derivation, before the suffix *a*, we have (**216.** 1) *meghá* and *dīrghá* from roots of the *ruh*-class. Before the *r* verb-endings, we have examples only from *duh*, with *h:* thus, *duduhre* etc.

The root *nah* comes from original *dh* instead of *gh*, and its reversion is accordingly to a dental instead of a guttural mute: thus, *natsyā́mi, naddhá, upānádbhis, upānad-yuga.*

224. Irregularities of combination are:

a. The vowel *ṛ* is not lengthened to compensate for the loss of the *h*-element: thus, *dṛḍhá, tṛḍhá, bṛḍhá* (the only cases; and in the Veda their first syllable has metrical value as heavy or long).

b. The roots *vah* and *sah* change their vowel to *o* instead of lengthening it: thus, *voḍhā́m, voḍhā́m, voḍhár, sóḍhum.* But from *sah* in the older language forms with *ā* are more frequent: thus, *sāḍhá, áṣāḍha* (also later), *sā́ḍhar.* The root *tṛṅh* changes the vowel of its class-sign *na* into *e* instead of lengthening it: thus, *tṛṇeḍhi, tṛṇeḍhu, atṛṇet* (the grammarians teach also *tṛṇehmi* and *tṛṇekṣi:* if such forms are actually in use, they must have been made by false analogy with the others).

These anomalous vowel-changes seem to stand in connection with the fact that the cases showing them are the only ones where other than an

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* See Hübschmann, as above.

alterant vowel (**180**) comes before the lingualised sibilant representative of the *h*. Compare *ṣóḍaça* etc.

Apparently by dissimilation, the final of *vah* in the anomalous compound *anaḍvah* is changed to *d* instead of *ḍ*: see **404**.

The lingual sibilant ṣ.

225. Since the lingual sibilant, in its usual and normal occurrences, is (**182**) the product of lingualization of *s* after certain alterant sounds, we might expect final radical *ṣ*, when (in rare cases) it comes to stand where a *ṣ* cannot maintain itself, to revert to its original, and be treated as a *s* would be treated under the same circumstances. That, however, is only true in a very few instances.

Namely, in the prefix *dus* (evidently identical with √*duṣ*); in *sajū́s* (adverbially used case-form from √*juṣ*); in (RV.) *vivés* and *ávives*, from √*viṣ;* in *ā́íyes* (RV.), from √*iṣ;* and in *āçī́s*, from *çiṣ* as secondary form of √*çās*. All these, except the first two, are more or less open to question.

226. In general, final lingual ष् *ṣ* is treated in the same manner as palatal श् *ç*. Thus:

a. Before *t* and *th* it remains unchanged, and the latter are assimilated: e. g. *dviṣṭas, dviṣṭhas, dvéṣṭum.*

This is a common and perfectly natural combination.

b. Before *dh, bh,* and *su*, as also in external combination (**145**), it becomes a lingual mute; and *dh* is made lingual after it: thus, *pinḍḍhi, viḍḍhi, viviḍḍhi, dviḍḍhvam, dviḍbhís, dviṭsú.*

The same holds good of the altered *ṣ* of a tense-sign: thus, *ástoḍḍhvam* (from *astoṣ-dhvam*).

The conversion of *ṣ* to *ṭ* (or *ḍ*) as final and before *bh* and *su* is parallel with the like conversion of *ç*, and of *j* and *h* in the *mṛj* and *ruh* classes of roots, and perhaps with the occasional change of *s* to *t* (**167—8**). It is a very infrequent case, occurring (save as it may be assumed in the case of *ṣaṣ*) only once in RV. and once in AV. *(-dviṭ* and *-pruṭ)*, although those texts have more than 40 roots with final *ṣ;* in the Brāhmaṇas, moreover, has been noticed further only *-çliṭ*. From *pinṣ*, RV. has the irregular form *pinak* (2d and 3d sing., for *pinaṣ-s* and *pinaṣ-t*).

c. Before *s* in internal combination (except *su* of loc. pl.) it becomes *k:* thus, *dvékṣi, dvekṣyā́mi, ádvikṣam.*

This change is of anomalous phonetic character, and difficult of explanation. It is also practically of very rare occurrence. The only RV. examples (apart from *pinak*, above) are *vivekṣi*, from √*viṣ*, and the desid. stem *ririkṣa* from √*riṣ;* AV. has only *dvikṣat* and *dvikṣata*, and the desid. stem *çiçlikṣa* from √*çliṣ*. Other examples are quotable from √√*kṛṣ* (ÇB. etc.), *çiṣ* (ÇB.), and *piṣ* (Khānd. Up.); and they are by the Hindu grammarians prescribed to be formed from about half-a-dozen other roots.

Extension and Abbreviation.

227. As a general rule, *ch* is not allowed by the grammarians to stand in that form after a vowel, but is to be doubled, becoming *cch* (which the MSS. sometimes write *chch*).

The various authorities disagree with one another in detail as to this duplication. According to Pāṇini, *ch* is doubled within a word after either a long or a short vowel; and, as initial, necessarily after a short and after the particles *ā́* and *mā́*, and optionally everywhere after a long. In RV., initial *ch* is doubled after a long vowel of *ā́* only, and certain special cases after a short vowel are excepted. For the required usage in the other Vedic texts, see their several Prātiçākhyas. The Kāṭhaka writes for original *ch* (not *ch* from combination of *t* and *n* with *ç*: **203**) after a vowel everywhere *çch*.

Opinions are still at variance as to how far this duplication has an etymological ground, and how far it is only an acknowledgment of the fact that *ch* makes a heavy syllable even after a short vowel (makes "position": **79**).

228. After *r*, any consonant (save a spirant before a vowel) is by the grammarians either allowed or required to be doubled (an aspirate, by prefixing the corresponding non-aspirate: **154**).

Some of the authorities include, along with *r*, also *h* or *l* or *v*, or more than one of them, in this rule.

A doubled consonant after *r* is very common in MSS. and inscriptions, as also in native text-editions and in the earlier editions prepared by European scholars — in later ones, the duplication is universally omitted.

229. The first consonant of a group — whether interior, or initial after a vowel of a preceding word — is by the grammarians either allowed or required to be doubled.

This duplication is allowed by Pāṇini and required by the Prātiçākhyas — in both, with mention of authorities who deny it altogether. For certain exceptions, see the Prātiçākhyas: the meaning of the whole matter is too obscure to justify the giving of details here.

230. Other cases of extension of consonant-groups, required by some of the grammatical authorities, are the following:

a. Between a non-nasal and a nasal mute, the insertion of so-called *yamas* ('twins'), or nasal counterparts, is taught by the Prātiçākhyas (and assumed in Pāṇini's commentary): see APr. i. 99, note.

b. Between *h* and a following nasal mute the Prātiçākhyas teach the insertion of a nasal sound called *nāsikya*: see APr. i. 100, note.

c. Between *r* and a following consonant the Prātiçākhyas teach the insertion of a *svarabhakti* or 'vowel-fragment': see APr. i. 101—2, note.

Some authorities assume this insertion only before a spirant; the others regard it as twice as long before a spirant as before any other consonant

— namely, a half or a quarter *mora* before the former, a quarter or an eighth before the latter. One (VPr.) admits it after *l* as well as *r*. It is variously described as a fragment of the vowel *a* or of *ṛ* (or *ḷ*).

The RPr. puts a *svarabhakti* also between a sonant consonant and a following mute or spirant; and APr. introduces an element called *sphoṭana* ('distinguisher') between a guttural and a preceding mute of another class.

For one or two other cases of yet more doubtful value, see the Prātiçākhyas.

231. After a nasal, the former of two non-nasal mutes may be dropped, whether homogeneous only with the nasal, or with both: thus, *yuñdhí* for *yuṅgdhi, yuñdhvám* for *yuṅgdhvám, ā̃ntám* for *ā̃nktám, chintā́m* for *chinttā́m, bhinthá* for *bhintthá, indhé* for *inddhé*.

This abbreviation, allowed by Pāṇini, is required by APr. (the other Prātiçākhyas take no notice of it). It is the usual practice of the MSS., though the full group is also often written.

232. In general, a double mute (including an aspirate which is doubled by the prefixion of a non-aspirate) in combination with any other consonant is by the manuscripts written as simple.

That is to say, the ordinary usage of the MSS. makes no difference between those groups in which a phonetic duplication is allowed by the rules given above (**228, 229**) and those in which the duplication is etymological. As every *tv* after a vowel may also be properly written *ttv*, so *dattvā́* and *tattvá* may be, and almost invariably are, written as *datvā́* and *tatvá*. As *kártana* is also properly *kárttana*, so *kārttika* (from *kṛtti*) is written as *kārtika*. So in inflection, we have always, for example, *majñā́* etc., not *majjñā́*, from *majján*. Even in composition and sentence-collocation the same abbreviations are made: thus, *hṛdyotá* for *hṛddyotá; chinátty asya* for *chinátty asya*. Hence it is impossible to determine by the evidence of written usage whether we should regard *ādhvam* or *āddhvam* (from √*ās*), *ádviḍhvam* or *ádviḍḍhvam* (from √*dviṣ*) as the true form of a second person plural.

233. Among occasional omissions of an etymologically justified member of a consonant-group, is of importance enough to be here noticed that

A *s* is sometimes lost (perhaps after assimilation) between two surd mutes: thus,

a. The initial *s* of the roots *sthā* and *stabh* after the preposition *ut*: thus, *utthā́tum* for *utsthā́tum, úttabhnoti* for *útstabhnoti*.

b. The tense-sign *s* of the *s*-aorist (chap. XI.) after a final consonant of a root before the initial consonant of an ending: thus, *achāntta* (and for this, by **231**, *achānta*) for *achāntsta*, *çāpta* for *çāpsta*, *tāptam* for *tāpstam*.

c. Other instances are only sporadic: thus, the compound *ṛkthā* (*ṛc* + *sthā*: PB.); the collocations *tasmāt tute* (for *stute*) and *puroruk tuta-* (for *stuta-*: K.).

Strengthening and Weakening Processes.

234. Under this head, we take up first the changes that affect vowels, and then those that affect consonants — adding,

for convenience's sake, in each case, a brief notice of the vowel and consonant elements that have come to bear the apparent office of connectives.

Guṇa and Vṛddhi.

235. The so-called *guṇa* and *vṛddhi*-changes are the most regular and frequent of vowel-changes, being of constant occurrence both in inflection and in derivation.

A *guṇa*-vowel differs from the corresponding simple vowel by a prefixed *a*-element, which is combined with the other according to the usual rules; a *vṛddhi*-vowel, by the further prefixion of *a* to the *guṇa*-vowel. Thus, of इ *i* or ई *ī* the corresponding *guṇa* is (*a* + *i* =) ए *e;* the corresponding *vṛddhi* is (*a* + *e* =) ऐ *āi.* But in all gunating processes अ *a* remains unchanged — or, as it is sometimes expressed, अ *a* is its own *guṇa;* आ *ā*, of course, remains unchanged for both *guṇa* and *vṛddhi.*

236. The series of corresponding degrees is then as follows:

simple vowel	*a ā*	*i ī*	*u ū*	*ṛ*	*ḷ*
Guṇa	*a ā*	*e*	*o*	*ar*	*al*
Vṛddhi	*ā*	*āi*	*āu*	*ār*	

There is nowhere any occurrence of *ṝ* in a situation to undergo either *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*-change; nor does *ḷ* (**26**) ever suffer change to *vṛddhi.* Theoretically, *ṝ* would have the same changes as *ṛ;* and the *vṛddhi* of *ḷ* would be *āl.*

237. The historical relations of the members of each vowel-series are still matters of some difference of opinion. From the special point of view of the Sanskrit, the simple vowels wear the aspect of being in general the original or fundamental ones, and the others of being products of their increment or strengthening, in two several degrees — so that the rules of formation direct *a, i, u, ṛ, ḷ* to be raised to *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* respectively, under specified conditions. But *ṛ* is so clearly seen to come by abbreviation or weakening from an earlier *ar* (or *ra*) that many European grammarians prefer to treat the *guṇa*-form as the original and the other as the derivative. Thus, for example: instead of assuming certain roots to be *bhṛ* and *vṛdh*, and making from them *bharati* and *vardhati*, and *bhṛta* and *vṛddha*, by the same rules which from *bhū* and *nī* and from *budh* and *cit* form *bhavati* and *nayati*, *bodhati* and *cetati*, *bhūta* and *nīta*, *buddha* and *citta* — they assume

bhar and *vardh* to be the roots, and give the rules of formation for them in reverse. Both methods have their advantages, and the question between them is one of minor consequence, which may fairly be settled by considerations of convenience. Mainly from such considerations, the *ṛ*-form is generally assumed in this work, though not without constant recognition of the other.

238. The *guṇa*-increment is an Indo-European phenomenon, and is in many cases seen to occur in connection with an accent on the increased syllable. It is found:

a. In root-syllables: either in inflection, as *dvéṣṭi* from √*dviṣ*, *dóhmi* from √*duh*; or in derivation, as *dvéṣa*, *dóhas*, *dvéṣṭum*, *dógdhum*.

b. In formative elements: either conjugational class-signs, as *tanómi* from *tanu*; or suffixes of derivation, in further derivation or in inflection, as *agnáye* from *agní*, *bhānávas* from *bhānú*, *pitáram* from *pitṛ́*, *hantavyà* from *hántu*.

239. The *vṛddhi*-increment is specifically Indian (being unshared, save in a few doubtful cases, even by the Zend), and its occurrence is more infrequent and irregular. It is found:

a. In root and suffix-syllables, instead of *guṇa*: thus, *stāúti* from √*stu*, *sákhāyam* from *sákhi*, *ánāiṣam* from √*nī*, *ákārṣam* and *kāráyati* and *kāryà* from √*kṛ* (or *kar*), *dātā́ram* from *dātṛ́*.

b. Especially often, in initial syllables in secondary derivation: thus, *mānasá* from *mánas*, *vāidyutá* from *vidyút*, *bhāumá* from *bhū́mi*, *pā́rthiva* from *pṛthivī́*.

But

240. The *guṇa*-increment does not usually take place in a heavy syllable ending with a consonant: that is to say, the rules prescribing *guṇa* in processes of derivation and inflection do not apply to a short vowel which is "long by position", nor to a long vowel unless it be final: thus, *cétati* from √*cit*, but *níndati* from √*nind*; *náyati* from √*nī*, but *jī́vati* from √*jīv*.

The *vṛddhi*-increment is not liable to this restriction.

Exceptions to the rule are occasionally met with: thus, *didéva* from √*dīv*; *héḍas* from √*hīḍ*; *óhate* from √*ūh*.

And a few cases occur of prolongation instead of increment: thus, *dūṣáyati* from √*duṣ*, *gū́hati* from √*guh*.

The changes of *ṛ* (more original *ar* or *ra*) are so various as to call for further description.

241. The increments of *ṛ* are sometimes *ra* and *rā*, instead of *ar* and *ār*: namely, especially, where by such reversal a difficult combination of consonants is avoided: thus, from √*dṛç*, *drakṣyā́mi* and *ádrākṣam*; but also *pṛthú* and *prath*, *pṛch* and *prach*, *kṛpā́* and *ákrapiṣṭa*.

242. In a number of roots (about a dozen quotable ones) ending in *ṛ* (for more original *ar*), the *ṛ* exchanges both with *ar*, and, more irregularly, in a part of the forms, with *ir* — or also with *ur* (especially after a labial, in *pṛ, mṛ, vṛ*, sporadically in others): which *ir* and *ur*, again, are liable to prolongation into *īr* and *ūr*. Thus, for example, from *tṛ* (or *tar*), we have *tarati, titarti, tatāra, atāriṣam*, by regular processes; but also *tirati, tīryati, tīrtvā, -tīrya, tīrṇa*, and even (V.) *turyāma, tuturyāt, tarturāṇa*. The treatment of such roots has to be described in speaking of each formation.

For the purpose of artificially indicating this peculiarity of treatment, such roots are by the Hindu grammarians written with long *ṝ*, or with both *ṛ* and *ṝ*: no *ṝ* actually appears anywhere among their forms.

The (quotable) *ṝ*-roots are 3*kṛ* 'strew', 1*gṛ* 'praise', 2*gṛ* 'swallow', 1*jṛ* 'wear out', *tṛ*, 1*çṛ* 'crush'*.

The (quotable) *ṛ* and *ṝ*-roots are *ṛ*, 1*dṛ* 'burst', 1*pṛ* 'fill', 2*mṛ* 'die', 2*vṛ* 'choose', *stṛ, hvṛ*.

243. In a few cases, *ṛ* comes from the contraction of other syllables than *ar* and *ra:* thus, in *tṛta* and *tṛtīya* from *ri;* in *çṛṇu* from *ru;* in *tṛca*, even from *rir* (or *ryṛ*).

Vowel-lengthening.

244. Vowel-lengthening has regard especially to *i* and *u*, since the lengthening of *a* is in part (except where in evident analogy with that of *i* and *u*) indistinguishable from its increment, and *ṛ* is made long only in certain plural cases of stems in *ṛ* (or *ar:* chap. V.). Lengthening is a much more irregular and sporadic change than increment, and its cases will in general be left to be pointed out in connection with the processes of inflection and derivation: a few only will be mentioned here.

245. a. Final radical *i* and *u* are especially liable to prolongation before *y:* as in passive and gerund and so on.

b. Final radical *ir* and *ur* (from *ṛ*-roots: **242**) are liable to prolongation before all consonants except those of personal endings: namely, before *y* and *tvā* and *na:* and in declension before *bh* and *s* (**392**). Radical *is* and *us* have the same prolongation in declension.

246. Compensatory lengthening, or absorption by a vowel of the time of a lost following consonant, is by no means common. Certain instances of it have been pointed out above (**179, 198 b, 199 b, 222**). Perhaps such cases as *pitā* for *pitars* and *dhanī* for *dhanins* (chap. V.) are to be classed here.

247. The final vowel of a former member of a compound is often made long, especially in the Veda. Prolongations of final *a*, and before *v*, are most

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* Numbers prefixed to roots denote the order in which, there being more than one of the same form, the root intended is given in the Petersburg lexicon.

frequent; but cases are found of every variety. Examples are *devā́vī*, *vayunāvíd*, *prāvṛ́ṣ*, *ṛtāvasu*, *índrāvant*, *sadanāsád*, *çatā́magha*, *viçvā́nara*, *ékādaça*; *apījū́*, *parīṇáh*, *vīrúdh*, *tuvīmaghá*, *tvíṣīmant*, *çáktīvant*; *vasūjū́*, *anūrúdh*, *sūmáya*, *purūvásu*.

248. In the Veda, the final vowel of a word — generally *a*, much less often *i* and *u* — is in a large number of cases prolonged. Usually the prolongation takes place where it is favored by the metre, but sometimes even where the metre opposes the change (for details, see APr. iii. 16 note, Benfey, Abh. Gött. Ges. xix.—xxi. [1874—6], and the various Prātiçākhyas).

Words of which the finals are thus treated are:

a. Particles: namely, *áthā*, *ádhā*, *evā́*, *utā́*, *ghā́*, *hā*, *ihā́*, *ivā̀*, *cā*, *smā*, *aṅgā́*, *kílā*, *átrā*, *yátrā*, *tátrā*, *kútrā*, *anyátrā*, *ubhayátrā*, *adyā́*, *áchā*, *ápā*, *prā́*; *yádī*, *nahī́*, *abhī́*; *ū*, *tū́*, *nū́*, *sū́*, *makṣū́*.

b. Case-forms: especially instr. sing., as *enā́*, *ténā*, *yénā*, *svénā*, and others; rarely gen. sing., as *asyā*, *hariṇásyā*. Cases besides these are few: so *símā* (voc.); *tanvī̀* (loc.), and *urū́* and (not rarely) *purū́*.

c. Verb-forms ending in *a*, in great number and variety: thus (nearly in the order of their comparative frequency), 2d sing. impv. act., as *pibā*, *syā*, *gamayā*; — 2d pl. act. in *ta* and *tha*, as *sthā*, *attā*, *bibhṛtā*, *jayatā*, *çṛṇutā*, *anadatā*, *nayathā*, *jīvayathā* (and one in *tana*: *aviṣṭanā*); — 1st pl. act. in *ma*, as *vidmā*, *riṣāmā*, *ṛdhyāmā*, *ruhemā*, *vanuyāmā*, *cakṛmā*, *marmṛjmā*; — 2d sing. impv. mid. in *sva*, as *yukṣvā*, *īḍiṣvā*, *dadhiṣvā*, *vahasvā*; — 1st and 3d sing. perf. act., as *vedā*, *viveçā*, *jagrabhā*; 2d sing. perf. act., *vetthā*; — 2d pl. perf. act., *anajā*, *cakrā*. Of verb-forms ending in *i*, only the 2d sing. impv. act., as *çrudhī*, *çṛṇuhī*, *dīdihī*, *jahī*.

To these may be added the gerund in *ya*, as *abhigū́ryā*, *ácyā*.

Vowel-lightening.

249. The alteration of short *a* to an *i* or *u*-vowel in the formative processes of the language, except in *ṛ* or *ar* roots (as explained above), is a sporadic phenomenon only.

250. But the lightening of a long *ā* especially to an *i*-vowel (as also its loss), is a frequent process: no other vowel is so unstable.

a. Of the class-sign *nā* (of the *krī*-class of verbs: chap. IX.), the *ā* is in "weak" forms changed to *ī*, and before vowel-endings dropped altogether. The final *ā* of one or two roots is treated in the same manner: thus *mā*, *hā*. And from some roots, *ā* and *ī* or *i*-forms so interchange that it is difficult to classify them or to determine the true character of the root.

b. Radical *ā* is weakened to the semblance of the union-vowel *i* in certain verbal forms: as perfect *dadima* from √*dā* etc.; aorist *adhithās* from √*dhā* etc.; present *jahimas* from √*hā* etc.

c. Radical *ā* is shortened to the semblance of stem-*a* in a number of

reduplicated forms, as *tiṣṭha*, *piba*, *dada*, etc.: see chap. IX.; also in a few aorists, as *áhvam*, *ákhyam*, etc.: see chap. XI.

d. Radical *ā* sometimes becomes *e*, especially before *y*: as, *stheyāsam*, *deya*.

251. Certain *ā*-roots, because of their peculiar exchanges with *ī* and *i*-forms, especially in forming the present stem, are given by the Hindu grammarians as roots ending in *e* or *āi* or *o*. Thus, from 2 *dhā* 'suck' *(dhe)* come the present *dháyati* and participle and gerund *dhītá*, *dhītvā́*; the other forms are made from *dhā*, as *dadhus*, *adhāt*, *dhāsyati*, *dhā́tave*, *dhāpayati*. From 2 *gā* 'sing' *(gāi)* come the present *gā́yati*, the participle and gerund *gītá* and *gītvā́*, and passive *gīyáte*, and the other forms from *gā*. From 3 *dā* 'cut' *(do)* come the present *dyáti* and participle *ditá* or *diná*, and the other forms from *dā*. The irregularities of these roots will be treated below, under the various formations.

252. By a process of abbreviation essentially akin with that of *ar* or *ra* to *ṛ*, the *va* (usually initial) of a number of roots becomes *u*, and the *ya* of a much smaller number becomes *i*, in certain verbal forms and derivatives. Thus, from *vac* come *uvā́ca*, *ucyā́sam*, *uktvā́*, *uktá*, *uktí*, *ukthá*, etc.; from *yaj* come *iyā́ja*, *ijyā́sam*, *iṣṭvā́*, *iṣṭá*, *íṣṭi*, etc. See below, under the various formations.

To this change is generally given by European grammarians the name of *samprasāraṇa*, by adaptation of a term used in the native grammar.

253. A short *a*, of root or ending, is not infrequently lost between consonants in a weakened syllable: thus, in verb-forms, *ghnánti*, *ápaptam*, *jagmús*, *jajñús*, *ájñata*; in noun-forms, *rā́jñe*, *rā́jñī*.

254. Union-vowels. All the simple vowels come to assume in certain cases the aspect of union-vowels, or insertions between root or stem and ending of inflection or of derivation.

That character belongs oftenest to *i*, which is very widely used: **a.** before the *s* of aorist and future and desiderative stems, as in *ájīviṣam*, *jīviṣyā́mi*, *jíjīviṣāmi*; **b.** in tense-inflection, especially perfect, as *jijīvimá*; occasionally also present, as *ániti*, *róditi*; **c.** in derivation, as *jīvitá*, *khánitum*, *janitṛ́*, *rociṣṇú*, etc. etc.

Long *ī* is used sometimes instead of short: thus, *ágrahīṣam*, *grahīṣyā́mi*; *bravīti*, *vāvadīti*; *tarītṛ́*, *savītṛ́*; it is also often introduced before *s* and *t* of the 2d and 3d sing. of verbs: thus, *ā́sīs*, *ā́sīt*.

For details respecting these, and the more irregular and sporadic occurrences of *u* and *a*-vowels in the same character, see below.

Nasal Increment.

255. Both in roots and in endings, a distinction of stronger and weaker forms is very often made by the presence or absence of a nasal element, mute or *anusvāra*, before a following consonant. In general, the stronger form is doubtless the more original; but in the present condition of the language,

the nasal has come in great measure to seem, and to some extent also to be used, as an actually strengthening element, introduced under certain conditions in formative and inflective processes.

Examples are, of roots: *ac* and *añc*, *grath* and *granth*, *vid* and *vind*, *daç* and *dañç*, *sras* and *sraṅs*, *dṛh* and *dṛṅh:* of endings, *bhárantam* and *bháratā*, *mánasī* and *mánāṅsi*.

256. A final *n*, whether of stem or of root, is less stable than any other consonant, where a weaker form is called for: thus, from *rā́jan* we have *rā́jā* and *rā́jabhis*, and in composition *rā́ja;* from *dhanín*, *dhanī́* and *dhaníbhis* and *dhani;* from √*han* we have *hathá* and *hatá*, etc. A final radical *m* (*m* does not occur as final of a stem) is sometimes treated in the same way: thus, from √*gam*, *gahí*, *gatám*, *gatá*, *gáti*.

257. Inserted *n*. On the other hand, the nasal *n* has come to be used with great — and, in the later history of the language, with increasing — frequency as a union-consonant, inserted between vowels: thus, from *agní*, *agnínā* and *agnīnā́m;* from *mádhu*, *mádhunas*, *mádhunī*, *mádhūni;* from *çivá*, *çivéna*, *çivā́ni*, *çivā́nām*.

258. Inserted *y*. After long *ā*, a *y* is not very infrequently found as apparently a mere union-consonant before another vowel: thus, in derivation, *yāyín*, *svadhāyín*, *dhā́yas*, *sthā́yuka;* in inflection, *ádhāyi*, *çāyáyati*, and perhaps *çivā́yās* and *gā́yati*.

Reduplication.

259. Reduplication of a root (originating doubtless in its complete repetition) has come to be a method of radical increment or strengthening in various formative processes: namely,

a. in present-stem formation: as *dádāmi*, *bibhármi;*

b. in aorist-stem formation: as *ádīdharam*, *ácucyavam;*

c. in perfect-stem formation, almost universally: as *tatā́na*, *dadhāú*, *cakā́ra;*

d. in intensive and desiderative-stem formation, throughout: as *jáṅghanti*, *jóhavīti*, *marmṛjyáte*, *pípāsati*, *jíghāṅsati;*

e. in the formation of derivative noun-stems: as *pápri*, *cárcara*, *sāsahí*, *cikitú*, *malimlucá*.

Rules for the treatment of the reduplication in these several cases will be given in the proper connection below.

260. As, by reason of the strengthening and weakening changes indicated above, the same root or stem not seldom exhibits, in the processes of inflection and derivation, varieties of stronger and weaker form, the distinction and description of these varieties forms an important part of the subjects hereafter to be treated.

CHAPTER IV.

DECLENSION.

261. The general subject of declension includes nouns, adjectives, and pronouns, all of which are inflected in essentially the same manner. But while the correspondence of nouns and adjectives is so close that they cannot well be separated in treatment, the pronouns, which exhibit many peculiarities, will be best dealt with in a separate chapter; and the words designating number, or numerals, also form a class peculiar enough to require to be presented by themselves.

262. Declensional forms show primarily case and number; but they also indicate gender — since, though the distinctions of gender are made partly in the stem itself, they also appear, to no inconsiderable extent, in the changes of inflection.

263. Gender. The genders are three, namely masculine, feminine, and neuter, as in the other older Indo-European languages; and they follow in general the same laws of distribution as, for example, in Greek and Latin.

The only words which show no sign of gender-distinction are the personal pronouns of the first and second person (along with the numerals above 'four': chap. VI.).

264. Number. The numbers are three — singular, dual, and plural.

A few words are used only in the plural: as *dārās*, 'wife', *ápas*, 'water'; the numeral *dva*, 'two', is dual only; and, as in other languages, many words are, by the nature of their use, found to occur only in the singular.

265. As to the uses of the numbers, it needs only to be remarked that the dual is found without the addition of the numeral *dva*, 'two', wherever the duality of the objects spoken of is a thing well understood: thus, *açvínāu*, 'the two (horsemen) Açvins'; *indrasya hárī*, 'Indra's (two) bays'; *devadattasya hastāu*, 'Devadatta's two hands'; but *devadattasya dvāv açvāu staḥ*, 'Devadatta has two horses'.

266. Case. The cases are (including the vocative) eight: nominative, accusative, instrumental, dative, ablative, genitive, locative, and vocative.

The order in which they are here mentioned is that established for them by the Hindu grammarians, and accepted from these by Western scholars. The Hindu names of the cases are founded on this order: the nominative is called *prathamā*, 'first', the accusative *dvitīyā*, 'second', the genitive *ṣaṣṭhī*, 'sixth' (sc. *vibhakti*, 'division', i. e. 'case'), etc. The object sought in the arrangement is simply to set next to one another those cases which are to a greater or less extent, in one or another number, identical in form; and, putting the nominative first, as leading case, there is no other order by which that object could be attained. The vocative is not considered and named by the native grammarians as a case like the rest; in this work, it will be given in the singular (where alone it is ever distinguished from the nominative otherwise than by accent) at the end of the series of cases.

A brief compendious statement of the uses of the cases is given in the following paragraphs:

267. Uses of the Nominative. The nominative is the case of the subject of the sentence, and of any word qualifying the subject, whether attributively, in apposition, or as predicate.

268. As somewhat peculiar constructions may be mentioned a predicate nominative with *manye* etc., 'think one's self to be', and with *bruve* etc., 'call one's self': thus, *sómam manyate papivā́n* (RV.), 'he thinks he has been drinking soma'; *sá manyeta purāṇavít* (AV.), 'he may regard himself as wise in ancient things'; *índro brāhmaṇó brúvāṇaḥ* (TS.), 'Indra calling himself (pretending to be) a Brahman'; — and with *rūpáṁ kṛ:* thus, *kṛṣṇó rūpáṁ kṛtvā́* (TS.), 'taking on a black form' (making shape for himself as one that is black).

269. Uses of the Accusative. The accusative is especially the case of the direct object of a transitive verb, and of any word qualifying that object, as attribute or appositive or objective predicate. The construction of the verb is shared, of course, by its participles and infinitives; but also, in Sanskrit, by a number of other derivatives, having a more or less participial or infinitival character, and even sometimes by nouns and adjectives. A few prepositions are accompanied by the accusative. As more indirect object, the accusative is construed especially with verbs of approach and address. It is found used yet more adverbially as adjunct of place or time or manner; and a host of adverbs are accusative cases in form. Two accusatives are often found as objects of the same verb.

270. The use of the accusative as direct object of a transitive verb

and of its infinitives and participles hardly needs illustration: an example or two are: *agním īḍe*, 'I praise Agni'; *námo bhárantaḥ*, 'bringing homage'; *bhū́yo dā́tum arhasi*, 'thou shouldst give more'. Of predicate words qualifying the object, an example is *tám ugráṁ kṛṇomi tám brahmā́ṇam* (RV.), 'him I make formidable, him a priest'.

271. Of verbal derivatives having so far a participial character that they share the construction of the verb, the variety is considerable: thus,

a. Derivatives in *u* from desiderative stems have wholly the character of present participles: thus, *damayantīm abhīpsavaḥ* (MBh.), 'desiring to win Damayanti': *rājānaṁ didṛkṣuḥ* (MBh.), 'desiring to see the king'.

b. So-called primary derivatives in *in* have the same character: thus, *mā́m kāmínī* (AV.), 'loving me'; *enam abhibhāṣiṇī* (MBh.), 'addressing him'.

c. Derivatives in *aka*, in the later language: as, *bhavantam abhivādakaḥ* (MBh.), 'intending to salute you'.

d. Nouns in *tar*, very frequently in the older language, and as periphrastic future forms (chap. XII.) in the later: thus, *hántā yó vṛtráṁ sánito 'tá vā́jaṁ dā́tā maghā́ni* (RV.), 'who slayeth the dragon, winneth booty, bestoweth largesses'.

e. The root itself, in the older language, used with the value of a present participle at the end of a compound: thus, *yáṁ yajñám paribhū́r ási* (RV.), 'what offering thou surroundest (protectest)'.

f. The derivative in *i* from the (especially the reduplicated) root, in the older language: thus, *babhrír vájram papíḥ sómaṁ dadír gā́ḥ* (RV.), 'bearing the thunderbolt, drinking the soma, bestowing kine'.

g. Derivatives in *uka*, very frequently in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, *vatsā́ñç ca ghā́tuko vṛ́kaḥ* (AV.), 'and the wolf destroys his calves'; *véduko vā́so bhavati* (TS.), 'he wins a garment'.

h. Other cases are more sporadic: thus, derivatives in *a*, as *índro dṛḍhā́ cid ārujáḥ* (RV.), 'Indra breaks up even what is fast'; in *atnu*, as *vīḍú cid ārujatnúbhiḥ* (RV.), 'with the breakers of whatever is strong'; in *ana*, as *taṁ nivāraṇe* (MBh.), 'in restraining him'.

272. Examples of an accu ative with an ordinary noun or adjective are only occasional: *anuvrata* is so used: thus, *damayantīm anuvrataḥ* (MBh.), 'devoted to Damayanti'; and *kāma*, as *mā́ṁ kā́mena* (AV.), 'through loving me'.

273. The direct construction of cases with prepositions is comparatively restricted in Sanskrit (see the subject of Prepositions, chap. XVI.). With the accusative is oftenest found *prati*, 'opposite to, in reference to', etc.; also *anu*, 'after, in the course of'; *antar* or *antarā*, 'between'; rarely *ati*, 'across'; *abhi*, 'against, to'; and others. Case-forms which have assumed a prepositional value are also often used with the accusative: as *antareṇa*, *uttareṇa*, *dakṣiṇena*, *avareṇa*, *ūrdhvam*, *ṛte*.

274. The accusative is very often found also as object of verbs which in the related languages are not transitive.

a. It stands especially as the goal of motion, with verbs of going, bring-

ing, sending, and the like: thus, *vidarbhān agaman* (MBh.), 'they went to Vidarbha'; *divaṁ yayuḥ* (MBh.), 'they went to heaven'; *vanagulmān dhāvantaḥ* (MBh.), 'running to woods and bushes'; *ā́po dívam úd vahanti* (AV.), 'they carry up waters to the sky'; *devā́n yaje* (AV.), 'I make offering to the gods'.

With verbs meaning 'go', this is an extremely common construction; and the use of such a verb with an abstract noun makes peculiar phrases of 'becoming': thus, *samatām eti*, 'he goes to equality' (i. e. 'becomes equal'); *sa gached badhyatām mama* (MBh.), 'he shall become liable to be slain by me'; *sa pañcatvam āgataḥ* (H.), 'he was resolved into the five elements' (underwent dissolution, died).

b. Verbs of speaking follow the same rule: thus, *tam abravīt*, 'he said to him'; *prākroçad uccāir nāiṣadham* (MBh.), 'she cried out loudly to the Nishadhan'; *yás tvo 'vā́ca* (AV.), 'who spoke to thee'.

275. The cognate accusative, or accusative of the implied object, is, of course, found also in Sanskrit: as, *çapathaṁ çepe*, 'he swore an oath'.

276. As a yet more adverbial adjunct to a verb, the accusative is used to denote space traversed: as *yojanaçataṁ gantum* (MBh.), 'to go a hundred leagues'; much more often, duration of time: as *tisró rā́trīr dīkṣitáḥ syāt* (TS.), 'let him be consecrated three nights'; *sá saṁvatsarám ūrdhvò 'tiṣṭhat* (AV.), 'he stood upright for a year'; *gatvā trīn ahorātrān* (MBh.), 'having travelled three complete days'. But the point of place or time also is occasionally found represented by the accusative (instead of the locative).

The same case is used adverbially to express manner or accompanying circumstance; and many adverbs have the accusative form (see Adverbs, chap. XVI.): this is especially true of compound words, even to such an extent as to form a class of adverbial compounds (below: chap. XVIII.).

277. The accusative is freely used along with other cases as objects of the same verb, wherever the sense admits. And when it is usable with a verb in two different constructions, the verb may take two accusatives, one in each construction. Thus, especially, verbs of having recourse, appealing, asking: as, *tvāṁ vayaṁ çaraṇaṁ gatāḥ* (MBh.), 'we have resorted to thee for succor'; *apó yācāmi bheṣajám* (RV.), 'I ask the waters for medicine'; — and verbs of sending, bringing, imparting, saying: as, *gurutvaṁ naraṁ nayanti* (H.), 'conduct a man to respectability'; *tām idam abravīt* (MBh.), 'she said this to her'; — other less usual cases are, for example, *tā́ṁ viṣám evā́ 'dhok* (AV.), 'he milked from her poison'; *jitvā rājyaṁ nalam* (MBh.), 'having won the kingdom from (i. e. by beating) Nala'.

A causative verb, naturally, takes a double accusative: thus, *tāṁ gṛham praveçayati*, 'he makes her enter the house'.

278. Uses of the Instrumental. The instrumental is originally the 'with'-case: it denotes adjacency, accompaniment, association — passing over into the expression of means and instrument (by the same transfer of meaning which appears in our prepositions *with* and *by*).

Nearly all the uses of the case are readily deducible from this fundamental meaning, and show nothing anomalous or difficult.

279. The instrumental is often used to signify accompaniment: thus, *agnír devébhir ā́ gamat* (RV.), 'may Agni come hither along with the gods'; *dvāpareṇa sahāyena kva yāsyasi* (MBh.), 'whither wilt thou go, with Dvāpara for companion?' *kathayan nāiṣadhena* (MBh.), 'talking with the Nishadhan'. But the relation of simple accompaniment is more often helped to plainer expression by prepositions.

280. The instrumental of means or instrument or agent is yet more frequent: thus, *bhadrám̐ kárṇebhiḥ çṛṇuyāma* (RV.), 'may we hear with our ears what is propitious'; *çastreṇa nidhanam* (MBh.), 'death by the sword'; *kecit padbhyām̐ hatā gajāiḥ* (MBh.), 'some were slain by the elephants with their feet'. And this passes easily over into the expression of occasion or reason (for which the ablative is more frequent): thus, *kṛpayā*, 'through pity'; *tena satyena*, 'by reason of that truth'.

281. Of special applications, the following may be noticed:

a. Accordance, equality, likeness, and the like: thus, *samám̐ jyótiḥ sū́ryeṇa* (AV.), 'a brightness equal with the sun'; *yeshām̐ na pādarajasā tulyaḥ* (MBh.), 'to the dust of whose feet I am not equal'.

b. Price (by which obtained): thus, *daçábhir krīṇāti dhenúbhiḥ* (RV.), 'he buys with ten kine'; *gavām̐ sahasreṇa vikrīṇīte*, 'he sells for a thousand cattle'.

c. Medium, also space or distance or road, traversed; and hence also time passed through: thus, *udnā́ ná nā́vam anayanta* (RV.), 'they led [him] as it were a ship through the water'; *ā́ 'hā́ yātam pathíbhir devayā́naiḥ* (RV.), 'come hither by god-travelled paths'; *jagmur vihāyasā* (MBh.), 'they went off through the air': — *vidarbhān yātum ichāmy ekāhnā* (MBh.), 'I wish to go to Vidarbha in the course of one day'; *kiyatā kālena pradhānatām̐ labhante* (H.), 'in how long time do they obtain chief rank?' But the expression of 'within the space of', for time, is also sometimes made by the accusative or locative.

d. The part of the body on (or by) which anything is borne is usually expressed by the instrumental: as, *kukkuraḥ skandheno 'hyate* (H.), 'a dog is carried on the shoulder'; and this construction is extended to such cases as *tulayā kṛtam* (H.), 'put on (i. e. so as to be carried by) a balance'.

282. The construction of a passive verb (or participle) with an instrumental of the agent is common from the earliest period, and becomes decidedly more so later, the passive participle with instrumental taking to no small extent the place of an active verb with its subject. Thus, *yaména dattáḥ* (RV.), 'given by Yama'; *ṛ́ṣibhir ī́ḍyaḥ* (RV.), 'to be praised by sages'; *vyādhena jālam̐ vistīrṇam* (H.), 'by the hunter a net [was] spread'; *teno 'ktam*, 'by him [it was] said'; *mayā gantavyam* (H.), = 'I shall go'.

The second object of a causative verb is sometimes put in the instrumental instead of the accusative: as, *pakṣibhiḥ piṇḍān khādayati*, 'he causes the cakes to be eaten by the birds'.

283. Many instrumental constructions are such as call in translation for

other prepositions than 'with' or 'by'; yet the true instrumental relation is usually to be traced, especially if the etymological sense of the words be carefully considered.

More anomalously, however, the instrumental is used interchangeably with the ablative with words signifying separation: thus, *vatsāír víyutāḥ* (RV.), 'separated from their calves'; *mā́ 'hám ātmánā ví rādhiṣi* (AV.), 'let me not be severed from the breath of life'; *sa tayā vyayujyata* (MBh.), 'he was parted from her' (compare English *parted with*).

284. The prepositions taking the instrumental are those signifying 'with' and the like: thus, *saha*, with the adverbial words containing *sa* as an element, as *sākam, sārdham, saratham;* — and, in general, a word compounded with *sa, sam, saha* takes an instrumental as its regular and natural complement.

But also the preposition *vinā*, 'without' (along with the compounds of *vi* spoken of in the preceding paragraph), takes sometimes the instrumental.

285. Uses of the Dative. The dative is the case of the indirect object — of that toward or in the direction of or in order to or for which anything is or is done (either intransitively or to a direct object).

In more physical connections, the uses of the dative approach those of the accusative (the more proper 'to'-case), and the two are sometimes interchangeable; but the general value of the dative as the 'for'-case is almost everywhere distinctly to be traced.

286. Thus, the dative is used with

a. Words signifying give, share out, assign, and the like: thus, *yó ná dádāti sákhye* (RV.), 'who gives not to a friend'; *yáchā 'smāi çárma* (RV.), 'bestow upon him protection'.

b. Words signifying show, announce, declare, and the like: thus, *āvír ebhyo abhavat sū́ryaḥ* (RV.), 'the sun was manifested to them'; *ṛtuparṇam bhīmāya pratyavedayan* (MBh.), 'they announced Rituparna to Bhima'; *tebhyaḥ pratijñāya* (MBh.), 'having promised to them'.

c. Words signifying give attention, have a regard or feeling, and the like: thus, *niveçāya mano dadhuḥ* (MBh.), 'they set their minds upon encamping'; *māté 'va putrébhyo mṛḍa* (AV.), 'be gracious as a mother to her sons'; *kím asmábhyaṁ hṛṇīṣe* (RV.), 'why art thou angry at us?'

d. Words signifying inclination, obeisance, and the like: thus, *máhyaṁ namantām pradíçaç cátasraḥ* (RV.), 'let the four quarters bow themselves to me'; *devebhyo namaskṛtya* (MBh.), 'having paid homage to the gods'.

e. Words signifying hurling or casting: as *yéna dūḍā́çe ásyasi* (AV.), 'with which thou hurlest at the impious'.

In some of these constructions the genitive and locative are also used: see below.

287. In its more distinctive sense, as signifying for, for the benefit of, with reference to, and the like, the dative is used freely, and in a great variety of constructions. And this use passes over into that of the dative of

end or purpose, which is extremely common. Thus, *íṣuṁ kṛṇvānā́ ásanāya* (AV.), 'making an arrow for hurling'; *gṛhṇā́mi te sāubhagatvā́ya hástam* (RV.), 'I take thy hand in order to happiness'; *rāṣṭrā́ya máhyam badhyatāṁ sapátnebhyaḥ parābhúve* (AV.), 'be it bound on in order to royalty for me, in order to destruction for my enemies'. Such a dative is much used predicatively (and oftenest with the copula omitted), in the sense of 'makes for', 'tends toward'; also 'is intended for', and so 'must'; or 'is liable to', and so 'can'. Thus, *upadeço mūrkhāṇāṁ prakopāya na çāntaye* (H.), 'good counsel [tends] to the exasperation, not the conciliation, of fools'; *sa ca tasyāḥ saṁtoṣāya nā 'bhavat* (H.), 'and he was not to her satisfaction'; *sugopā́ asi ná dábhāya* (RV.), thou art a good herdsman, not one for cheating' (i. e. not to be cheated).

These uses of the dative are in the older language especially illustrated by the dative infinitives, for which see chap. XIII.

288. The dative is not used with prepositions.

289. Uses of the Ablative. The ablative is the 'from'-case, in the various senses of that preposition: it is used to express removal, separation, distinction, issue, and the like.

290. The ablative is used where expulsion, removal, distinction, release, protection, and other kindred relations are expressed: thus, *té sedhanti pathó vṛ́kam* (AV.), 'they drive away the wolf from the path'; *mā́ prá gāma patháḥ* (RV.), 'may we not go away from the path': *āré asmád astu hetíḥ* (AV.), 'far from us be your missile'; *pātáṁ no vṛ́kāt* (RV.), 'save us from the wolf'.

291. The ablative is used where procedure or issue from something as from a source or starting-point is signified: thus, *çukrā́ kṛṣṇā́d ajaniṣṭa* (RV.), 'the bright one has been born from the black one'; *lobhāt krodhaḥ prabhavati* (MBh.), 'passion arises from greed'; *vā́tāt te prāṇám avidam* (AV.), 'I have won thy life-breath from the wind'; *yé prā́cyā diçó abhidā́santy asmā́n* (AV.), 'who attack us from the eastern quarter'; *tac chrutvā sakhīgaṇāt* (MBh.), 'having heard that from the troop of friends'; *vāyur antarikṣād abhāṣata* (MBh.), 'the wind spoke from the sky'.

Hence also, procedure as from a cause or occasion is signified by the ablative: this is especially frequent in the later language, and in technical phraseology is a standing construction; it borders on instrumental constructions. Thus, *vájrasya çúṣṇād dadāra* (RV.), 'from (by reason of) the fury of the thunderbolt he burst asunder'; *yasya daṇḍabhayāt sarve dharmam anurudhyanti* (MBh.), 'from fear of whose rod all are constant to duty'; *akāramiçritatvād ekārasya* (Tribh.), 'because *e* contains an element of *a*'.

Perhaps by a further modification of this construction (the effect following the cause), the ablative also in technical language signifies 'after': thus, *ṣakārāt*, 'after *ṣ*'.

292. One or two special applications of the ablative construction are to be noticed:

a. The ablative with words implying fear (terrified recoil from): thus,

tásyā jātáyāḥ sárvam abibhet (AV.), 'everything was afraid of her at her birth'; *yásmād réjanta kṛṣṭáyaḥ* (RV.), 'at whom mortals tremble'; *yuṣmád bhiyā́* (RV.), 'through fear of you'.

b. The ablative of comparison (distinction from): thus, *prá ririce divá índraḥ pṛthivyā́ḥ* (RV.), 'Indra is greater than the heaven and the earth'. With a comparative (or other word used in a kindred way), the ablative is the regular and almost constant construction: thus, *svādóḥ svā́dīyaḥ* (RV.), 'sweeter than the sweet'; *kiṁ tasmād duḥkhataram* (MBh.), 'what is more painful than that?' *mitrād anyaḥ* (H.), 'any other than a friend'; *nāiṣadhād anyam* (MBh.), 'another than the Nishadhan'; *sa matto mahān*, 'he is greater than I'; *tád anyátra tvánni dadhmasi* (AV.), 'we set this down elsewhere (away) from thee'; *pū́rvā víçvasmād bhúvanāt* (RV.), 'earlier than all beings'.

Occasionally, a partitive genitive is used with the comparative (as with the superlative); or an instrumental (of holding together the things compared).

293. The ablative is used with a variety of prepositions and words sharing a prepositional character; but all these have rather an adverbial value, as strengthening or defining the 'from'-relation, than any proper governing force. Thus:

a. In the Veda, *ádhi* and *pári* are much used as directing and strengthening adjuncts with the ablative: as, *jātó himávatas pári* (AV.), 'born from the Himalaya (forth)'; *samudrā́d ádhi jajñiṣe* (AV.), 'thou art born from the ocean'; *cárantam pári tasthúṣaḥ* (RV.), 'moving forth from that which stands fast'.

b. Also *purā́* (and *purás*), in the sense of 'forward from', and hence 'before': as, *purā́ járasaḥ* (RV.), 'before old age': and hence also, with words of protection and the like, 'from': as *çaçamānáḥ purā́ nidáḥ* (RV.), 'setting in security from ill-will'.

c. Also *ā́*, in the sense of 'hither from, all the way from': as, *ā́ mū́lād ánu çuṣyatu* (AV.), 'let it dry completely up from the root'; *tásmād ā́ nadyò nā́ma stha* (AV.), 'since that time ye are called rivers'. But usually, and especially in the later language, the measurement of interval implied in *ā́* is reversed in direction, and the construction means 'all the way to, until': as, *ā́ 'syá yajñásyo 'dṛ́caḥ* (VS.), 'until the end of this sacrifice'; *ā ṣoḍaçāt* (M.), 'till the sixteenth year'; *ā pradānāt* (Ç.), 'until her marriage'.

d. Other prepositional constructions offer little subject for remark: *vinā* takes the ablative as well as instrumental (**284**); *ṛte* in the older language usually has the ablative, in the later the accusative.

294. Uses of the Genitive. The proper value of the genitive is adjectival; it belongs to and qualifies a noun, designating something relating to the latter in a manner which the nature of the case, or the connection, defines more nearly. Other genitive constructions, with adjective or verb or preposition, appear to arise out of this by a more or less distinctly traceable connection.

The use of the genitive has become much extended, espe-

cially in the later language, by attribution of a noun-character to the adjective, and by pregnant verbal construction, so that it often bears the aspect of being a substitute for other cases — as dative, instrumental, locative.

295. The genitive in its normal adjective construction is classifiable into the usual varieties, as: genitive of possession or appurtenance, including the complement of implied relation — this is, as elsewhere, the commonest of all; the so-called partitive genitive; the subjective and objective genitives; and so on. Genitives of appellation ('city of Rome'), material, and characteristic ('man of honor'), do not occur. Examples are: *índrasya vájraḥ*, 'Indra's thunderbolt'; *pitā putrāṇām*, 'father of sons'; *putraḥ pituḥ*, 'son of the father'; *pituḥ kāmaḥ putrasya*, 'the father's love of the son'; *ke naḥ*, 'which of us'; *çataṁ dāsīnām*, 'a hundred female slaves'.

The expression of possession etc. on the part of pronouns is made almost entirely by the genitive case, and not by a derived possessive adjective (**516**).

296. The genitive is dependent on an adjective:

a. In part, by a construction similar to that of verbs which take a genitive object: thus, *abhijñā rājadharmāṇām*, 'understanding the duties of a king'.

b. In great part, by a transfer of the possessive genitive from noun to adjective, the adjective being treated as if it had noun-value: thus, *tasya samaḥ* or *anurūpaḥ* or *sadṛçaḥ*, 'resembling him' (i. e. his like); *tasya priyā*, 'dear to him' (his dear one); *tasyā 'viditam*, 'unknown to him' (his unknown thing); *hávyaç carṣaṇīnā́m* (RV.), 'to be sacrificed to by mortals' (their object of sacrifice); *īpsito naranārīṇām* (MBh.), 'desired of men and women' (their object of desire); *yasya kasya prasūtaḥ* (H.), 'of whomsoever born' (his son).

c. The so-called partitive genitive with a superlative, or another word of similar value, is a matter of course: thus, *çreṣṭhaṁ vīrāṇām*, 'best of heroes'; *vīrúdhāṁ vīryàvatī* (AV.), 'of plants the mighty (mightiest) one'.

d. Adjectives meaning 'capable', 'worthy', 'full', and a few others, take the genitive by a more original and proper right.

297. The genitive as object of a verb is:

a. A possessive genitive of the recipient, by pregnant construction, with verbs signifying give, impart, communicate, and the like: thus, *varān pradāyā 'sya* (MBh.), 'having bestowed gifts upon him' (made them his by bestowal); *rājño niveditam* (H.), 'it was made known to the king' (made his by knowledge).

This construction, by which the genitive becomes substitute for a dative or locative, abounds in the later language, and is extended sometimes to problematic and difficult cases.

b. A (in most cases, probably) partitive genitive, as a less complete or less absolute object than an accusative: thus, with verbs meaning partake (eat, drink, etc.), as *píba sutásya* (AV.), 'drink (of) the Soma'; *mádhvaḥ pāyaya* (RV.), 'cause to drink the sweet draught'; — with verbs meaning

impart (of the thing imparted) etc., as *dádātā no amṛtasya* (RV.), 'bestow upon us immortality'; — with verbs meaning enjoy, be satisfied or filled with: as *mátsy ándhasaḥ* (RV.), 'do thou enjoy the juice'; — with verbs meaning to perceive, note, care for, regard with feelings of various kinds: as, *vásiṣṭhasya stuvatá índro açrot* (RV.), Indra listened to Vasishtha who was praising him'; *yáthā máma smárāt* (AV.), 'that he may think of me'; *tasya cukopa* (MBh.), 'he was angry at him'; *bibhīmas tava* (MBh.), 'we are afraid of thee'.

c. A genitive of more doubtful character, with verbs meaning to rule or have authority, as *tvám īçiṣe vásūnām* (RV.), 'thou art lord of good things'; *yáthā 'hám eṣā́m virā́jāni* (AV.), 'that I may rule over them'; — with verbs meaning throw at, injure, as *yás ta ā́syat* (AV.), 'whoever hurled at thee'; — and with some others.

298. A genitive in its usual possessive sense is often found as predicate, and not seldom with the copula omitted: thus, *yáthā́ 'so máma kévalaḥ* (AV.), 'that thou mayest be wholly mine'; *sarvāḥ sampattayas tasya saṁtuṣṭaṁ yasya mānasam* (H.), 'all good fortunes are his who has a contented mind'.

299. The prepositional constructions of the genitive are for the most part with such prepositions as are really noun-cases, and have the government of such: thus, *agre, arthe, kṛte*, and the like; also with other prepositional words which, in the general looseness of use of the genitive, have become assimilated to these. A few more real prepositions take the genitive: either usually, like *upári*, 'above', or occasionally, like *adhás, antár, áti.*

A genitive is used in the older language with certain adverbs of time: thus, *sakṛ́d áhnaḥ* (RV.), 'once a day'; *triḥ saṁvatsarasya*, 'thrice a year'; *idā́nīm áhnaḥ* (RV.), 'at this time of the day'.

300. The genitive is used adverbially hardly at all; a few genitives of time occur in the older language: as *aktos*, 'by night', *vastos*, 'by day'.

A genitive of accompanying circumstance, with a qualifying word, is sometimes used absolutely, instead of a locative (**303 b**); but this construction is unknown in the earlier language, and rare in the later. It is said by the grammarians to convey an implication of contempt: thus, *vāidarbhyāḥ prekṣamāṇāyāḥ paṇakālam amanyata* (MBh.), 'he thought it a time for staking at play, while the Vidarbhan was looking on' (or, in spite of it); but it is found without any such implication: thus, *saṁkhyāsyāmi phalāny asya paçyatas te* (MBh.), 'I will count its fruits while you look on'.

301. Uses of the Locative. The locative is properly the 'in'-case, the case expressing situation or location; but its sphere of use has been somewhat extended, so as to touch and overlap the boundaries of other cases, for which it seems to be a substitute.

Unimportant variations of the sense of 'in' are those of 'amid' or 'among', 'on', and 'at'. Of course, also, situation in time as well as place is indicated by the case; and it is applied

to yet less physical relations, to sphere of action and feeling and knowledge, to state of things, to accompanying circumstance; and out of this last grows the frequent use of the locative as the case absolute.

Moreover, by a pregnant construction, the locative is used to denote the place of rest or cessation of action or motion ('into' or 'on to' instead of 'in' or 'on'; German *in* with accusative instead of dative: compare English *there* for *thither*).

302. The locative of situation in space hardly needs illustration. An example or two are: *yé devā́ diví sthá* (AV.), 'which of you gods are in heaven'; *na deveṣu na yakṣeṣu tādṛk* (MBh.), 'not among gods or Yakshas is such a one'; *párvatasya pṛṣṭhé* (RV.), 'on the ridge of the mountain'; *vidáthe santu devā́ḥ* (RV.), 'may the gods be at the assembly'; *daçame pade* (MBh.), 'at the tenth step'.

The locative of time indicates the point of time at which anything takes place: thus, *asyā́ uṣáso vyùṣṭāu* (RV.), 'at the shining forth of this dawn'; *etasminn eva kāle* (MBh.), 'at just that time'; *dvādaçe varshe* (MBh.), 'in the tenth year'. But the accusative is occasionally used in this sense, instead of the locative.

303. The locative of sphere or condition or circumstance is of very frequent use: thus, *máde áhim índro jaghāna* (RV.), 'in fury Indra slew the dragon'; *mitrásya sumatā́ú syāma* (RV.), 'may we be in the favor of Mitra'; *te vacane ratam* (MBh.), 'delighted in thy words'.

a. This construction is, on the one hand, generalized into an expression for 'in the matter or case of', or 'with reference to, respecting', and takes in the later language a very wide range, touching upon genitive and dative constructions: thus, *é 'mám bhaja grā́me áçveṣu góṣu* (AV.), 'be generous to him in retainers, in horses, in cattle'; *tám ít sakhitvá īmahe* (RV.), 'him we beg for friendship'; *nyāyo 'yam mayā dṛṣṭa ānayane tava* (MBh.), 'this means was devised by me for (with reference to) bringing thee hither'; *satītve kāraṇaṁ striyāḥ* (H.), 'the cause of (in the case of) a woman's chastity'; *na çakto 'bhavan nivārane* (MBh.), 'he was not capable of preventing'.

b. On the other hand, the expression by the locative of a condition of things in which anything takes place, or of a conditioning or accompanying circumstance, passes over into a well-marked absolute construction, which is known even in the earliest stage of the language, but becomes more frequent later.

Transitional examples are: *háve tvā sū́ra údite háve madhyándine diváḥ* (RV.), 'I call to thee at the arisen sun (when the sun has risen), I call at midtime of the day'; *aparādhe kṛte 'pi ca na me kopaḥ* (MBh.), 'and even in case of an offense committed, there is no anger on my part'.

The normal condition of the absolute construction is with a participle accompanying the noun: thus, *stīrṇé barhíṣi samidhāné agnā́ú* (RV.), 'when the *barhis* is strewn and the fire kindled'; *kāle çubhe prāpte* (MBh.), 'a propitious time having arrived'; *avasannāyāṁ rātrāv astācalacūḍāvalambini can-*

dramasi (H.), 'the night having drawn to a close, and the moon resting on the summit of the western mountain'.

But the noun may be wanting, or may be replaced by an adverbial substitute (as *evam, tathā, iti*): thus, *asmābhiḥ samanujñāte* (MBh.), '[it] being fully assented to by us'; *evam ukte kalinā* (MBh.), 'it being thus spoken by Kali'; *tathā 'nuṣṭhite* (H.), 'it being thus accomplished'. So likewise the participle may be wanting (a copula *sati* or the like being to be supplied): thus, *dūre bhaye*, 'the cause of fear being remote'; while, on the other hand, the participle *sati* etc. is sometimes redundantly added to the other participle: thus, *tathā kṛte sati*, 'it being thus done'.

c. The locative is frequently used adverbially or prepositionally: thus, *arthe* or *kṛte*, 'in the matter of, for the sake of'.

304. The pregnant construction by which the locative comes to express the goal or object of motion or action or feeling exercised is not uncommon from the earliest time. It is by no means to be sharply distinguished from the ordinary construction; the two pass into one another, with a doubtful territory between. It occurs:

a. Especially with verbs, as of arriving, sending, placing, communicating, bestowing, and many others, in situations where an accusative or a dative (or a genitive, **297a**) might be looked for, and exchangeable with them: thus, *sá íd devéṣu gachati* (RV.), 'that, truly, goes to (to be among) the gods'; *imáṁ no yajñám amṛ́teṣu dhehi* (RV.), 'set this offering of ours among the immortals'; *yá̄ āsiñcánti rásam óṣadhīṣu* (AV), 'who pour in the juice into the plants' (or, the juice that is in the plants); *mā prayache ''çvare dhanam* (H.), 'do not offer wealth to a lord'; *papāta medinyām* (MBh.), 'he fell to (so as to be upon) the earth'; *skandhe kṛtvā* (H.), 'putting on the shoulder'; *saṁçrutya pūrvam asmāsu* (MBh.), 'having before promised us'.

b. Often also with nouns and adjectives in similar constructions (the instances not always easy to separate from those of the locative meaning 'with reference to': above, **303a**): thus, *dayā sarvabhūteṣu*, 'compassion toward all creatures'; *anurāgaṁ nāiṣadhe* (MBh.), 'affection for the Nishadhan'; *rājā samyagvṛttaḥ sadā tvayi* (MBh.), 'the king always behaved properly toward thee'.

305. The prepositions construed with the locative stand to it only in the relation of adverbial elements strengthening and directing its meaning.

In the Veda, such locative constructions are most frequent with *á̄* and *ádhi*: thus, *mártyeṣv á̄*, 'among mortals'; *pṛthivyá̄m ádhy óṣadhīḥ*, 'the plants upon the earth'; *téjo máyi dhārayá̄ 'dhi* (AV.), 'establish glory in me': — less often, *úpa* and *ápi* are used in the same way. In all ages of the language, *antár*, 'within, among', is construed with the locative.

306. Declensional forms are made by the addition of endings to the stem, or base of inflection.

The stem itself, however, in many words and classes

of words, is liable to variation, especially as assuming a stronger form in some cases and a weaker in others.

And between stem and ending are sometimes inserted connecting elements (or what, in the recorded condition of the language, have the aspect of being such).

Respecting all these points, the details of treatment, as exhibited by each class of words or by single words, will be given in the following chapters. Here, however, it is desirable also to give a brief general view of them.

307. Endings: Singular. In the nominative, the usual masc. and fem. ending is *s* — which, however, is wanting in derivative *ā* and *ī*-stems; it is also euphonically lost (**150**) by consonant-stems. Neuters in general have no ending, but show in this case the bare stem; *a*-stems alone add *m* (as in the accus. masc.). Among the pronouns, *am* is a frequent masc. and fem. nom. ending (and is found even in du. and pl.); and neuters show a form in *d*.

In the accusative, *m* or *am* is the masc. and fem. ending — *am* being added after a consonant and *ṛ* and after *ī* and *ū* in the radical division, and *m* elsewhere after vowels. The neuter accusative is like the nominative.

The instrumental ending for all genders alike is *ā*. With final *i* and *u*-vowels, the *ā* is variously combined, and in the older language it is sometimes lost by contraction with them. Stems in *a* make the case end in *ena* (sometimes *enā* in V.), and those in *ā* make it end in *ayā;* but instances occur, in the early language, of immediate addition of *ā* to both *a* and *ā*.

The dative ending is in general *e;* and with it likewise the modes of combination of *i* and *u* final are various (and disappearance by contraction not unknown in the oldest language). The *a*-stems are quite irregular in this case, making it end in *āya* — excepted is the pronominal element *sma*, which combines (apparently) with *e* to *smāi*. In the personal pronouns is found *bhyam* (or *hyam*).

A fuller ending *āi* (like gen.-abl. *ās* and loc. *ām:* see below) belongs to feminine stems only. It is taken (with interposed *y*) by the great class of those in derivative *ā;* also by those in derivative *ī*, and (as reckoned in the later language) in derivative *ū*. And later it is allowed to be taken by feminine stems in radical *ī* and *ū*, and even by those in *i* and *u:* such have it in the earliest language in only rare and exceptional instances.

The ablative has a special ending, *d* (or *t*), only in

a-stems, masc. and neut., the *a* being lengthened before it (except in the personal pronouns of 1st and 2d person; and these have the same ending in the pl., and even, in the old language, in the dual). Everywhere else, the ablative is identical with the genitive.

The genitive of *a*-stems (and of one pronominal *u*-stem, *amu*) adds *sya*. Elsewhere, the usual abl.-gen. ending is *as*: but its irregularities of treatment in combination with a stem-final are considerable. With *i* and *u*, it is either directly added (only in the old language), added with interposed *n*, or fused to *es* and *os* respectively. With *ṛ* (or *ar*) it yields *us* (or *ur*: **169**, end).

The fuller *ās* is taken by feminine stems precisely as *āi* is taken in the dative: see above.

The locative ending is *i* in consonant and *ṛ* and *a*-stems (fusing with *a* to *e* in the latter). The *i* and *u*-stems (unless the final vowel is saved by an interposed *n*) make the case end in *āu*; but the Veda has some relics or traces of the older forms (*ay-i* [?] and *av-i*) out of which this appears to have sprung. Vedic locatives from *i*-stems end also in *ā* and *ī*. The pronominal element *sma* makes the locative *smin*. Stems in *an* in the older language often lose the *i*, and use the bare stem as locative.

The ending *ām* is the locative correspondent to dat. *āi* and abl.-gen. *ās*, and is taken under the same circumstances: see above.

The vocative (unless by accent: **314**) is distinguished from the nominative only in the singular, and not quite always there. In *a*-stems, it is the unaltered stem; and so also in most consonant-stems: but neuters in *an* and *in* may drop the *n*; and the oldest language has sometimes a vocative in *s* from stems in *nt* and *ṅs*. Stems in *ṛ* change this to *ar*. In masc. and fem. *i* and *u*-stems, the case ends respectively in *e* and *o*; in neuters, in the same or in *i* and *u*. Stems in *ā* change *ā* to *e*; derivative *ī* and *ū* are shortened; radical stems in long vowels use the nominative form.

308. Dual. The dual has — except so far as the vocative is sometimes distinguished from nom. and accus. by a difference of accent: **314** — only three case-forms: one for nom., accus., and voc.; one for instr., dat., and abl.; and one for gen. and loc. (occasional confusion of the uses of the second and third is seen earlier).

But the pronouns of 1st and 2d person in the older language distinguish five dual cases: see **492**.

The masc. and fem. ending for nom.-accus.-voc. is in the later language usually *āu*; but instead of this the Veda has prevailingly *ā*. Stems in *ā* make the case end in *e*. Stems in *i* and *u*, masc. and fem., lengthen those vowels; and derivative *ī* in

the Veda remains regularly unchanged, though later it adds *āu*. The neuter ending is only *ī*; with final *a* this combines to *e*.

The universal ending for the instr.-dat.-abl. is *bhyām*, before which final *a* is made long. In the Veda, it is often to be read as two syllables, *bhiām*.

The universal ending of gen.-loc. is *os*: before this, *a* and *ā* alike become *e* (*ai*).

309. Plural. In the nominative, the general masc. and fem. ending is *as*. The old language, however, often makes the case in *āsas* instead of *ās* from *a*-stems, and in a few examples also from *ā*-stems. From derivative *ī*-stems, *īs* instead of *yas* is the regular and usual Vedic form. Pronominal *a*-stems make the masc. nom. in *e*.

The neuter ending (which is accusative also) is in general *i*; and before this the final of a stem is apt to be strengthened, by prolongation of a vowel, or by insertion of a nasal, or by both. But in the Veda the hence resulting forms in *āni*, *īni*, *ūni* are frequently abbreviated by loss of the *ni*, and sometimes by further shortening of the preceding vowel.

The accusative ending is also *as* in consonant-stems and in the radical division of *ī* and *ū*-stems (and in the old language even elsewhere). Stems in short vowels lengthen those vowels and add in the masculine *n* (for *ns*, of which abundant traces remain), and in the feminine *s*. In the neuter, this case is like the nominative.

In the instrumental, the case-ending is everywhere *bhis* except in *a*-stems, where in the later language the case always ends in *āis*, but in the earlier either in *āis* or the more regular *ebhis* (*ābhis* in the two personal pronouns; and the pronominal stem *a* [**501**] makes *ebhis* only).

The dative and ablative have in the plural the same form, with the ending *bhyas* (in Veda often *bhias*), before which only *a* is altered, becoming *e*. But the two personal pronouns distinguish the two cases, having for the ablative the singular ending (as above pointed out), and for the dative the peculiar *bhyam* (almost never in V. *bhiam*), which they extend also into the singular.

Of the genitive, the universal ending is *ām*; which (except optionally after radical *ī* and *ū*, and in a few scattering Vedic instances) takes after final vowels an inserted consonant, *s* in the pronominal declension, *n* elsewhere; before *n*, a short vowel is lengthened; before *s*, *a* becomes *e*. In the Veda, it is very frequently to be pronounced in two syllables, as *a-am*.

The locative ending is *su*, without any exceptions, and the only change before it is that of *a* to *e*.

The vocative, as in the dual, differs from the nominative only by its accent.

310. The normal scheme of endings, as recognized by the native grammarians (and conveniently to be assumed as the basis of special descriptions), is this:

	Singular. m. f. n.	Dual. m. f. n.	Plural. m. f. n.
N.	*s* *m*	*āu* *ī*	*as* *i*
A.	*am*	*āu* *ī*	*as* *i*
I.	*ā*	*bhyām*	*bhis*
D.	*e*	*bhyām*	*bhyas*
Ab.	*as*	*bhyām*	*bhyas*
G.	*as*	*os*	*ām*
L.	*i*	*os*	*su*

It is taken in bulk by the consonantal stems, and by the radical division of *ī* and *ū*-stems; by other vowel-stems, with more or less considerable variations and modifications. The endings which have almost or quite unbroken range, through stems of all classes, are *bhyām* and *os* of the dual, and *bhis, bhyas, ām,* and *su* of the plural.

311. Variation of Stem. By far the most important matter under this head is the distinction made in large classes of words (chiefly those ending in consonants) between strong and weak stem-forms — a distinction standing in evident connection with the phenomena of accent. In the nom. and accus. sing. and du. and the nom. pl. (the five cases whose endings are never accented: **316a**), the stem often has a stronger or fuller form than in the rest: thus, for example: राजानम् *rā́jān-am,* राजानौ *rā́jān-āu,* राजानस् *rā́j-ān-as,* against राज्ञा *rā́jñ-ā* and राजभिस् *rā́ja-bhis;* or महान्तम् *mahā́nt-am* and तुदन्तम् *tudant-am* against महता *mahat-ā* and तुदता *tudat-ā.* These five, therefore, are called the cases with strong stem, or, briefly, the strong cases; and the rest are called the cases with weak stem, or the weak cases. And the weak cases, again, are in some classes of words to be distinguished into cases of weakest stem, or weakest cases, and cases of middle stem, or middle cases: the former

having endings beginning with a vowel (instr. to loc. sing., gen.-loc. du., gen. pl.); the latter, with a consonant (inst.-dat.-abl. du., instr., dat.-abl., and loc. pl.).

The class of strong cases, as above defined, belongs only to masculine and feminine stems. In neuter inflection, the only strong cases are the nom.-acc. pl.; while, in those stems that make a distinction of weakest and middle form, the nom.-acc. du. belong to the weakest class, and the same cases sing. to the middle: thus, for example, compare प्रत्यञ्चि *pratyañc-i*, nom.-acc. pl. neut., and प्रत्यञ्चस् *pratyañc-as*, nom. pl. masc.; प्रतीची *pratīc-ī*, nom.-acc. du. neut., and प्रतीचोस् *pratīc-os*, gen.-loc. du.; प्रत्यक् *pratyak*, nom.-acc. sing. neut., and प्रत्यग्भिस् *pratyag-bhis*, instr. pl.

Even in words which exhibit no variation of stem, it is often convenient to distinguish the same groups of cases by the names strong and weak and so on.

312. Other variations concern chiefly the final vowel of a stem, and may be mainly left to be pointed out in detail below. Of consequence enough to mention here is only the *guṇa*-strengthening of a final *i* or *u*, which in the later language is always made before *as* of nom. pl. and *e* of dat. sing. in masc. and fem.; in the Veda, it does not always take place; nor is it forbidden in dat. sing. neut. also; and it is seen sometimes in loc. sing. Final *ṛ* has *guṇa*-strengthening in loc. sing.

313. Insertions between Stem and Ending. After vowel-stems, an added *n* often makes its appearance before an ending. This appendage is of least questionable origin in nom.-acc. pl. neut., where the interchange in the old language of the forms of *a* and *i*-stems with those of *an* and *in*-stems is pretty complete; and the *u*-stems follow their analogy. Elsewhere, it is most widely and firmly established in the gen. pl., where in the great mass of cases, and from the earliest period, the ending is virtually *nām* after a vowel. In the *i* and *u*-stems of the later language, the instr. sing. of masc. and neut. is separated by its presence from the fem., and it is in the other weakest cases made a usual distinction of neuter forms from masculine; but the aspect of the matter in the Veda is very different; there the appearance of the *n* is everywhere sporadic; the neuter shows no special inclination to take it, and it is not excluded even from the feminine. In the ending *ena* from *a*-stems (later invariable, earlier predominating), its presence appears to have worked the most considerable transformation of original shape.

The place of *n* before gen. pl. *ām* is taken by *s* in pronominal *a* and *ā*-stems.

The *y* after *ā* before the endings *āi*, *ās*, and *ām* is most probably an insertion, such as is made elsewhere (**258**).

Accent in Declension.

314. As a rule without exception, the vocative, if accented at all, is accented on the first syllable.

And in the Veda (the case is a rare one), whenever a syllable written as one is to be pronounced as two by restoration of a semivowel to vowel form, the first element only has the vocative accent, and the syllable as written is circumflex (by **84 a**): thus, *dyāùs* (i. e. *díāus*) when dissyllabic, but *dyāús* when monosyllabic; *jyàke* when for *jíake*.

But the vocative is accented only when it stands at the beginning of a sentence — or, in verse, at the beginning also of a metrical division or *pāda;* elsewhere it is accentless or enclitic: thus, *ágne yáṁ yajñám paribhū́r ási* (RV.), 'O Agni! whatever offering thou protectest'; but *úpa tvā 'gna é 'masi* (RV.), 'unto thee, Agni, we come'.

A word qualifying a vocative — usually an adjective, but not seldom also a noun in the genitive (very rarely in any other case) — constitutes, so far as accent is concerned, a unity with it: thus, *sákhe vaso* or *váso sakhe*, 'excellent friend'; *sū́no sahasaḥ* or *sáhasaḥ sūno*, 'oh son of might'; and *sudītī́ sūno sahaso didīhi* (RV.), 'with excellent brightness, son of might, shine forth'.

Two coördinate vocatives, whether noun or adjective, have usually the same accent; but the Vedic texts furnish not a few irregular exceptions to this rule.

For brevity, the vocative dual and plural will be given in the paradigms below along with the nominative, without taking the trouble to specify in each instance that, if the latter be accented elsewhere than on the first syllable, the accent of the vocative is different.

315. As regards the other cases, rules for change of accent in declension have to do only with monosyllables and with stems of more than one syllable which are accented on the final; for if a stem be accented on the penult, or any other syllable further back — as in *sárpant, vā́ri, bhágavant, sumánas, sahásravāja* — the accent remains upon that syllable through the whole inflection (except in the vocative, as explained in the preceding paragraph).

The only exceptions are a few numeral stems: see below, chap. VI.

316. Stems accented on the final (including monosyllables) are subject to variation of accent in declension chiefly in virtue of the fact that some of the endings have, while others have not, or have in less degree, a tendency to draw the accent forward upon themselves. Thus:

a. The endings of the nominative and accusative singular and dual and of the nominative plural have no tendency to take the accent away from the stem, and are therefore only accented when a final vowel of the stem and the vowel of the ending are blended together into a single vowel or diphthong. Thus, from *dattá* come *dattāú* (= *dattá* + *āu*) and *dattā́s* (= *dattá* + *as*); but from *nadī́* come *nadyāù* (= *nadī́* + *āu*) and *nadyàs* (= *nadī́* + *as*).

b. All the other endings sometimes take the accent; but those beginning with a vowel do so more readily than those beginning with a consonant. Thus, from *nāús* come *nāvā́* and *nāubhís;* from *mahā́nt,* however, come *mahatā́* but *mahádbhis.*

The general rules of accent, then, may be thus stated:

317. In the declension of monosyllabic stems, the accent falls upon the ending in all the weak cases (without distinction of middle and weakest): thus, *nāvā́, nāubhyā́m, nāvā́m, nāuṣú; vācí, vāgbhís, vācā́m, vākṣú.*

But some monosyllabic stems retain the accent throughout: thus, *góbhis, gávām, góṣu.* For such cases, see below, **350, 361 c, d, 375, 390, 427.**

318. Of polysyllables ending in consonants, only a few shift the accent to the ending, and that in the weakest (not the middle) cases. Such are:

a. Present participles in *ánt* or *át:* thus, from *tudánt, tudatā́* and *tudatós* and *tudatā́m;* but *tudádbhyām* and *tudátsu.*

b. A few adjectives having the form of such participles, as *mahatā́, bṛhatás.*

c. Bases of which the accented final loses its syllabic character by syncopation of the vowel: thus, *majjñā́, mūrdhné, dāmnás* (from *majján* etc.: **423**).

Other sporadic cases will be noticed under the different declensions.

Case forms used adverbially sometimes show a changed accent: see chap. XVI. (**1110** ff.).

319. Of polysyllabic stems ending in accented short vowels, the final of the stem retains the accent if it retains its syllabic identity: thus, *datténa* and *dattā́ya* from *dattá; agnínā* and *agnáye* from *agní;* and also *dattébhyas, agníbhis,* and so on. Otherwise, the accent is on the ending: and that, whether the final and the ending are combined into one, as in *dattāís, dhenāú, agnī́n, dhenū́s,* and so on; or whether the final is changed into a semivowel before the ending: thus, *dhenvā́, pitrā́.*

But *ām* of the gen. pl. from stems in *í* and *ú* and *ṛ́* may, and in the older language always does, take the accent, though separated by *n* from the stem: thus, *agnīnā́m, dhenūnā́m, pitṝṇā́m.* In RV., even derivative *ī*-stems show usually the same shift: thus, *bahvīnā́m.* Of stems in *á,* only numerals (chap. VI.) follow this rule: thus, *saptānā́m, daçānā́m.*

320. Root-words in *ī* and *ū* as final members of compounds retain the accent throughout, not shifting it to any of the endings. And in the older language there are polysyllabic words in long final vowels which follow in this respect as in others the analogy of the root-declension (below, **355** ff.). Apart from these, the treatment of stems in derivative long vowels is, as regards accent, the same as of those in short vowels — save that the tone is not thrown forward upon the ending in gen. plural.

CHAPTER V.

NOUNS AND ADJECTIVES.

321. The accordance in inflection of substantive and adjective stems is so complete that the two cannot be separated in treatment from one another.

They may be classified, for convenience of description, as follows:

I. Stems in अ *a;*

II. Stems in इ *i* and उ *u;*

III. Stems in आ *ā*, ई *ī*, and ऊ *ū*: namely, A. radical-stems (and a few others inflected like them); B. derivative stems;

IV. Stems in ऋ *ṛ* (or अर् *ar*);

V. Stems in consonants.

There is nothing absolute in this classification and arrangement; it is merely believed to be open to as few objections as any other. No general agreement has been reached among scholars as to the number and order of Sanskrit declensions. The stems in *a* are here treated first because of the great predominance of the class.

322. The division-line between substantive and adjective, always an uncertain one in early Indo-European language, is even more wavering in Sanskrit than elsewhere. There are, however, in all the declensions as divided above — unless we except the stems in *ṛ* or *ar* — words which are distinctly adjectives; and, in general, they are inflected precisely like noun-stems of the same final: only, among consonant-stems, there are certain sub-classes of adjective bases with peculiarities of inflection to which there is among nouns nothing corresponding. But there are also two considerable classes of adjective-compounds, requiring special notice; namely:

323. Compound adjectives having as final member a bare verbal root, with the value of a present participle: thus, *su-dṛ́ç*, 'well-looking'; *pra-búdh*, 'foreknowing'; *a-drúh,* 'not hating'; *veda-víd*, 'Veda-knowing'; *vṛtra-hán*, 'Vritra-slaying'; *upastha-sád*, 'sitting in the lap'. Every root is liable to be used in this

way, and such compounds are not infrequent in all ages of the language: see chapter on Compounds, below (XVIII.).

This class is originally and essentially only a special class of compound adjectives, since in the earliest Veda the simple as well as the compounded root was sometimes used adjectively. But the compounded root was from the beginning much more often so used, and the later the more exclusively, so that practically the class is a separate and important one.

324. Compound adjectives having a noun as final member, but obtaining an adjective sense secondarily, by having the idea of 'possession' added, and being inflected as adjectives in the three genders. Thus, *prajākāma*, 'desire of progeny', becomes an adjective meaning 'desirous (i. e. having desire) of progeny'; *sabhārya (sa + bhāryā)*, 'having one's wife along'; and so on.

In a few cases, also, the final noun is syntactically object of the preceding member: thus, *atimātra*, 'immoderate' (*ati mātram*, 'beyond measure'); *yāvayáddveṣas*, 'driving away enemies'.

325. Hence, under each declension, we have to notice how a root or a noun-stem of that declension is inflected when final member of an adjective compound.

As to accent, it needs only to be remarked that a monosyllabic word ending a compound loses the peculiarity of monosyllabic accentuation, and does not throw the tone foward upon the ending.

Declension I.

Stems (masculine and neuter) in *a*.

326. This declension contains the majority of all the declined stems of the language.

Its endings deviate more widely than any others from the normal.

327. Endings: Singular. The nom. masc. has the normal ending *s*.

The acc. (masc. and neut.) adds *m* (not *am*); and this form has the office also of nom. neuter.

The instr. changes *a* to *ena* uniformly in the later language; and even in the oldest Vedic this is the predominant ending (in RV., eight ninths of all cases). Its final is in Vedic verse not infrequently made long *(enā)*, where favored by the metre. But the normal ending *ā* — thus, *yajñā́*, *suhávā*, *mahitvā́* (for *yajñéna* etc.) — is also not rare in the Veda.

The dat. has *āya* (as if by adding *aya* to *a*), alike in all ages of the language.

The abl. has *t* (or more probably *d*: it is impossible from the evidence

of the Sanskrit to tell which is the original form of the ending), before which *ā* is made long: this ending is found in no other noun declension, but only in the personal pronouns (of all numbers).

The gen. has *sya* added to the final *a;* and this ending is also limited to *a*-stems (with the single exception of the pronoun *amúṣya:* chap. VII.). Its final *a* is in only three cases made long in the Veda; and its *y* is vocalized *(asia)* almost as rarely.

The loc. ends in *e* (as if by combining the normal ending *i* with the final of the stem), without exception.

The voc. is the bare stem.

328. Dual. The dual endings in general are the normal ones.

The nom., acc., and voc. masc. end in the later language always in *āu.* In the Veda, however, the usual ending is simple *ā* (in RV., in seven eighths of the occurrences). The same cases in the neut. end in *e,* which appears to be the result of fusion of the stem-final with the normal ending *ī.*

The instr., dat., and abl. have *bhyām* (in only one or two Vedic instances resolved into *bhiām*), with the stem-final lengthened to *ā* before it.

The gen. and loc. have a *y* inserted after the stem-final before *os* (or as if the *a* had been changed to *e*). In one or two (doubtful) Vedic instances (as also in the pronominal forms *enos* and *yos*), *os* is substituted for the final *a*.

329. Plural. The nom. masc. has in the later language the normal ending *as* combined with the final *a* to *ās.* But in the Veda the ending *āsas* instead is frequent (one third of the occurrences in RV., but only one twenty-fifth in the peculiar parts of AV.).

The acc. masc. ends in *ān* (for earlier *āns,* of which abundant traces are left in the Veda, and, under the disguise of apparent euphonic combination, even in the later language: see above, **208** ff.).

The nom. and acc. neut. have in the later language always the ending *āni* (like the *an*-stems: see **421**; or else with *n* as in the gen. pl. before normal *i*). But in the Veda this ending alternates with simple *ā* (which in RV. is to *āni* as three to two, in point of frequency; in AV., as three to four).

The instr. ends later always in *āis;* but in the Veda is found abundantly the more normal form *ebhis* (in RV., nearly as frequent as *āis;* in AV., only one fifth as frequent).

The dat. and abl. have *bhyas* as ending, with *e* instead of the final *a* before it (as in the Vedic instr. *ebhis,* the loc. pl., the gen. loc. du. [?], and the instr. sing.). The resolution into *ebhias* is not infrequent in the Veda.

The gen. ends in *ānām,* the final *a* being lengthened and having *n* inserted before the normal ending. The *ā* of the ending is not seldom (in less than half the instances) to be read as two syllables, *aam:* opinions are divided as to whether the resolution is historical or metrical only. A very small number (half-a-dozen) of examples of simple *ām* as ending instead of *ānām* occur in RV.

The loc. ends in *eṣu* — that is to say, with the normal ending, before which the stem-final is changed to *e* (with consequent change of *s* to *ṣ*: 180).

Of accent in this declension, nothing requires to be said; the syllable accented in the stem retains its own accent throughout.

330. Examples of declension. As examples of the inflection of *a*-stems may be taken काम *kā́ma*, m., 'love'; देव *devá*, m., 'god'; आस्य *āsyà*, n., 'mouth'.

Singular:			
N.	कामस् *kā́mas*	देवस् *devás*	आस्यम् *āsyàm*
A.	कामम् *kā́mam*	देवम् *devám*	आस्यम् *āsyàm*
I.	कामेन *kā́mena*	देवेन *devéna*	आस्येन *āsyèna*
D.	कामाय *kā́māya*	देवाय *devā́ya*	आस्याय *āsyā̀ya*
Ab.	कामात् *kā́māt*	देवात् *devā́t*	आस्यात् *āsyā̀t*
G.	कामस्य *kā́masya*	देवस्य *devásya*	आस्यस्य *āsyàsya*
L.	कामे *kā́me*	देवे *devé*	आस्ये *āsyè*
V.	काम *kā́ma*	देव *déva*	आस्य *ā́sya*
Dual:			
N. A. V.	कामौ *kā́māu*	देवौ *devā́u*	आस्ये *āsyè*
I. D. Ab.	कामाभ्याम् *kā́mābhyām*	देवाभ्याम् *devā́bhyām*	आस्याभ्याम् *āsyā̀bhyām*
G. L.	कामयोस् *kā́mayos*	देवयोस् *deváyos*	आस्ययोस् *āsyàyos*
Plural:			
N. V.	कामास् *kā́mās*	देवास् *devā́s*	आस्यानि *āsyā̀ni*

A.	कामान् *kā́mān*	देवान् *devā́n*	आस्यानि *āsyā̀ni*
I.	कामैस् *kā́māis*	देवैस् *devā́is*	आस्यैस् *āsyā̀is*
D. Ab.	कामेभ्यस् *kā́mebhyas*	देवेभ्यस् *devébhyas*	आस्येभ्यस् *āsyèbhyas*
G.	कामानाम् *kā́mānām*	देवानाम् *devā́nām*	आस्यानाम् *āsyā̀nām*
L.	कामेषु *kā́meṣu*	देवेषु *devéṣu*	आस्येषु *āsyèṣu*

Examples of the peculiar Vedic forms are:

Sing.: instr. *ravā́thenā, yajñā́* (such genitive forms as *áçvasiā* are purely sporadic).

Du.: nom. etc. masc. *devā́;* gen.-loc. *pastyòs* (stem *pastyà*).

Pl.: nom.-voc. masc. *devā́sas;* neut. *yugā́;* instr. *devébhis;* gen. *carā́thām, devā́naam.*

331. Among nouns, there are no irregularities in this declension. For irregular numeral bases in *a* (or *an*), see the next chapter. For the irregularities of pronominal stems in *a*, which are more or less fully shared also by a few adjectives of pronominal kindred, see the chapter on Pronouns.

Adjectives.

332. Original adjectives in *a* are an exceedingly large class, probably the majority of all adjectives. There is, however, no such thing as a feminine stem in *a;* for the feminine, the *a* is changed to *ā* — or often, though far less often, to *ī*; and its declension is then like that of *sénā* or *devī́* (**365**). An example of the complete declension of an adjective *a*-stem in the three genders will be given below (**371**).

333. There are no verbal roots ending in *a*. But *a* is sometimes substituted for the final *ā* of a root (and, more rarely, for final *an* or *am*), and it is then inflected like an ordinary adjective in *a* (see below, **354**).

334. A noun ending in *a*, when occurring as final member of an adjective compound, is inflected like an original adjective in *a*, making its feminine likewise in *ā* or *ī*.

On the other hand, a feminine noun ending in derivative *ā* shortens its final to *a* to form a masculine and neuter base.

Declension II.

Stems (of all genders) in *i* and *u*.

335. The stems in इ *i* and उ *u* are inflected in so close accordance with one another that they cannot be divided into two separate declensions. They are of all the three genders, and tolerably numerous — those in इ *i* more numerous than those in उ *u*, especially in the feminine (there are more neuters in उ *u* than in इ *i*).

The endings of this declension also differ frequently and widely from the normal, and the Vedic irregularities are numerous.

336. Endings: Singular. The nom. masc. and fem. adds to the stem the normal ending *s*. The nom. and acc. neut. is the bare stem, without ending. In the Veda, the final *u* of a few neuters is lengthened (**248 b**): thus, *urū́*, *purū́*.

The acc. masc. and fem. adds *m* to the stem. Vedic forms in *iam* and *uam*, and, with *n*, *inam* and *unam*, are excessively rare, and doubtful.

The instr. fem. in the later language takes the normal ending *ā* simply, while the masc. and neut. insert *n* before it, making *inā* and *unā*. But in the Veda, forms in *yā* and *vā* (or *iā* and *uā*) are not infrequent in masc. and neut. also; while *inā* is found, very rarely, as a fem. ending. Moreover, fem. *yā* is often (in two thirds of the occurrences) contracted to *ī*; and this is even sometimes shortened to *i*. An adverbial instr. in *uyā́* from half-a-dozen stems in *u* occurs.

The dat. masc. and fem. gunates the final of the stem before the ending *e*, making *aye* and *ave*. These are the prevailing endings in the Veda likewise; but the more normal *ye* and *ve* also occur; and the fem. has in this case, as in the instr., sometimes the contracted form *ī*. In the later language, the neuter is required in this, as in all the other "weakest" cases, to insert *n* before the normal ending: but in the Veda such forms are only sporadic; and the neut. dat. has also the forms *ue*, *ave*, *aye*, like the other genders.

The abl. and gen. masc. and fem. have regularly, both earlier and later, the ending *s* with gunated vowel before it: thus, *es*, *os*; and in the Veda, the neut. forms the cases in the same way; although *unas*, required later, is also not infrequent (*inas* does not occur). But the normal forms *yas* (or *ias*) and *vas* (or *uas*) are also frequent in both masc. and neut. As masc. ending, *unas* occurs twice in RV.

The loc. masc. and fem. has for regular ending in the later language *āu*, replacing both finals, *i* and *u*. And this is in the Veda also the most frequent ending; but, beside it, the *i*-stems form (about half as often in RV.) their loc. in *ā*: thus, *agnā́*; and this is found once even in the neut.

The RV. has a number of examples of masc. and neut. locatives in *avi* (the normal ending and the *u* gunated before it) from *u*-stems; and certain doubtful traces of a corresponding *ayi* from *i*-stems. Half-a-dozen locatives in *ī* (regarded by the Vedic grammarians as *pragṛhya* or uncombinable: **138 d**) are made from *i*-stems. The later language requires the neuter locatives to be made *ini* and *uni;* but the former never occurs in the oldest texts, and the latter only very rarely.

The later grammar allows the dat., abl.-gen., and loc. fem. to be formed at will with the fuller fem. terminations of long-vowel stems, namely *āi*, *ās*, *ām*. Such forms are quite rare in the older language even from *i*-stems (less than 40 occurrences altogether in RV.; three times as many in AV.); and from *u*-stems they are almost unknown (five in RV. and AV.).

The voc. gunates the final of the stem, in masc. and fem., alike in the earlier and in the later language. In the neut., it is later allowed to be of the same form or the unaltered stem: and this was probably the usage in the older time also; not instances enough are quotable to determine the question (AV. has *u* once, and VS. *o* once).

337. Dual. The later and earlier language agree in making the nom.-acc.-voc. masc. and fem. by lengthening the final of the stem. The same cases in the neuter (according to the rule given above) end later in *inī* and *unī;* but these endings are nearly unknown in the Veda (as, indeed, the cases are of only rare occurrence): AV. has *inī* twice (RV. perhaps once); VS. has *unī* once; RV. has *uī* from one *u*-stem, and *ī*, once shortened to *i*, from one or two *i*-stems.

The unvarying ending of instr.-dat.-abl., in all genders, is *bhyām* added to the unchanged stem.

The gen.-loc. of all ages adds *os* to the stem in masc. and fem.; in neut., the later language interposes, as elsewhere in the weakest cases, a *n;* probably in the earlier Vedic the form would be like that of the other genders; but the only occurrence noted is one *unos* in AV.

338. Plural. The nom.-voc. masc. and fem. adds the normal ending *as* to the gunated stem-final, making *ayas* and *avas*. The exceptions in the Veda are very few: one word *(ari)* has *ias* in both genders, and a few feminines have *īs* (like *ī*-stems); a very few *u*-stems have *uas*. The neut. nom.-acc. ends later in *īni* and *ūni* (like *āni* from *a*: **329**); but the Veda has *ī* and *i* (about equally frequent) much oftener than *īni;* and *ū* and (more usually) *u*, more than half as often as *ūni*.

The accus. masc. ends in *īn* and *ūn*, for older *īns* and *ūns*, of which plain traces remain in the Veda in nearly half the instances of occurrence, and even not infrequently in the later language, in the guise of phonetic combination (**208** ff.). The accus. fem. ends in *īs* and *ūs*. But both masc. and fem. forms in *ias* and *uas* are found sparingly in the Veda.

The inst. of all genders adds *bhis* to the stem.

The dat.-abl. of all genders adds *bhyas* (in V., almost never *bhias*) to the stem.

The gen. of all genders is made alike in *īnām* and *ūnām* (of which the

ā is not seldom, in the Veda, to be resolved into *aam*). Stems with accented final in the later language may, and in the earlier always do, throw forward the accent upon the ending.

The loc. of all genders adds *su* (as *ṣu*: 180) to the stem-final.

The accent is in accordance with the general rules already laid down, and there are no irregularities calling for special notice.

339. Examples of declension. As models of *i*-stems may be taken अग्नि *agní*, m., 'fire'; गति *gáti*, f., 'gait'; वारि *vā́ri*, n., 'water'.

Singular:			
N.	अग्निस् *agnis*	गतिस् *gátis*	वारि *vā́ri*
A.	अग्निम् *agnim*	गतिम् *gátim*	वारि *vā́ri*
I.	अग्निना *agninā*	गत्या *gátyā*	वारिणा *vā́riṇā*
D.	अग्नये *agnáye*	गतये, गत्यै *gátaye, gátyāi*	वारिणे *vā́riṇe*
Ab. G.	अग्नेस् *agnés*	गतेस्, गत्यास् *gátes, gátyās*	वारिणस् *vā́riṇas*
L.	अग्नौ *agnāú*	गतौ, गत्याम् *gátāu, gátyām*	वारिणि *vā́riṇi*
V.	अग्ने *ágne*	गते *gáte*	वारि, वारे *vā́ri, vā́re*
Dual:			
N. A. V.	अग्नी *agnī́*	गती *gátī*	वारिणी *vā́riṇī*
I. D. Ab.	अग्निभ्याम् *agníbhyām*	गतिभ्याम् *gátibhyām*	वारिभ्याम् *vā́ribhyām*
G. L.	अग्न्योस् *agnyós*	गत्योस् *gátyos*	वारिणोस् *vā́riṇos*
Plural:			
N. V.	अग्नयस् *agnáyas*	गतयस् *gátayas*	वारीणि *vā́rīṇi*

A.	अग्नीन् *agnī́n*	गतीस् *gátīs*	वारीणि *vā́rīṇi*
I.	अग्निभिस् *agníbhis*	गतिभिस् *gátibhis*	वारिभिस् *vā́ribhis*
D. Ab.	अग्निभ्यस् *agníbhyas*	गतिभ्यस् *gátibhyas*	वारिभ्यस् *vā́ribhyas*
G.	अग्नीनाम् *agnīnā́m*	गतीनाम् *gátīnām*	वारीणाम् *vā́rīṇām*
L.	अग्निषु *agníṣu*	गतिषु *gátiṣu*	वारिषु *vā́riṣu*

340. In order to mark more plainly the absence in Vedic language of some of the forms which are common later, all the forms of Vedic occurrence are added below, and in the order of their frequency.

Singular. Nom. *agnís* etc., as above.

Acc.: masc. *agním*, *yayíam*, *ūrmíṇam*(?); fem. and neut. as above.

Instr.: masc. *agnínā*, *rayyā́* and *ūrmiā́;* fem. *ácittī*, *ūtiā́*, *anuvṛktí*, *dhāsínā;* neut. wanting.

Dat.: masc. *agnáye;* fem. *tujáye*, *ūtī́*, *çrútyāi;* neut. *çúcaye*.

Gen.-abl.: masc. *agnés;* fem. *ádites*, *hetyā́s* and *bhū́miās*; neut. *bhū́res*.

Loc.: masc. *agnāú*, *agnā́*, *ājáyi*(?); fem. *ā́gatāu*, *úditā*, *dhánasātayi*(?), *védī*, *bhū́myām;* neut. *apratā́*, *saptáraçmāu*.

Voc.: as above (neut. wanting).

Dual: Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. *hárī;* fem. *yuvatī́;* neut. *çúcī*, *máhi*, *háriṇī*(?).

Instr.-dat.-abl.: as above.

Gen.-loc.: masc. *hários;* fem. *yuvatyós* and *jāmiós;* neut. wanting.

Plural. Nom.: masc. *agnáyas*; fem. *matáyas*, *bhū́mīs*; neut. *çúcī*, *bhū́ri*, *bhū́rīṇi*.

Accus.: masc. *agnī́n;* fem. *kṣitī́s*, *çúcayas*(?).

Instr., dat.-abl., and loc., as above.

Gen.: masc. *kavīnā́m*, *ṛṣī́ṇaam* etc.

341. As models of *u*-stems may be taken शत्रु *çátru*, m., 'enemy'; धेनु *dhenú*, f., 'cow'; मधु *mádhu*, n., 'honey'.

Singular:

N.	शत्रुस् *çátrus*	धेनुस् *dhenús*	मधु *mádhu*
A.	शत्रुम् *çátrum*	धेनुम् *dhenúm*	मधु *mádhu*
I.	शत्रुणा *çátruṇā*	धेन्वा *dhenvā́*	मधुना *mádhunā*

D.	शत्रवे *çátrave*	धेनवे, धेन्वै *dhenáve, dhenvāí*	मधुने *mádhune*
Ab. G.	शत्रोस् *çátros*	धेनोस्, धेन्वास् *dhenós, dhenvā́s*	मधुनस् *mádhunas*
L.	शत्रौ *çátrāu*	धेनौ, धेन्वाम् *dhenāú, dhenvā́m*	मधुनि *mádhuni*
V.	शत्रो *çátro*	धेनो *dhéno*	मधु, मधो *mádhu, mádho*
Dual:			
N. A. V.	शत्रू *çátrū*	धेनू *dhenū́*	मधुनी *mádhunī*
I. D. Ab.	शत्रुभ्याम् *çátrubhyām*	धेनुभ्याम् *dhenúbhyām*	मधुभ्याम् *mádhubhyām*
G. L.	शत्र्वोस् *çátrvos*	धेन्वोस् *dhenvós*	मधुनोस् *mádhunos*
Plural:			
N. V.	शत्रवस् *çátravas*	धेनवस् *dhenávas*	मधूनि *mádhūni*
A.	शत्रून् *çátrūn*	धेनूस् *dhenū́s*	मधूनि *mádhūni*
I.	शत्रुभिस् *çátrubhis*	धेनुभिस् *dhenúbhis*	मधुभिस् *mádhubhis*
D. Ab.	शत्रुभ्यस् *çátrubhyas*	धेनुभ्यस् *dhenúbhyas*	मधुभ्यस् *mádhubhyas*
G.	शत्रूणाम् *çátrūṇām*	धेनूनाम् *dhenūnā́m*	मधूनाम् *mádhūnām*
L.	शत्रुषु *çátruṣu*	धेनुषु *dhenúṣu*	मधुषु *mádhuṣu*

342. The forms of Vedic occurrence are given here for the *u*-stems in the same manner as for the *i*-stems above.

Singular. Nom.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. *urú, urū́.*

Accus.: masc. *ketúm, ábhīruam, sucetúnam*(?); fem. *dhenúm.*

Instr.: masc. *ketúnā, paçvā́* and *krátuā;* fem. *ádhenuā* and *panvā́, āçuyā́;* neut. *mádhunā, mádhvā.*

Dat.: masc. *ketáve, çíçve;* fem. *çárave, íṣvāi;* neut. *uráve, mádhune.*

Abl.-gen.: masc. *manyós, pitvás, sā́nunas;* fem. *síndhos, íṣvās;* neut. *mádhvas* and *mádhuas, mádhos, mádhunas.*

Loc.: masc. *pūrā́u*, *sūnávi*; fem. *síndhāu*, *rájjvām*; neut. *sā́nāu*, *sā́navi*, *sā́no*, *sā́nuni*.

Voc.: as above.

Dual. Nom.-acc.-voc.: masc. and fem. as above; neut. *urvī́*, *jā́nunī*.

Instr.-dat.-abl.: as above.

Gen.-loc.: as above (but *-vos* or *-uos*).

Plural. Nom.: masc. *ṛbhávas*, *mádhuas* and *mádhvas*; fem. *dhenávas*, *çatakratvas*; neut. *purū́ṇi*, *purú*, *purū́*.

Accus.: masc. *ṛtū́n*, *paçvás*; fem. *íṣūs*, *mádhvas*.

Instr., dat.-abl., and loc., as above; also gen. (but with the resolution *-ūnaam* in part).

343. Irregular declension. There are no irregular *u*-stems, and only a very few *i*-stems.

a. *Sákhi*, m., 'friend', has for the five strong cases a peculiarly strengthened base (vriddhied), namely *sákhāy*, which in the nom. sing. is reduced to *sákhā* (without ending), and in the other cases takes the normal endings. The instr. and dat. sing. have the normal endings simply, without inserted *n* or *guṇa*; the abl.-gen. sing. adds *us*; and the loc. sing. adds *āu*: the rest is like *agní*. Thus:

Sing. *sákhā*, *sákhāyam*, *sákhyā*, *sákhye*, *sákhyus*, *sákhyāu*, *sákhe*; Du. *sákhāyāu*, *sákhibhyām*, *sákhyos*; Pl. *sákhāyas*, *sákhīn*, etc. etc.

The Veda has usually *sákhāyā* du., and often resolves the *y* to *i*, in *sákhiā*, *sákhius*, etc. The compounds are usually declined like the simple word, unless *sakha* be substituted.

b. *Páti*, m., is declined regularly in composition, and when it has the meaning 'lord, master'; when uncompounded and meaning 'husband', it is inflected like *sákhi* in the instr., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., forming *pátyā*, *pátye*, *pátyus*, *pátyāu*. There are occasional instances of confusion of the two classes of forms.

c. *Jáni*, f., 'wife', has the gen. sing. *jányus* in the Veda.

d. *Arí*, 'eager, greedy, hostile', has in the Veda *aryás* in pl. nom. and accus., masc. and fem.

e. *Ví*, 'bird', has in RV. the nom. *vés* (beside *vís*).

f. The stems *ákṣi*, 'eye', *ásthi*, 'bone', *dádhi*, 'curds', and *sákthi*, 'thigh', are defective, their forms exchanging with and complementing forms from bases in *án* (*akṣán* etc.): see the bases in *an*, below (**431**).

g. The stem *pathí*, 'road', is used to make up part of the inflection of *pánthan*: see below, **433**.

h. *Króṣṭu*, m., 'jackal', lacks the strong cases, for which the corresponding forms of *kroṣṭṛ́* are substituted.

Adjectives.

344. Original adjective stems in *i* are few; those in *u* are much more numerous (many derivative verb-stems forming a

participial adjective in *u*). Their inflection is like that of nouns, and has been included in the rules given above; the stem is in general the same in all the three genders. In those weak cases, however — namely, the dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing., and the gen.-loc. dual — in which neuter nouns differ from masculines in the later language by an inserted *n* (we have seen above that this difference does not exist in the Veda), the neuter adjective is allowed to take either form.

But adjectives in *u* preceded by one consonant sometimes form a derivative feminine stem by adding *ī*: thus, *bahvī́*, *urvī́*, *pṛthvī́*, *vibhvī́*, and so on. More rarely, the *u* is prolonged to *ū* to make a feminine-stem, which is then inflected like *vadhū́* (below, **365**). Some adjectives form their feminine in two of these ways, or even in all the three: thus, *bībhatsú* and *bībhatsū́*; *tanú*, *tanū́*, and *tanvī́*.

345. Roots ending in *i* or *u* (or *ṛ*: **380**) regularly add a *t* when used as root-words or as root-finals of compounds; and hence there are no adjectives of the root-class in this declension.

Yet, in the Veda, a few words ending in a short radical *u* are declined as if this were suffixal: thus, *ásmṛtadhru*, *suṣṭú*; and the AV. has *pṛtanājí* (once). Roots in *ū* sometimes also shorten *ū* to *u*: thus, *prabhú*, *vibhú*, etc. (**354**); *go* (**361**) becomes *gu* in composition; and *re* perhaps becomes *ri* (**362**); while roots in *ā* sometimes apparently weaken *ā* to *i* (in *-dhi* from √*dhā*).

346. Compound adjectives having nouns of this declension as final member are inflected like original adjectives of the same endings.

Declension III.

Stems in long vowels: *ā*, *ī*, *ū*.

347. The stems ending in long vowels fall into two well-marked classes or divisions: A. monosyllabic stems — mostly bare roots — and their compounds, with a comparatively small number of others inflected like them; B. derivative feminine stems in आ *ā* and ई *ī*, with a small number in ऊ *ū* which in the later language have come to be inflected like them. The latter division is by far the larger and more important, since most feminine adjectives, and considerable classes of feminine nouns, ending in आ *ā* or ई *ī*, belong to it.

A. Root-words, and those inflected like them.

348. The inflection of these stems is by the normal endings throughout, or in the manner of consonant-stems (with अम् *am*, not म् *m*, in the accus. sing.); peculiarities like those of the other vowel-declensions are wanting. The simple words are, as nouns, with few exceptions feminine; as adjectives (rarely), and in adjective compounds, they are alike in masculine and feminine forms. They may, for convenience of description, be divided into the following sub-classes:

1. Root-words, or monosyllables having the aspect of such. Those in *ā* are so rare that it is hardly possible to make up a whole scheme of forms in actual use; those in *ī* and *ū* are more numerous, but still very few.

2. Compounds having such words, or other roots with long final vowels, as last member.

3. Polysyllabic words, of various origin and character, including in the Veda many which later are transferred to other declensions.

4. As an appendix to this class we may most conveniently describe the half-dozen bases, mostly of irregular inflection, ending in diphthongs.

349. Monosyllabic stems. Before the endings beginning with vowels, final *ī* is changed to *iy* and *ū* to *uv;* while final *ā* is dropped altogether, except in the strong cases and in the acc. pl., which is like the nominative (according to the grammarians, *ā* is lost here also: no instances of the occurrence of such a form appear to be quotable). Stems in *ī* and *ū* are in the later language allowed to take optionally the fuller endings *āi*, *ās*, *ām* in the singular (dat., abl.-gen., loc.); but no such forms are ever met with in the Veda (except *bhiyāí* [?], RV., once). Before *ām* of gen. pl., *n* may or may not be inserted; in the Veda it is regularly inserted, with a single exception (*dhiyā́m*, once). The vocative is like the nominative in the singular as well as the other numbers; but instances of its occurrence in uncompounded stems are not found in the Veda, and must be extremely rare everywhere. The earlier Vedic dual ending is *ā* instead of *āu*.

350. To the *ī* and *ū*-stems, the rules for monosyllabic accent apply: the accent is thrown forward upon the endings in all the weak cases except the accus. pl., which is like the

nom. But the *ā*-stems appear (the instances are extremely few) to keep the accent upon the stem throughout.

351. Examples of declension. As models of monosyllabic inflection we may take जा *jā́*, f., 'progeny'; धी *dhī́*, f., 'thought'; and भू *bhū́*, f., 'earth'.

The first of these is rather arbitrarily extended from the four cases which actually occur: of the loc. sing. and gen. etc. du., no Vedic examples of *ā*-stems are found.

Singular:			
N.	जास् *jā́s*	धीस् *dhī́s*	भूस् *bhū́s*
A.	जाम् *jā́m*	धियम् *dhíyam*	भुवम् *bhúvam*
I.	जा *jā́*	धिया *dhiyā́*	भुवा *bhuvā́*
D.	जे *jé*	धिये, धियै *dhiyé, dhiyāí*	भुवे, भुवै *bhuvé, bhuvāí*
Ab. G.	जस् *jás*	धियस्, धियास् *dhiyás, dhiyā́s*	भुवस्, भुवास् *bhuvás, bhuvā́s*
L.	जि *jí*	धियि, धियाम् *dhiyí, dhiyā́m*	भुवि, भुवाम् *bhuví, bhuvā́m*
V.	जास् *jā́s*	धीस् *dhī́s*	भूस् *bhū́s*
Dual:			
N. A. V.	जौ *jāú*	धियौ *dhíyāu*	भुवौ *bhúvāu*
I. D. Ab.	जाभ्याम् *jā́bhyām*	धीभ्याम् *dhībhyā́m*	भूभ्याम् *bhūbhyā́m*
G. L.	जोस् *jós*	धियोस् *dhiyós*	भुवोस् *bhuvós*
Plural:			
N.	जास् *jā́s*	धियस् *dhíyas*	भुवस् *bhúvas*
A.	जास् (जस्?) *jā́s, jás*	धियस् *dhíyas*	भुवस् *bhúvas*

I.	जाभिस् *jā́bhis*	धीभिस् *dhī́bhis*	भूभिस् *bhū́bhis*
D. Ab.	जाभ्यस् *jā́bhyas*	धीभ्यस् *dhībhyás*	भूभ्यस् *bhūbhyás*
G.	जानाम् (जाम्?) *jā́nām, jā́m*	धियाम्, धीनाम् *dhiyā́m, dhīnā́m*	भुवाम्, भूनाम् *bhuvā́m, bhūnā́m*
L.	जासु *jā́su*	धीषु *dhīṣú*	भूषु *bhūṣú*

352. Monosyllabic stems in composition. When the nouns above described occur as final member of a compound, or when any root in *ā* or *ī* or *ū* is found in a like position, the inflection of an *ā*-stem is as above. But *ī* and *ū*-stems follow a divided usage: the final vowel before a vowel-ending is either converted into a short vowel and semivowel (*iy* or *uv*, as above) or into a semivowel simply (*y* or *v*). The accent is nowhere thrown forward upon the endings; and therefore, when *ī* and *ū* become *y* and *v*, the resulting syllable is circumflex. Thus:

Singular:				
N. V.	*-dhī́s*		*-bhū́s*	
A.	*-dhíyam*	*-dhyàm*	*-bhúvam*	*-bhvàm*
I.	*-dhíyā*	*-dhyā̀*	*-bhúvā*	*-bhvā̀*
D.	*-dhíye*	*-dhyè*	*-bhúve*	*-bhvè*
Ab. G.	*-dhíyas*	*-dhyàs*	*-bhúvas*	*-bhvàs*
L.	*-dhíyi*	*-dhyì*	*-bhúvi*	*-bhvì*
Dual:				
N. A. V.	*-dhíyāu*	*-dhyā̀u*	*-bhúvāu*	*-bhvā̀u*
I. D. Ab.	*-dhī́bhyām*		*-bhū́bhyām*	
G. L.	*-dhíyos*	*-dhyòs*	*-bhúvos*	*-bhvòs*
Plural:				
N. A. V.	*-dhíyas*	*-dhyàs*	*-bhúvas*	*-bhvàs*
I.	*-dhī́bhis*		*-bhū́bhis*	
D. Ab.	*-dhī́bhyas*		*-bhū́bhyas*	
G.	*-dhíyām* *-dhī́nām*	*-dhyā̀m*	*-bhúvām* *-bhū́nām*	*-bhvā̀m*
L.	*-dhī́ṣu*		*-bhū́ṣu*	

As to the admissibility of the fuller endings *āi*, *ās*, and *ām* in the singular (feminine), grammatical authorities are somewhat at variance; but they are never found in the Veda, and have been omitted from the above scheme as probably unreal.

If two consonants precede the final *ī* or *ū*, the dissyllabic forms, with *iy* and *uv*, are regularly written; after one consonant, the usage is varying. The grammarians prescribe *iy* and *uv* when the monosyllabic stem has more

the character of a noun, and *y* and *v* when it is more purely a verbal root with participial value. No such distinction, however, is to be seen in the Veda — where, moreover, the difference of the two forms is only graphic, since the *yā* and *vā* forms and the rest are always to be read as dissyllabic: *iā* or *īā* and *uā* or *ūā*, and so on.

353. A few further Vedic irregularities or peculiarities may be briefly noticed.

Of the *ā*-stems, the forms in *ās*, *ām*, *ā* (du.) are sometimes to be read as dissyllables, *aas*, *aam*, *aa*. The dative of the stem used as infinitive is in *āí* (as if *á* + *e*): thus, *prakhyāí*, *pratimāí*, *parādāí*.

Irregular transfer of the accent to the ending in compounds is seen in a case or two: thus, *avadyabhiyā́* (RV.), *ādhiā́* (AV.).

354. But compounds of the class above described are not infrequently transferred to other modes of inflection: the *ā* shortened to *a* for a masculine stem, or declined like a stem of the derivative *ā*-class (below, **365**) as feminine; the *ī* and *ū* shortened to *i* and *u*, and inflected as of the second declension.

Thus, compound stems in *-ga*, *-ja*, *-da*, *-stha*, *-bhu*, and others, are found even in the Veda, and become frequent later; and sporadic cases from yet others occur: for example, *çṛtapā́n*, *vayodhāís* and *ratnadhébhis*, *dhanasāís* (all RV.); and, from *ī* and *ū* compounds, *veṣaçrís* (TS.), *áhrayas* (RV.), *gaṇaçríbhis* (RV.), *ṛtaníbhyas* (RV.) and *senāníbhyas* (VS.) and *grāmaṇíbhis* (TB.), *supū́nā* (AV.), *çitibhráve* (TS.). Still more numerous are the feminines in *ā* which have lost their root-declension: examples are *prajā́* (of which the further compounds in part have root-forms), *svadhā́*, *çraddhā́*, *pratimā́*, and others.

355. Polysyllabic Stems. Stems of this division of more than one syllable are very rare indeed in the later language, and by no means common in the earlier. The Rig-Veda, however, presents a not inconsiderable body of them; and as the class nearly dies out later, by the disuse of its stems or their transfer to other modes of declension, it may be best described on a Vedic basis.

a. Of stems in *ā*, masculines, half-a-dozen occur in the Veda: *pánthā*, *mánthā*, and *ṛbhukṣā́* are otherwise viewed by the later grammar: see below, **433—4**; *uçánā* (nom. pr.) has the anomalous nom. sing. *uçánā* (and loc. as well as dat. *uçáne*); *mahā́*, 'great', is found only in accus. sing. and abundantly in composition: *ā́tā*, 'frame', has only *ā́tāsu* not derivable from *ā́ta*.

b. Of stems in *ī*, over seventy are found in the Veda, nearly all feminines, and all accented on the final. Half of the feminines are formed from masculines with change of accent: thus, *kalyāṇī́* (m. *kalyā́ṇa*), *puruṣī́* (m. *púruṣa*); others show no change of accent: thus, *yamī́* (m. *yamá*); others still have no corresponding masculines: thus, *nadī́*, *lakṣmī́*, *sūrmī́*. The masculines are about ten in number: for example, *rathī́*, *prāvī́*, *starī́*, *ahī́*, *āpathī́*.

c. Of stems in *ū*, the number is smaller: these, too, are nearly all feminines, and all accented on the final. The majority of them are the feminine adjectives in *ū́* to masculines in *ú* or *u* (above, **344**): thus, *caraṇyū́, cariṣṇū́, jighatsū́, madhū́*. A few are nouns in *ū́*, with change of accent: thus, *agrū́ (ágru), pṛdākū́ (pṛ́dāku), çvaçrū́ (çváçura);* or without change, as *nṛtū́*. And a few have no corresponding masculines: thus, *tanū́, vadhū́, camū́*. The masculines are only two or three; namely, *prāçū́, kṛkadāçū́, makṣū́* (?); and their forms are of the utmost rarity.

356. The mode of declension of these words may be illustrated by the following examples: *rathī́*, m., 'charioteer'; *nadī́*, f., 'stream'; *tanū́*, f., 'body'.

No one of the selected examples occurs in all the forms: forms for which no example at all is quotable are put in brackets. No loc. sing. from any *ī*-stem occurs, to determine what the form would be. The stem *nadī́* is selected as example partly in order to emphasize the difference between the earlier language and the later in regard to the words of this division: *nadī́* is later the model of derivative inflection.

Singular:			
N.	*rathī́s*	*nadī́s*	*tanū́s*
A.	*rathíam*	*nadíam*	*tanúam*
I.	*rathíā*	*nadíā*	*tanúā*
D.	*rathíe*	*nadíe*	*tanúe*
Ab. G.	*rathías*	*nadías*	*tanúas*
L.	.....	.....	*tanúi*
V.	*ráthi* (?)	*nádi*	*tánu*
Dual:			
N. A. V.	*rathíā*	*nadíā*	*tanúā*
I. D. Ab.	*[rathī́bhyām]*	*nadī́bhyām*	*[tanū́bhyām]*
G. L.	*[rathíos]*	*nadíos*	*tanúos*
Plural:			
N. A.	*rathías*	*nadías*	*tanúas*
I.	*[rathī́bhis]*	*nadī́bhis*	*tanū́bhis*
D. Ab.	*[rathī́bhyas]*	*nadī́bhyas*	*tanū́bhyas*
G.	*rathī́nām*	*nadī́nām*	*tanū́nām*
L.	*[rathī́ṣu]*	*nadī́ṣu*	*tanū́ṣu.*

The cases — *nadíam, tanúam*, etc. — are written above according to their true phonetic form, almost invariably belonging to them in the Veda: in the written text, of course, the stem-final is made a semivowel, and the resulting syllable is circumflexed: thus, *nadyàm, tanvàm*, etc.; only, as usual, after two consonants the resolved forms *iy* and *uv* are written instead; and also where the combination *yv* would otherwise result: thus, *cakríyā, [agrúvāi,]* and *mitrāyúvas*. The RV. really reads *staryàm* etc. twice, and *tanvàs* etc. four times; and such contractions are more often made in the AV. The ending *ā* of the nom.-acc.-voc. du. is the equivalent of the later *āu*. The nom. sing. in *s* from *ī*-stems is found in the older language about sixty times, from over thirty stems.

357. Irregularities of form, properly so called, are very few in this division: *camū́* as loc. sing. (instead of *camvì*) occurs a few times; and there is another doubtful case or two of the same kind; the final *ū́* is regarded as *pragṛhya* or uncombinable (**138**); *tanuì* is lengthened to *tanvì̄* in a passage or two; *-yū́vas* is once or twice abbreviated to *-yū́s*.

358. The process of transfer to the other form of *ī* and *ū*-declension (below, **363** ff.), which has nearly extinguished this category of words in the later language, has its beginnings in the Veda; but in RV. they are excessively scanty: namely, *dūtiā́m*, loc. sing., once, and *çvaçruā́m*, do., once, and *dravitnuā́*, instr. sing., with two or three other doubtful cases. In the Atharvan, we find the acc. sing. *kuhū́m*, *tanū́m*, *vadhū́m*; the instr. sing. *palāliā́* and one or two others; the dat. sing. *vadhvāí*, *çvaçruāí*, *agrúvāi*; the abl.-gen. sing. *punarbhúvās*, *pṛdākuā́s*, *çvaçruā́s*; and the loc. sing. *tanúām* (with anomalous accent). The accusatives plural in *īs* and *ūs* are nowhere met with.

359. Adjective compounds from these words are very few; those which occur are declined like the simple stems: thus, *híraṇyavāçīs* and *sahásrastarīs*, *átaptatanūs* and *sárvatanūs*, all nom. sing. masculine.

Stems ending in diphthongs.

360. There are certain monosyllabic stems ending in diphthongs, which are too few and too diverse in inflection to make a declension of, and which may be most appropriately disposed of here, in connection with the stems in *ī* and *ū*, with which they have most affinity. They are:

stems in *āu*: *nāú* and *glāú*;
stems in *āi*: *rāí*;
stems in *o*: *gó* and *dyó* (or *dyú*, *dív*).

361. a. The stem *nāú*, f., 'ship', is entirely regular, taking the normal endings throughout, and following the rules for monosyllabic accentuation (**317**) — except that the accus. pl. is said (it does not appear to occur in accented texts) to be like the nom. Thus: *nāús*, *nā́vam*, *nāvā́*, *nāvé*, *nāvás*, *nāví*; *nā́vāu*, *nāubhyā́m*, *nāvós*; *nā́vas*, *nā́vas*, *nāubhís*, *nāubhyás*, *nāvā́m*, *nāuṣú*.

The stem *glāú*, m., 'ball', is apparently inflected in the same way; but few of its forms have been met with in use.

b. The stem *rāí*, f. (or m.), 'wealth', might be better described as *rā* with a union-consonant *y* (**258**) interposed before vowel endings, and is regularly inflected as such, with normal endings and monosyllabic accent. Thus: *rā́s*, *rā́yam*, *rāyā́*, *rāyé*, *rāyás*, *rāyí*; *rā́yāu*, *rābhyā́m*, *rāyós*; *rā́yas*, *rāyás*, *rābhís*, *rābhyás*, *rāyā́m*, *rāsú*. But in the Veda the accus. pl. is either *rāyás* or *rā́yas*; for accus. sing. and pl. are also used the briefer forms *rā́m*

(which alone is of Vedic occurrence) and *rā́s;* and the gen. sing. is sometimes anomalously accented *rā́yas.*

c. The stem *gó,* m. or f., 'bull' or 'cow', is much more irregular. In the strong cases, except accus. sing., it is strengthened to *gāú,* forming (like *nāú*) *gāús, gā́vāu, gā́vas.* In accus. sing. and pl. it has (like *rāí*) the brief forms *gā́m* and *gā́s.* The abl.-gen. sing. is *gós* (as if from *gu*). The rest is regularly made from *go,* with the normal endings, but with accent always remaining irregularly upon the stem: thus, *gávā, gáve, gávi; gávos; gávām; góbhyām, góbhis, góbhyas, góṣu.* In the Veda, another form of the gen. pl. is *gónām;* the nom. etc. du. is (as in all other such cases) also *gā́vā;* and *gā́m, gós,* and *gā́s* are not infrequently to be pronounced as dissyllables.

d. The stem *dyó,* f. (but in V. usually m.), 'sky, day', is yet more anomalous, having beside it a simpler stem *dyu,* which becomes *div* before a vowel-ending. The native grammarians treat the two as independent words, but it is more convenient to put them together. The stem *dyó* is inflected precisely like *gó,* as above described. The complete declension is as follows (with forms not actually met with in use bracketed):

	Singular.		Dual.		Plural.	
N.	*dyāús*		*[dívāu]*	*dyā́vāu*	*dívas*	*dyā́vas*
A.	*dívam*	*dyā́m*			*divás, dyū́n*	*[dyā́s]*
I.	*divā́*	*[dyávā]*			*dyúbhis*	*[dyóbhis]*
D.	*divé*	*dyáve*	*[dyúbhyām*	*dyóbhyām]*	*[dyúbhyas*	*dyóbhyas]*
Ab.	*divás*	*dyós*				
G.	*divás*	*dyós*	*[divós*	*dyávos]*	*[divā́m*	*dyávām]*
L.	*diví*	*dyávi*			*[dyúṣu*	*dyóṣu]*

The dat. sing. *dyáve* is not found in the early language. Both *dívas* and *divás* occur as accus. pl. in V. As nom. etc. du., *dyā́vā* is, as usual, the regular Vedic form: once occurs *dyávī* (du.), as if a neuter form; and *dyāús* is found once used as ablative. The cases *dyāus, dyām,* and *dyūn* (once) are read in V. sometimes as dissyllables; and the first as accented vocative then becomes *dyāùs* (i. e. *díāus:* see **314**).

e. Adjective compounds having diphthongal stems as final member are not numerous. For *go* we have *gu* in such a position in *águ, sugú,* and a few others; and, correspondingly, *rāí* seems to be reduced to *ri* in *bṛhádraye* and *ṛdhádrayas* (RV.). In *revánt* (unless this is for *rayivant*), *rāí* becomes *ré.* In a few compounds, *dyu* or *dyo* is anomalously treated as first member: thus, *dyāúsaṁçita* (AV.), *dyāurdā* (K.), *dyāurloká* (ÇB.).

B. Derivative stems in *ā, ī, ū.*

362. To this division belong all the *ā* and *ī*-stems

which have not been specified above as belonging to the other or root-word division; and also, in the later language, most of the *ī* and *ū*-stems of the other division, by transfer to a more predominant mode of inflection. Thus:

a. The great mass of derivative feminine *ā*-stems, substantive and adjective.

The inflection of these stems has maintained itself with little change through the whole history of the language, being almost precisely the same in the Vedas as later.

b. The great mass of derivative feminine *ī*-stems.

This class is without exception in the later language. In the earlier, it suffers the exception pointed out above (**355 b**): that feminines made with change of accent follow this mode of declension only when the accent is not on the *ī́*: thus, *táviṣī*, *páruṣṇī*, *pálikni*, *róhiṇī*.

The *ī*-stems of this division in general are regarded as made by contraction of an earlier ending in *yā*. Their inflection has become in the later language somewhat mixed with that of the other division, and so far different from the Vedic inflection: see below, **364**, end.

Very few derivative stems in *ī* are recognized by the grammarians as declined like the root-division; the Vedic words of that class are, if retained in use, transferred to this mode of inflection.

A very small number of masculine *ī*-stems (half-a-dozen) are in the Veda declined as of the derivative division: they are a few rare proper names, *mátalī* etc.; and *ráṣṭrī* and *sirī́* (only one case each).

c. The *ū*-stems are few in number, and are transfers from the other division, assimilated in inflection to the great class of derivative *ī*-stems (except that they retain the ending *s* of the nom. sing.).

363. Endings. The points of distinction between this and the other division are as follows:

In nom. sing. the usual *s*-ending is wanting: except in the *ū*-stems and a very few *ī*-stems — namely, *lakṣmī*, *tarī*, *tantrī* — which have preserved the ending of the other division.

The accus. sing. and pl. add simply *m* and *s* respectively.

The dat., abl.-gen., and loc. sing. take always the fuller endings *āi*, *ās*, *ām;* and these are separated from the final of the *ā*-stems by an interposed *y*.

Before the endings *ā* of instr. sing. and *os* of gen.-loc. du., the final of *ā*-stems is treated as if changed to *e;* but in the Veda, the instr. ending *ā* very often (in nearly half the occurrences) blends with the final to *ā*. The *yā* of *ī*-stems is in a few Vedic examples contracted to *ī*, and even to *i*. A loc. sing. in *ī* occurs a few times.

In all the weakest cases above mentioned, the accent of an ī or ū-stem having acute final is thrown forward upon the ending. In the remaining case of the same class, the gen. pl., a *n* is always interposed between stem and ending, and the accent remains upon the former (in RV., however, it is usually thrown forward upon the ending, as in *i* and *u*-stems).

In voc. sing., final *ā* becomes *e;* final *ī* and *ū* are shortened.

In nom.-acc.-voc. du. and nom. pl. appears in *ī* (and *ū*)-stems a marked difference between the earlier and later language, the latter borrowing the forms of the other division. The du. ending *āu* is unknown in RV., and very rare in AV.; the Vedic ending is *ī* (a corresponding dual of *ū*-stems does not occur). The regular later pl. ending *as* has only a doubtful example or two in RV., and a very small number in AV.; the case there (and it is one of very frequent occurrence) adds *s* simply; and though *yas*-forms occur in the Brāhmaṇas, along with *īs*-forms, both are used indifferently as nom. and accus. Of *ā*-stems, the du. nom. etc. ends in *e*, both earlier and later; in pl., of course, *s*-forms are indistinguishable from *as*-forms. The RV. has a few examples of *āsas* for *ās*.

The remaining cases call for no remark.

364. Examples of declension. As models of the inflection of derivative stems ending in long vowels, we may take सेना *sénā,* f., 'army'; कन्या *kanyā̀,* f., 'girl'; देवी *devī́*, f., 'goddess'; वधू *vadhū́,* f., 'woman'.

Singular:

N.	सेना *sénā*	कन्या *kanyā̀*	देवी *devī́*	वधूस् *vadhū́s*
A.	सेनाम् *sénām*	कन्याम् *kanyā̀m*	देवीम् *devī́m*	वधूम् *vadhū́m*
I.	सेनया *sénayā*	कन्यया *kanyàyā*	देव्या *devyā́*	वध्वा *vadhvā́*
D.	सेनायै *sénāyāi*	कन्यायै *kanyā̀yāi*	देव्यै *devyāí*	वध्वै *vadhvāí*
Ab. G.	सेनायास् *sénāyās*	कन्यायास् *kanyā̀yās*	देव्यास् *devyā́s*	वध्वास् *vadhvā́s*
L.	सेनायाम् *sénāyām*	कन्यायाम् *kanyā̀yām*	देव्याम् *devyā́m*	वध्वाम् *vadhvā́m*
V.	सेने *séne*	कन्ये *kánye*	देवि *dévi*	वधु *vádhu*

	Dual:			
N. A. V.	सेने *séne*	कन्ये *kanyè*	देव्यौ *devyā́u*	वध्वौ *vadhvā́u*
I. D. Ab.	सेनाभ्याम् *sénābhyām*	कन्याभ्याम् *kanyā̀bhyām*	देवीभ्याम् *devī́bhyām*	वधूभ्याम् *vadhū́bhyām*
G. L.	सेनयोस् *sénayos*	कन्ययोस् *kanyàyos*	देव्योस् *devyós*	वध्वोस् *vadhvós*
	Plural:			
N. V.	सेनास् *sénās*	कन्यास् *kanyā̀s*	देव्यस् *devyàs*	वध्वस् *vadhvàs*
A.	सेनास् *sénās*	कन्यास् *kanyā̀s*	देवीस् *devī́s*	वधूस् *vadhū́s*
I.	सेनाभिस् *sénābhis*	कन्याभिस् *kanyā̀bhis*	देवीभिस् *devī́bhis*	वधूभिस् *vadhū́bhis*
D. Ab.	सेनाभ्यस् *sénābhyas*	कन्याभ्यस् *kanyā̀bhyas*	देवीभ्यस् *devī́bhyas*	वधूभ्यस् *vadhū́bhyas*
G.	सेनानाम् *sénānām*	कन्यानाम् *kanyā̀nām*	देवीनाम् *devī́nām*	वधूनाम् *vadhū́nām*
L.	सेनासु *sénāsu*	कन्यासु *kanyā̀su*	देवीषु *devī́ṣu*	वधूषु *vadhū́ṣu*

In the Veda, *vadhū́* is a stem belonging to the other division (like *tanū́*, above, **356**).

365. Examples of Vedic forms are:

1. *ā*-stems: instr. sing. *manīṣā́* (this simpler form is especially common from stems in *tā* and *iā*); nom. pl. *vaçā́sas* (about twenty examples: Lanman, p. 362); accus. pl. *araṁgamā́sas* (a case or two). Half the *bhyas*-cases are to be read as *bhias;* the *ām* of gen. pl. is a few times to be resolved into *aam;* and the *ā* and *ām* of nom. and accus. sing. are, very rarely, to be treated in the same manner.

2. *ī*-stems: instr. sing. *çámī, çámi;* loc. *gaurī́;* nom. etc. du. *devī́;* nom. pl. *devī́s;* gen. pl. *bahvīnā́m*. The final of the stem is to be read as a vowel (not *y*) frequently, but not in the majority of instances: thus, *deviā́, deviā́s, deviā́m, ródasios.*

The sporadic instances of transfer between this division and the preceding have been already sufficiently noticed.

3. In the language of the Brāhmaṇas, the abl.-gen. sing. ending *ās* is almost unknown, and instead of it is used the dat. ending *āi*. The assumption of the same substitution is suggested, but not required, in a few RV.

passages; and it is necessary once in AV. (iv. 5. 6): *svápantv asyāi jñātáyaḥ*, 'let her relatives sleep'. Brāhmaṇa examples are: *tásyāi diçáḥ* (TS.), 'from that direction'; *striyāi payaḥ* (AB.), 'woman's milk'; *dhenvāí vā́ etád rétaḥ* (TB.), 'that, forsooth, is the seed of the cow'; *jyāyasī yājyāyāi* (AB.), 'superior to the *yājyā*'.

366. The noun *strī́*, f., 'woman' (probably contracted from *sūtrī́*, 'generatress'), follows a mixed declension: thus, *strī́*, *stríyam* or *strī́m*, *striyā́*, *striyāí*, *striyā́s*, *striyā́m*, *strí*; *stríyāu*, *strībhyā́m*, *striyós*; *stríyas*, *stríyas* or *strī́s*, *strībhís*, *strībhyás*, *strīṇā́m*, *strīṣú* (but the accusatives *strī́m* and *strī́s* are not found in the older language, and the voc. *stri* is not quotable). The accentuation is that of a root-word; the forms (conspicuously the nom. sing.) are those of the other division.

Adjectives.

367. a. The occurrence of original adjectives in long final vowels, and of compounds having as final member a stem of the first division, has been sufficiently treated above, so far as masculine and feminine forms are concerned. To form a neuter stem in composition, the rule of the later language is that the final long vowel be shortened; and the stem so made is to be inflected like an adjective in *i* or *u* (**339**, **341**).

Such neuter forms are very rare, and in the older language almost unknown. Of neuters from ī-stems have been noted in the Veda only *hariçríyam*, acc. sing. (a masc. form), and *suā́dhías*, gen. sing. (same as masc. and fem.); from ū-stems, only a few examples, and from stem-forms which might be masc. and fem. also: thus, *vibhú*, *subhú*, etc. (nom.-acc. sing.: compare **354**); *supúā* and *mayobhúvā*, instr. sing.; and *mayobhú*, acc. pl. (compare *purú*: **342**); from ā-stems occur only half-a-dozen examples of a nom. sing. in *ās*, like the masc. and fem. form.

b. Compounds having nouns of the second division as final member are common only from derivatives in *ā*; and these shorten the final to *a* in both masculine and neuter: thus, from *a*, 'not', and *prajā*, 'progeny', come the masc. and neut. stem *apraja*, fem. *aprajā*, 'childless'. Such compounds with nouns in *ī* and *ū* are said to be inflected in masc. and fem. like the simple words (only with *īn* and *ūn* in acc. pl. masc.); but the examples given by the grammarians are fictitious. The stem *strī* is directed to be shortened to *-stri* for all genders.

368. It is convenient to give a complete paradigm, for all genders, of an adjective-stem in अ *a*. We take for the purpose पाप *pāpá*, 'evil', of which the feminine is usually made in आ *ā* in the later language, but in ई *ī* in the older.

	m.	n.	f.	f.
Singular:				
N.	पापस् *pāpás*	पापम् *pāpám*	पापा *pāpā́*	पापी *pāpī́*
A.	पापम् *pāpám*		पापाम् *pāpā́m*	पापीम् *pāpī́m*
I.	पापेन *pāpéna*		पापया *pāpáyā*	पाप्या *pāpyā́*
D.	पापाय *pāpā́ya*		पापायै *pāpā́yāi*	पाप्यै *pāpyā́i*
Ab.	पापात् *pāpā́t*		पापायास् *pāpā́yās*	पाप्यास् *pāpyā́s*
G.	पापस्य *pāpásya*		पापायास् *pāpā́yās*	पाप्यास् *pāpyā́s*
L.	पापे *pāpé*		पापायाम् *pāpā́yām*	पाप्याम् *pāpyā́m*
V.	पाप *pā́pa*		पापे *pā́pe*	पापि *pā́pi*
Dual:				
N. A. V.	पापौ *pāpāú*	पापे *pāpé*	पापे *pāpé*	पाप्यौ *pāpyāù*
I. D. Ab.	पापाभ्याम् *pāpā́bhyām*		पापाभ्याम् *pāpā́bhyām*	पापीभ्याम् *pāpī́bhyām*
G. L.	पापयोस् *pāpáyos*		पापयोस् *pāpáyos*	पाप्योस् *pāpyós*
Plural:				
N.	पापास् *pāpā́s*	पापानि *pāpā́ni*	पापास् *pāpā́s*	पाप्यस् *pāpyàs*
A.	पापान् *pāpā́n*	पापानि *pāpā́ni*	पापास् *pāpā́s*	पापीस् *pāpī́s*
I.	पापैस् *pāpāís*		पापाभिस् *pāpā́bhis*	पापीभिस् *pāpī́bhis*
D. Ab.	पापेभ्यस् *pāpébhyas*		पापाभ्यस् *pāpā́bhyas*	पापीभ्यस् *pāpī́bhyas*

G.	पापानाम् *pāpā́nām*	पापानाम् *pāpā́nām*	पापीनाम् *pāpī́nām*
L.	पापेषु *pāpéṣu*	पापासु *pāpā́su*	पापीषु *pāpī́ṣu*

Declension IV.

Stems in *ṛ* (or *ar*).

369. This declension is a comparatively limited one, being almost entirely composed of derivative nouns formed with the suffix तृ *tṛ* (or तर् *tar*), which makes masculine *nomina agentis* (used also participially), and a few nouns of relationship.

But it includes also a few nouns of relationship not made with that suffix: namely *devṛ́*, m., *svásṛ* and *nánāndṛ*, f.; and, besides these, *nṛ́*, m., *stṛ́* (in V.), m., *usṛ́* (in V.), f., *savyaṣṭhṛ*, m., and the feminine numerals *tisṛ* and *catasṛ* (for which, see chap. VI.). The feminines in *tṛ* are only *mātṛ́*, *duhitṛ́*, and *yā́tṛ*.

The inflection of these stems is quite closely analogous with that of stems in *i* and *u* (second declension); its peculiarity, as compared with them, consists mainly in the treatment of the stem itself, which has a double form, fuller in the strong cases, briefer in the weak ones.

370. Forms of the Stem. In the weak cases (excepting the loc. sing.) the stem-final is *ṛ*, which in the weakest cases, or before a vowel-ending, is changed regularly to *r* (**129**). But as regards the strong cases, the stems of this declension fall into two classes: in one of them — which is very much the larger, containing all the *nomina agentis*, and also the nouns of relationship *náptṛ* and *svásṛ*, and the irregular words *stṛ́* and *savyaṣṭhṛ* — the *ṛ* is vriddhied, or becomes *ār*; in the other, containing most of the nouns of relationship, with *nṛ́* and *usṛ́*, the *ṛ* is gunated, or changed to *ar*. In both classes, the loc. sing. has *ar* as stem-final.

371. Endings. These are in general the normal, but with the following exceptions:

The nom. sing. (masc. and fem.) ends always in *ā* (for original *ars*). The voc. sing. ends in *ar*.

The accus. sing. adds *am* to the (strengthened) stem; the accus. pl. has (like *i* and *u*-stems) *n* as masc. ending and *s* as fem. ending, with the *ṛ* lengthened before them.

The abl.-gen. sing. changes *ṛ* to *ur* (or *us:* **169**, end).

The gen. pl. (as in *i* and *u*-stems) inserts *n* before *ām*, and lengthens the stem-final before it. But the *ṛ* of *nṛ́* may also remain short.

The above are the rules of the later language. The older presents certain deviations from them. Thus:

The ending in nom. etc. du. is (as universally in the Veda) regularly *ā* instead of *āu* (only ten *āu*-forms in RV.).

The *i* of loc. sing. is lengthened to *ī* in a few words: thus, *kartárī*.

In the gen. pl., the RV. has once *svásrām*, without inserted *n;* and *narā́m* instead of *nṛṇā́m* is frequent.

Other irregularities of *nṛ́* are the sing. dat. *náre*, gen. *náras*, and loc. *nári*. The Veda writes always *nṛṇā́m* in gen. pl., but its *ṛ* is in a majority of cases metrically long.

The stem *usṛ́*, f., 'dawn', has the voc. sing. *uṣar*, the gen. sing. *usrás;* and the accus. pl. also *usrás*, and loc. sing. *usrā́m* (which is metrically trisyllabic: *usṛā́m*), as if in analogy with *ī* and *ū*-stems. Once occurs *usrí* in loc. sing., but it is to be read as if the regular trisyllabic form, *uṣári* (for the exchange of *s* and *ṣ*, see **181 a**).

From *stṛ́* come only *tā́ras* (apparently) and *stṛ́bhis*.

In the gen.-loc. du., the *r* is almost always to be read as a separate syllable, *ṛ*, before the ending *os:* thus, *pitṛós*, etc. On the contrary, *nánāndari* is once to be read *nánāndri*.

For neuter forms, see below, **378**.

372. Accent. The accentuation follows closely the rules for *i* and *u*-stems: if on the final of the stem, it continues, as acute, on the corresponding syllable throughout, except in the gen. pl., where it may be (and in the Veda always is) thrown forward upon the ending; where, in the weakest cases, *ṛ́* becomes *r*, the ending has the accent. The two monosyllabic stems, *nṛ́* and *stṛ́*, do not show the monosyllabic accent: thus (besides the forms already given above), *nṛ́bhis, nṛ́ṣu*.

373. Examples of declension. As models of this mode of inflection, we may take from the first class (with आर् *ār* in the strong forms) the stems दातृ *dātṛ́*, m., 'giver', and स्वसृ *svásṛ*, f., 'sister'; from the second class (with अर् *ar* in the strong forms) the stem पितृ *pitṛ́*, m., 'father'.

Singular:

N.	दाता *dātā́*	स्वसा *svásā*	पिता *pitā́*
A.	दातारम् *dātā́ram*	स्वसारम् *svásāram*	पितरम् *pitáram*

I.	दात्रा *dātrā́*	स्वस्रा *svásrā*	पित्रा *pitrā́*
D.	दात्रे *dātré*	स्वस्रे *svásre*	पित्रे *pitré*
Ab. G.	दातुर् *dātúr*	स्वसुर् *svásur*	पितुर् *pitúr*
L.	दातरि *dātári*	स्वसरि *svásari*	पितरि *pitári*
V.	दातर् *dā́tar*	स्वसर् *svásar*	पितर् *pítar*
Dual:			
N. A. V.	दातारौ *dātā́rāu*	स्वसारौ *svásārāu*	पितरौ *pitárāu*
I. D. Ab.	दातृभ्याम् *dātṛ́bhyām*	स्वसृभ्याम् *svásṛbhyām*	पितृभ्याम् *pitṛ́bhyām*
G. L.	दात्रोस् *dātrós*	स्वस्रोस् *svásros*	पित्रोस् *pitrós*
Plural:			
N. V.	दातारस् *dātā́ras*	स्वसारस् *svásāras*	पितरस् *pitáras*
A.	दातॄन् *dātṝ́n*	स्वसॄस् *svásṝs*	पितॄन् *pitṝ́n*
I.	दातृभिस् *dātṛ́bhis*	स्वसृभिस् *svásṛbhis*	पितृभिस् *pitṛ́bhis*
D. Ab.	दातृभ्यस् *dātṛ́bhyas*	स्वसृभ्यस् *svásṛbhyas*	पितृभ्यस् *pitṛ́bhyas*
G.	दातॄणाम् *dātṝṇā́m*	स्वसॄणाम् *svásṝṇām*	पितॄणाम् *pitṝṇā́m*
L.	दातृषु *dātṛ́ṣu*	स्वसृषु *svásṛṣu*	पितृषु *pitṛ́ṣu*

The feminine stem मातृ *mātṛ́*, 'mother', is inflected precisely like पितृ *pitṛ́*, excepting that its accusative plural is मातॄस् *mātṝ́s*.

The peculiar Vedic forms have been sufficiently instanced above; the only ones of other than sporadic occurrence being the nom. etc. du. *dātárā*, *svásārā*, *pitárā*, and the gen. pl. of *nṛ*, *narā́m*.

374. The stem *kroṣṭṛ́*, m., 'jackal' (lit'ly 'howler'), substitutes in the middle cases the corresponding forms of *króṣṭu*.

375. Neuter forms. The grammarians prescribe a complete neuter declension also for bases in *tṛ*, precisely accordant with that of *vā́ri* or *mádhu* (above, **339, 341**). Thus, for example:

	Sing.	Du.	Plur.
N. A.	*dhātṛ́*	*dhātṛ́ṇī*	*dhātṛ́ṇi*
I.	*dhātṛ́ṇā*	*dhātṛ́bhyām*	*dhātṛ́bhis*
G.	*dhātṛ́ṇas*	*dhātṛ́ṇos*	*dhātṝṇā́m*
V.	*dhā́tṛ, dhā́tar*	*dhā́tṛṇī*	*dhā́tṛṇi.*

The weakest cases, however (as of *i* and *u*-stems used adjectively: **344**), are allowed also to be formed like the corresponding masculine cases: thus, *dhātrā́* etc.

No such neuter forms chance to occur in the Veda, but they begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas, under influence of the common tendency (compare Germ. *Retter*, *Retterin*; Fr. *menteur*, *menteuse*) to give the *nomen agentis* a more adjective character, making it correspond in gender with the noun which it (appositively) qualifies. Thus, we have in TB. *bhartṛ́* and *janayitṛ́*, qualifying *antárikṣam;* and *bhartṛ́ṇi* and *janayitṛ́ṇi*, qualifying *nákṣatrāṇi;* as, in M., *grahītṛ́ṇi*, qualifying *indriyāṇi.*

When a feminine noun is to be qualified in like manner, the usual feminine derivative in *ī* is employed: thus, in TB., *bhartryā̀s* and *bhartryā̀ù*, *janayitryā̀s* and *janayitryā̀ù*, qualifying *ā́paḥ* and *ahorātré;* and such instances are not uncommon.

The RV. shows the same tendency very curiously once in the accus. pl. *mātṝ́n*, instead of *mātṝ́s*, in apposition with masculine nouns (RV. x. 35.2).

Other neuter forms in RV. are *sthātúr*, gen. sing., *dhmātárī*, loc. sing.; and for the nom. sing., instead of *-tṛ*, a few more or less doubtful cases, *sthātar*, *sthātúr*, *dhartári* (Lanman, p. 422).

Adjectives.

376. a. There are no original adjectives of this declension: for the quasi-adjectival character of the nouns composing it, see above (**378**). The feminine stem is made by the suffix *ī:* thus, *dātrī́*, *dhātrī́*.

b. Roots ending in *ṛ* (like those in *i* and *u:* **345**) add a *t* to make a declinable stem, when occurring as final member of a compound: thus, *karmakṛ́t* (√*kṛ*), *vajrabhṛ́t* (√*bhṛ*), *balihṛ́t* (√*hṛ*). From some *ṛ*-roots, also, are made stems in *ir* and *ur:* see below, **383 a, b.**

c. Nouns in *ṛ* as finals of adjective compounds are inflected in the same manner as when simple, in the masculine and feminine; in the neuter, they would doubtless have the peculiar neuter endings in nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

Declension V.

Stems ending in Consonants.

377. All stems ending in consonants may properly be classed together, as forming a single comprehensive declension; since, though some of them exhibit peculiarities of inflection, these have to do almost exclusively with the stem itself, and not with the declensional endings.

378. In this declension, masculines and feminines of the same final are inflected precisely alike; and neuters are peculiar (as usually in the other declensions) only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

The majority of consonantal stems, however, are not inflected in the feminine, but form a special feminine derivative stem in ई *ī* (never in आ *ā*), by adding that ending to the weak form of the masculine.

Exceptions are in general the stems of divisions A and B — namely, the radical stems etc., and those in *as* and *is* and *us*. For special cases, see below.

379. Variations, as between stronger and weaker forms, are very general among consonantal stems: either of two degrees (strong and weak), or of three (strong, middle, and weakest): see above, **311**.

The peculiar neuter forms, according to the usual rule (**311**), are made in the plural from the strong stem, in singular and dual from the weak — or, when the gradation is threefold, in singular from the middle stem, in dual from the weakest.

As in the case of stems ending in short vowels (*āsyā̀ni, vā́rīṇi, mádhūni, dātṝṇi,* etc.), a nasal sometimes appears in the

special neuter plural cases which is found nowhere else in inflection. Thus, from the stems in *as, is, us,* the nom. etc. pl. in *-āṅsi, -īṅṣi, -ūṅṣi* are very common at every period. According to the grammarians, the radical stems etc. (division A) are treated in the same way; but examples of such neuters are of excessive rarity in the older language; no Vedic text offers one, and in the Brāhmaṇas have been noted only *-hunti* (AB. vii. 2), *-vṛnti* (PB. xvi. 2. 7 et al.), and *-bhāñji* (KB. xxvii. 7): it may be questioned whether they are not late analogical formations.

380. The endings are throughout those given above (**310**) as the "normal".

By the general law as to finals (**150**), the *s* of the nom. sing. masc. and fem. is always lost; and irregularities of treatment of the final of the stem in this case are not infrequent.

The gen. and abl. sing. are never distinguished in form from one another — nor are, by ending, the nom. and accus. pl.: but these sometimes differ in stem-form, or in accent, or in both.

381. Change in the place of the accent is limited to monosyllabic stems and the participles in *ánt* (accented on the final). For details, see below, under divisions A and E.

A few of the compounds of the root *añc* or *ac* show an irregular shift of accent in the oldest language: see below, **410**.

382. For convenience and clearness of presentation, it will be well to separate from the general mass of consonantal stems certain special classes which show kindred peculiarities of inflection, and may be best described together. Thus:

B. Derivative stems in *as, is, us;*

C. Derivative stems in *an (an, man, van);*

D. Derivative stems in *in (in, min, vin);*

E. Derivative stems in *ant (ant, mant, vant);*

F. Perfect active participles in *vāṅs;*

G. Comparatives in *yas.*

There remain, then, to constitute division A, especially radical stems, or those identical in form with roots, together with a comparatively small number of others which are inflected like these.

They will be taken up in the order thus indicated.

A. Root-stems, and those inflected like them.

383. The stems of this division may be classified as follows:

a. Root-stems, having in them no demonstrable element added to a root: thus, *ṛ́c*, 'verse'; *gír*, 'song'; *pád*, 'foot'; *díç*, 'direction'; *máh* (V.), 'great'.

Such stems, however, are not always precisely identical in form with the root: thus, *vā́c* from √*vac*, *srā́j* from √*sṛj*, *mū́ṣ* from √*muṣ*, *vrī́ç* from √*vraçc* (?), *ū́ṣ* from √*vas* 'shine'; — and from roots in final *ṛ* come stems in *ir* and *ur*: thus, *gī́r*, *ā-çī́r*, *stī́r*; *jū́r*, *tū́r*, *dhū́r*, *pū́r*, *mū́r*, *stū́r*; and *psū́r* from √*psar*.

With these may be ranked the stems with reduplicated root, as *cikít*, *yavīyúdh*, *vánīvan*, *sasyád*.

Words of this division in uncompounded use are tolerably frequent in the older language: thus, in RV. are found more than a hundred of them; in AV., about sixty; but in the classical Sanskrit the power of using any root at will in this way is lost, and the examples are comparatively few. In all periods, however, the adjective use as final of a compound is very common (see below, **401**).

b. Stems made by the addition of *t* to a final short vowel of a root.

No proper root-stem ends in a short vowel, although there are (above, **354**) examples of transfer of such to vowel-declensions; but *i* or *u* or *ṛ* adds a *t* to make a declinable form: thus, *-jít*, *-çrút*, *-kṛ́t*. Roots in *ṛ*, however, as has just been seen, also make stems in *ir* or *ur*.

As regards the frequency and use of these words, the same is true as was stated above respecting root-stems. The Veda offers examples of nearly thirty such formations, a few of them (*mít*, *rít*, *stút*, *hrút*, *vṛ́t*, and *dyút* if this is taken from *dyu*) in independent use. Of roots in *ṛ*, *kṛ*, *dhṛ*, *dhvṛ*, *bhṛ*, *vṛ*, *sṛ*, *spṛ*, *hṛ*, *hvṛ* add the *t*. The roots *gā* (or *gam*) and *han* also make *-gát* and *-hát* by addition of the *t* to an abbreviated form in *a* (thus, *adhvagát*, *dyugát*, *navagát*, and *saṁhát*).

As to the infinitive use of various cases of the root-noun in these two forms, see chap. XIII.

c. Monosyllabic (also apparently reduplicated) stems not certainly connectible with any verbal root in the language, but having the aspect of root-stems, as containing no traceable suffix: thus, *tvác*, 'skin'; *páth*, 'road'; *hṛ́d*, 'heart'; *áp*, 'water'; *ā́s*, 'mouth'; *kakúbh* and *kakúd*, 'summit'.

Thirty or forty such words are found in the older language, and some of them continue in later use, while others have been transferred to other modes of declension or have become extinct.

d. Stems more or less clearly derivative, but made with suffixes of rare or even isolated occurrence. Thus:

1. derivatives (V.) from prepositions with the suffix *vat: arvāvát, āvát, udvát, nivát, parāvát, pravát, saṁvát;*

2. derivatives (V.) in *tāt* (perhaps abbreviated from *tāti*), in a few isolated forms: thus, *uparátāt, devátāt, vṛkátāt, satyátāt, sarvátāt;*

3. other derivatives in *t*, preceded by various vowels: thus, *vehát, vahát, sravát, saçcát, vā́ghat; nápāt; taḍít, divít, yoṣít, rohít, sarít, harít; marút; yákṛt, çákṛt;* and the numerals for '30, 40, 50', *triṅçát* etc. (**475**);

4. stems in *ad:* thus, *dṛṣád, dhṛṣád, bhasád, vanád, çarád;*

5. stems in *j*, preceded by various vowels: thus, *tṛṣṇáj, dhṛṣáj, sanáj; uçíj, vaṇíj, bhuríj, niṇíj (?); ásṛj;*

6. a few stems ending in a sibilant apparently formative: thus, *jñā́s, -dās, bhā́s, mā́s, bhī́ṣ;*

7. a remnant of unclassifiable cases, such as *viṣṭáp, víprāç, kápṛth, çurúdh, iṣídh, pṛkṣúdh, raghát (?).*

384. Gender. The root-stems are regularly feminine as *nomen actionis,* and masculine as *nomen agentis* (which is probably only a substantive use of their adjective value: below, **400**). But the feminine noun, without changing its gender, is often also used concretely: e. g., *druh* f. (√*druh,* 'be inimical') means 'harming, enmity', and also 'harmer, hater, enemy' — thus bordering on the masculine value. And some of the feminines have a completely concrete meaning. Through the whole division, the masculines are much less numerous than the feminines, and the neuters rarest of all.

The independent neuter stems are *hṛ́d* (also *-hārd*), *dám, vā́r, svàr, mā́s* 'flesh', *ā́s* 'mouth', *bhā́s, dós,* and the indeclinables *çám* and *yós:* also the derivatives *yákṛt, çákṛt, ásṛj.*

385. Strong and weak stem-forms. The distinction of these two classes of forms is usually made either by the presence or absence of a nasal, or by a difference in the quantity of the stem-vowel, as long or short; less often, by other methods.

386. A nasal appears in the strong cases of the following words:

a. Compounds having as final member the root *ac* or *añc:* see below, **407** ff.; — **b.** The stem *yuj,* sometimes (V.): thus, nom. sing. *yúṅ* (for *yúṅk*), accus. *yúñjam,* du. *yúñjā* (but also *yújam* and *yújā*); — **c.** The stem *-dṛç,* as final of a compound (V.); but only in the nom. sing. masc., and not always: thus, *anyā́dṛṅ, īdṛ́ṅ, kīdṛ́ṅ, sadṛ́ṅ* and *pratisadṛ́ṅ:* but also *īdṛ́k, tādṛ́k, svardṛ́k,* etc.; — **d.** For *path* and *puṁs,* which substitute more extended stems, and for *dant,* see below, **394—6.**

387. The vowel *a* is lengthened in strong cases as follows:

a. Of the roots *vac*, *sac*, *sap*, *nabh*, *ças*, in a few instances (V.), at the end of compounds; — **b.** Of the roots *vah* and *sah*, but irregularly: see below, **403—5**; — **c.** Of *ap* 'water' (see **393**); also in its compound *rītyàp;* — **d.** Of *pad*, 'foot': in the compounds of this word, in the later language, the same lengthening is made in the middle cases also; and in RV. and AV. the nom. sing. neut. is both *-pat* and *-pāt*, while *-pādbhis* and *-pātsu* occur in the Brāhmaṇas; — **e.** Of *nas*, 'nose'; — **f.** Sporadic cases (V.) are: *yāj* (?), voc. sing.; *pātháś* and *-rūpas*, accus. pl.; *vánīvānas*, nom. pl. The strengthened forms *bhāj* and *rāj* are constant, through all classes of cases.

388. Other modes of differentiation, by elision of *a* or contraction of the syllable containing it, appear in a few stems:

a. In *-han:* see below, **402**; — **b.** In *kṣam* (V.), along with prolongation of *a:* thus, *kṣā́mā* du., *kṣā́mas* pl.; *kṣamā́* instr. sing., *kṣā́mi* loc. sing., *kṣmā́s* abl. sing.; — **c.** In *dvā́r*, contracted (V.) to *dur* in weak cases (but with some confusion of the two classes); — **d.** In *svàr*, which becomes (RV.) *sūr* in weak cases: later it is indeclinable.

389. The endings are as stated above (**380**).

Respecting their combination with the final of the stem, as well as the treatment of the latter when it occurs at the end of the word, the rules of euphonic combination (chap. III.) are to be consulted; they require much more constant and various application here than anywhere else in declension.

Attention may be called to a few exceptional cases of combination (V.): *mādbhís* and *mādbhyás* from *mā́s* 'month'; the wholly anomalous *paḍbhís* (RV. and VS.: AV. has always *padbhís*) from *pā́d;* and *sarā́ṭ* and *sarā́ḍbhyas* corresponding to a nom. pl. *sarā́ghas* (instead of *sarā́has:* **222**). *Dā́n* is apparently for *dā́m*, by **143**, end. *Agnídh* is abbreviated from *agni-ídh.*

According to the grammarians, neuter stems, unless they end in a nasal or a semivowel, take in nom.-acc.-voc. pl. a strengthening nasal before the final consonant. But no such cases from neuter noun-stems appear ever to have been met with in use; and as regards adjective stems ending in a root, see above, **379**.

390. Monosyllabic stems have the regular accent of such, throwing the tone forward upon the endings in the weak cases.

But the accusative plural has its normal accentuation as a weak case, upon the ending, in only a minority (hardly more than a third) of the stems: namely in *datás, pathás, padás, nidás, apás, uṣás, jñāsás, puṅsás, māsás, mahás;* and sometimes in *vācás, srucás, hrutás, sridhás, kṣapás, vipás, durás, iṣás, dviṣás, druhás* (beside *vā́cas* etc.).

Exceptional instances, in which a weak case has the tone on the stem, occur as follows: *sā́dā, nā́dbhyas, tánā* (also *tanā́*) and *táne, rā́ṇe* and *rā́ṅsu, vā́ṅsu, svā́ni, vípas, kṣā́mi, sū́rā* and *sū́ras* (but *sūré*), *ā́ṅhas*, and *vā́nas* and *bŕ̥has* (in *vā́naspáti, bŕ̥haspáti*). On the other hand, a strong case is accented

on the ending in *mahás*, nom. pl., and *kāsám* (AV.: perhaps a false reading). And *preṣā́*, instr. sing., is accented as if *préṣ* were a simple stem, instead of *pra-íṣ*. *Vimṛdháḥ* is of doubtful character. For the sometimes anomalous accentuation of stems in *ac* or *añc*, see **410**.

391. Examples of inflection. As an example of normal monosyllabic inflection, we may take the stem वाच् *vā́c*, f., 'voice' (from √वच् *vac*, with constant prolongation); of inflection with strong and weak stem, पद् *pád*, m., 'foot'; of polysyllabic inflection, मरुत् *marút*, m., 'wind' or 'wind-god'; of a monosyllabic root-stem in composition, त्रिवृत् *trivṛ́t*, 'three-fold', in the neuter. Thus:

	Singular:			
N. V.	वाक् *vā́k*	पाद् *pā́d*	मरुत् *marút*	त्रिवृत् *trivṛ́t*
A.	वाचम् *vā́cam*	पादम् *pā́dam*	मरुतम् *marútam*	त्रिवृत् *trivṛ́t*
I.	वाचा *vācā́*	पदा *padā́*	मरुता *marútā*	त्रिवृता *trivṛ́tā*
D.	वाचे *vācé*	पदे *padé*	मरुते *marúte*	त्रिवृते *trivṛ́te*
Ab. G.	वाचस् *vācás*	पदस् *padás*	मरुतस् *marútas*	त्रिवृतस् *trivṛ́tas*
L.	वाचि *vācí*	पदि *padí*	मरुति *marúti*	त्रिवृति *trivṛ́ti*
	Dual:			
N. A. V.	वाचौ *vā́cāu*	पादौ *pā́dāu*	मरुतौ *marútāu*	त्रिवृती *trivṛ́tī*
I. D. Ab.	वाग्भ्याम् *vāgbhyā́m*	पद्भ्याम् *padbhyā́m*	मरुद्भ्याम् *marúdbhyām*	त्रिवृद्भ्याम् *trivṛ́dbhyām*
G. L.	वाचोस् *vācós*	पदोस् *padós*	मरुतोस् *marútos*	त्रिवृतोस् *trivṛ́tos*
	Plural:			
N. V.	वाचस् *vā́cas*	पादस् *pā́das*	मरुतस् *marútas*	त्रिवृन्ति *trivṛ́nti*
A.	वाचस् *vācás, vā́cas*	पदस् *padás*	मरुतस् *marútas*	त्रिवृन्ति *trivṛ́nti*

I.	वाग्भिस् *vāgbhís*	पद्भिस् *padbhís*	मरुद्भिस् *marúdbhis*	त्रिवृद्भिस् *trivṛ́dbhis*
D. Ab.	वाग्भ्यस् *vāgbhyás*	पद्भ्यस् *padbhyás*	मरुद्भ्यस् *marúdbhyas*	त्रिवृद्भ्यस् *trivṛ́dbhyas*
G.	वाचाम् *vācā́m*	पदाम् *padā́m*	मरुताम् *marútām*	त्रिवृताम् *trivṛ́tām*
L.	वाक्षु *vākṣú*	पत्सु *patsú*	मरुत्सु *marútsu*	त्रिवृत्सु *trivṛ́tsu*

392. The stems in *ir* and *ur,* and *is* and *us,* lengthen their vowel (**245 b**) when their final is followed by another consonant, and also in the nom. sing. (where the following *s* is lost): thus, from *gír,* f., 'song', *gī́r (gī́ḥ), gíram, girā́* etc.; *girāu, gīrbhyā́m, girós; giras, gīrbhís, gīrbhyás, girā́m, gīrṣú* (**165**); and so *pū́r, púram, pūrbhís, pūrṣú;* and *āçī́s, āçíṣam, āçíṣā, āçī́rbhis, āçī́ḥṣu;* and so on.

393. The stem *áp,* f., 'water', is inflected only in the plural, and with dissimilation of its final before *bh* to *d* (**151 d**): thus, *ā́pas, apás, adbhís, adbhyás, apā́m, apsú.*

But RV. has the sing. instr. *apā́* and gen. *apás.* In AV. often, and in an instance or two in RV., the nom. and accus. pl. forms are confused in use, *ā́pas* being employed as accus., and (in an instance or two) *apás* as nominative.

394. The stem *púṅs,* m., 'man', is very irregular, substituting *púmāṅs* in the strong cases, and losing its *s* (necessarily) before initial *bh* of a case-ending, and likewise (by analogy with this, or by an abbreviation akin with that noticed at **231**) in the loc. plural. The vocative is (in accordance with that of the somewhat similarly inflected perfect participles: below, **462 a**) *púman* in the later language, but *púmas* in the earlier. Thus: *púmān, púmāṅsam, puṅsā́, puṅsé, puṅsás, puṅsí, púman; púmāṅsāu, pumbhyā́m, puṅsós; púmāṅsas, puṅsás, pumbhís, pumbhyás, puṅsā́m, puṅsú.*

The accentuation of the weak forms, it will be noticed, is that of a true monosyllabic stem. The forms with *bh*-endings nowhere occur in the older language, nor do they appear to have been cited from the later. As to the retention of *s* unlingualized in the weakest cases (whence necessarily follows that in the loc. pl.), see **183.**

395. The stem *path,* m., 'road', is defective in declension, forming only the weakest cases, while the strong are made from *pánthā* or *pánthan,* and the middle from *pathí:* see under *an*-stems, below, **433.**

396. The stem *dánt,* m., 'tooth', is perhaps of participial origin, and has, like a participle, the forms *dánt* and *dát,* strong and weak: thus (V.), *dán, dántam, datā́,* etc.; *datás* acc. pl. etc. But in the middle cases it has the monosyllabic and not the participial accent: thus, *dadbhís, dadbhyás.* In nom. pl. occurs also *-datas* instead of *-dantas.* By the grammarians, the strong cases of this word are required to be made from *dánta.*

397. A number of other words of this division are defective, making part of their inflection from stems of a different form.

Thus, *hṛ́d,* n., 'heart', *mā́ṅs* or *mā́s,* n., 'meat', *mā́s,* m., 'month', *nás,* f., 'nose', *niç,* f., 'night' (not found in the older language), *pṛ́t,* f., 'army', are said by the grammarians to lack the nom. of all numbers and the accus. sing. and du. (the neuters, of course, the acc. pl. also), making them respectively from *hṛ́daya, māṅsá, mā́sa, nā́sikā, niçā, pṛ́tanā.* But the usage in the older language is not entirely in accordance with this requirement: thus, we find *mā́s,* 'flesh', accus. sing.; *mā́s,* 'month', nom. sing.; and *nā́sā,* 'nostrils', du. From *pṛ́t* occurs only the loc. pl. *pṛtsú* and (RV., once) the same case with double ending, *pṛtsúṣu.*

398. On the other hand, certain stems of this division, allowed by the grammarians a full inflection, are used to fill up the deficiencies of those of another form.

Thus, *ásṛj,* n., 'blood', *çákṛt,* n., 'ordure', *yákṛt,* n., 'liver', *dós,* n. (also m.), 'fore-arm', have beside them defective stems in *an:* see below, **432.** Of none of them, however, is anything but the nom.-acc. sing. found in the older language, and other cases later are but very scantily represented.

Of *ā́s,* n., 'mouth', and *úd,* 'water', only a case or two are found, in the older language, beside *āsán* and *āsyà,* and *udán* and *údaka* (**432**).

399. Some of the alternative stems mentioned above are instances of transition from the consonant to a vowel declension: thus, *dánta, mā́sa.* A number of other similar cases occur, sporadically in the older language, more commonly in the later. Such are *pā́da, -māda, -dāça, bhrājá, viṣṭápa, dvāra* and *dura, pura, dhura, -dṛça, nā́sā, nidā, kṣípā, kṣapā́, āçā́,* and perhaps a few others.

A few irregular stems will find a more proper place under the head of Adjectives.

Adjectives.

400. Original adjectives having the root-form are comparatively rare even in the oldest language.

About a dozen are quotable from the RV., for the most part only in a few scattering cases. But *mah,* 'great', is common in RV., though it dies out rapidly later. It makes a derivative feminine stem, *mahī́,* which continues in use, as meaning 'earth' etc.

401. But compound adjectives, having a root as final member, with the value of a present participle, are abundant in every period of the language.

Possessive adjective compounds, also, of the same form, are not very rare: examples are *yatásruc*, 'with offered bowl'; *sū́ryatvac*, 'sun-skinned'; *cátuṣpad*, 'four-footed; *suhā́rd*, 'kind-hearted, friendly'; *rītyàp* (i. e. *rītí-ap*), 'having streaming waters'; *sahásradvār*, 'furnished with a thousand doors'.

The inflection of such compounds is like that of the simple root-stems, masculine and feminine being throughout the same, and the neuter varying only in the nom.-acc.-voc. of all numbers.

Only rarely is a derivative feminine stem in *ī* formed: in the older language, only from the compounds with *ac* or *añc* (**407** ff.), those with *han* (**402**), and those with *pad*, as *ékapadī*, *dvipádī*.

Irregularities of inflection appear in the following:

402. The root *han*, 'slay', as final of a compound, is inflected somewhat like a derivative noun in *an* (below, **420** ff.), becoming *hā* in the nom. sing., and losing its *n* in the middle cases and its *a* in the weakest cases (but only optionally in the loc. sing.). Further, when the vowel is lost, *h* in contract with following *n* reverts to its original *gh*. Thus:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
N.	*vṛtrahā́*	*vṛtrahánāu* (N. A.)	*vṛtrahánas*
A.	*vṛtrahánam*		*vṛtraghnás*
I.	*vṛtraghnā́*	*vṛtrahábhyām* (I. D. Ab.)	*vṛtrahábhis*
D.	*vṛtraghné*		*vṛtrahábhyas* (D. Ab.)
Ab.	*vṛtraghnás* (Ab. G.)		
G.		*vṛtraghnós* (G. L.)	*vṛtraghnā́m*
L.	*vṛtraghní*, *-háni*		*vṛtrahásu*
V.	*vṛ́trahan*	*vṛ́trahaṇāu*	*vṛ́trahaṇas*.

As to the change of *n* to *ṇ*, see **193**, **195**.

A feminine is made by adding *ī* to, as usual, the stem-form shown in the weakest cases: thus, *vṛtraghnī́*.

An accus. pl. *-hánas* (like the nom.) also occurs. *Vṛtrahábhis* (RV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language. Transitions to the *a*-declension begin already in the Veda: thus, to *-há* (RV., AV.), *-ghná* (RV.), *-hana*.

403. The root *vah*, 'carry', at the end of a compound is said by the grammarians to be lengthened to *vāh* in both the strong and middle cases, and contracted in the weakest cases to *ūh*, which with a preceding *a*-vowel becomes *āu* (**137 d**): thus, from *havyaváh*, 'sacrifice-bearing' (epithet of Agni), *havyavā́ṭ*, *havyavā́ham*, *havyāúhā*, etc.; *havyavā́hāu*, *havyavā́ḍbhyām*, *havyāúhos*; *havyavā́has*, *havyāúhas*, *havyavā́ḍbhis*, etc. And *çvetaváh* (not quot-

able) is said to be further irregular in making the nom. sing. in *vās* and the vocative in *vas* or *vās*.

In the earlier language, only strong forms of compounds with *vah* have been found to occur: namely, *-vā́ṭ*, *-vā́ham*, *-vā́hāu* or *-vā́hā*, and *-vā́has*. TS. has the irregular nom. sing. *paṣṭhavā́t*.

404. Of very irregular formation and inflection is one common compound of *vah*, namely *anaḍvā́h* (*anas + vah*, 'burden-bearing' or 'cart-drawing': i. e. 'ox'). Its stem-form in the strong cases is *anaḍvā́h*, in the weakest *anaḍúh*, and in the middle *anaḍúd* (perhaps by dissimilation from *anaḍúḍ*). Moreover, its nom. and voc. sing. are made in *vān* and *van* (as if from a *vant*-stem). Thus:

	Singular.	Dual.	Plural.
N.	*anaḍvā́n*	*anaḍvā́hāu*	*anaḍvā́has*
A.	*anaḍvā́ham*		*anaḍúhas*
I.	*anaḍúhā*	*anaḍúdbhyām*	*anaḍúdbhis*
D.	*anaḍúhe*		*anaḍúdbhyas*
Ab.	*anaḍúhas*		
G.		*anaḍúhos*	*anaḍúhām*
L.	*anaḍúhi*		*anaḍútsu*
V.	*ánaḍvan*	*ánaḍvāhāu*	*ánaḍvāhas*

Anaḍúdbhyas (AV., once) is the only middle case-form quotable from the older language.

The corresponding feminine stem (of very infrequent occurrence) is either *anaḍuhī́* (ÇB.) or *anaḍvāhī* (K.).

405. The root *sah*, 'overcome', has in the Veda a double irregularity: its *s* is changeable to *ṣ* even after an *a*-vowel — as also in its single occurrence as an independent adjective (RV., *tvám ṣā́ṭ*) — while it sometimes remains unchanged after an *i* or *u*-vowel; and its *a* is either prolonged or remains unchanged, in both strong and weak cases. The quotable forms are: *-ṣā́ṭ*, *-ṣā́ham* or *-sā́ham* or *-sáham*, *-sáhā*, *-sā́he* or *-sáhe*, *-ṣā́has* or *-ṣáhas* or *-sáhas*; *-sáhā* (du.); *-ṣā́has* or *-sáhas*.

406. The compound *avayā́j* (√*yaj*, 'make offering'), 'a certain priest' or (BR.) 'a certain sacrifice', is said to form the nom. and voc. sing. *avayā́s*, and to make its middle cases from *avayás*.

Its only quotable form is *avayā́s*, f. (RV. and AV., each once). If the stem is a derivative from *ava* + √*yaj*, 'conciliate', *avayā́s* is probably from *ava* + √*yā*, which has the same meaning.

407. Compounds with *añc* or *ac*. The root *ac* or *añc* makes, in combination with prepositions and other words, a considerable class of familiarly used adjectives, of quite irregular formation and inflection, in some of which it almost loses its character of root, and becomes an ending of derivation.

A part of these adjectives have only two stem-forms: a strong in *añc* (yielding *añ*, from *añks*, in nom. sing. masc.),

and a weak in *ac;* others distinguish from the middle in *ac* a weakest stem in *c*, before which the *a* is contracted with a preceding *i* or *u* into *ī* or *ū*.

The feminine is made by adding *ī* to the stem-form used in the weakest cases, and is accented like them.

408. As examples of inflection we may take *prā́ñc*, 'forward, east'; *pratyáñc*, 'backward, west'; *víṣvañc*, 'going apart'.

Singular:

N. V.	*prā́ñ*	*prā́k*	*pratyáñ*	*pratyák*	*víṣvañ*	*víṣvak*
A.	*prā́ñcam*	*prā́k*	*pratyáñcam*	*pratyák*	*víṣvañcam*	*víṣvak*
I.	*prā́cā*		*pratīcā́*		*víṣūcā*	
D.	*prā́ce*		*pratīcé*		*víṣūce*	
Ab. G.	*prā́cas*		*pratīcás*		*víṣūcas*	
L.	*prā́ci*		*pratīcí*		*víṣūci*	

Dual:

N. A. V.	*prā́ñcāu*	*prā́cī*	*pratyáñcāu*	*pratīcī́*	*víṣvañcāu*	*víṣūcī*
I. D. Ab.	*prā́gbhyām*		*pratyágbhyām*		*víṣvagbhyām*	
G. L.	*prā́cos*		*pratīcós*		*víṣūcos*	

Plural:

N. V.	*prā́ñcas*	*prā́ñci*	*pratyáñcas*	*pratyáñci*	*víṣvañcas*	*víṣvañci*
A.	*prā́cas*	*prā́ñci*	*pratīcás*	*pratyáñci*	*víṣūcas*	*víṣvañci*
I.	*prā́gbhis*		*pratyágbhis*		*víṣvagbhis*	
D. Ab.	*prā́gbhyas*		*pratyágbhyas*		*víṣvagbhyas*	
G.	*prā́cām*		*pratīcā́m*		*víṣūcām*	
L.	*prā́kṣu*		*pratyákṣu*		*víṣvakṣu*	

The feminine stems are *prā́cī, pratīcī́, víṣūcī*, respectively.

No example of the middle forms excepting the nom. etc. sing. neut. (and this generally used as adverb) is found either in RV. or AV. In the same texts is lacking the nom. etc. pl. neut. in *ñci;* but of this a number of examples occur in the Brāhmaṇas: thus, *prā́ñci, pratyáñci, arvā́ñci, samyáñci, sadhryañci, anvañci.*

409. a. Like *prā́ñc* are inflected *ápāñc, ávāñc, párāñc, arvā́ñc, adharā́ñc*, and others of rare occurrence.

b. Like *pratyáñc* are inflected *nyàñc* (i. e. *niañc*), *samyáñc* (*sam* + *añc*, with irregularly inserted *i*), and *údañc* (weakest stem *údīc: ud* + *añc*, with *i* inserted in weakest cases only), with a few other rare stems.

c. Like *víṣvañc* is inflected *anváñc,* also three or four others of which only isolated forms occur.

d. Still more irregular is *tiryáñc,* of which the weakest stem is *tiráçc* (*tirás* + *ac:* the other stems are made from *tir* + *añc* or *ac*, with the inserted *i*).

410. The accentuation of these words is irregular, as regards both the stems themselves and their inflected forms. Sometimes the one element has

the tone and sometimes the other, without any apparent reason for the difference. If the compound is accented on the final syllable, the accent is shifted in RV. to the ending in the weakest cases provided their stem shows the contraction to *ī* or *ū*: thus, *prā́cā, arvā́cā, adharā́cas*, but *pratīcā́, anūcā́s, samīcī́*. But AV. and later texts usually keep the accent upon the stem: thus, *pratī́cī, samī́cī, anū́cī* (RV. has *pratī́cīm* once). The change of accent to the endings, and even in polysyllabic stems, is against all usual analogy.

B. Derivative stems in *as, is, us.*

411. The stems of this division are prevailingly neuter; but there are also a few masculines, and a single feminine.

412. The stems in अस् *as* are quite numerous, and mostly made with the suffix अस् *as* (a small number also with तस् *tas* and नस् *nas*, and some are obscure); the others are few, and almost all made with the suffixes इस् *is* and उस् *us*.

413. Their inflection is almost entirely regular. But masculine and feminine stems in अस् *as* lengthen the vowel of the ending in nom. sing.; and the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut. make the same prolongation (of अ *a* or इ *i* or उ *u*) before the inserted nasal *(anusvāra)*.

414. Examples of declension. As examples we may take मनस् *mánas*, n., 'mind'; अङ्गिरस् *áṅgiras*, m., 'Angiras'; हविस् *havís*, n., 'libation'.

Singular:

N.	मनस् *mánas*	अङ्गिरास् *áṅgirās*	हविस् *havís*
A.	मनस् *mánas*	अङ्गिरसम् *áṅgirasam*	हविस् *havís*
I.	मनसा *mánasā*	अङ्गिरसा *áṅgirasā*	हविषा *havíṣā*
D.	मनसे *mánase*	अङ्गिरसे *áṅgirase*	हविषे *havíṣe*
Ab. G.	मनसस् *mánasas*	अङ्गिरसस् *áṅgirasas*	हविषस् *havíṣas*

L.	मनसि *mánasi*	अङ्गिरसि *áñgirasi*	हविषि *havíṣi*
V.	मनस् *mánas*	अङ्गिरस् *áñgiras*	हविस् *hávis*
Dual:			
N. A. V.	मनसी *mánasī*	अङ्गिरसौ *áñgirasāu*	हविषी *havíṣī*
I. D. Ab.	मनोभ्याम् *mánobhyām*	अङ्गिरोभ्याम् *áñgirobhyām*	हविर्भ्याम् *havírbhyām*
G. L.	मनसोस् *mánasos*	अङ्गिरसोस् *áñgirasos*	हविषोस् *havíṣos*
Plural:			
N. A. V.	मनांसि *mánāṅsi*	अङ्गिरसस् *áñgirasas*	हवींषि *havíṅṣi*
I.	मनोभिस् *mánobhis*	अङ्गिरोभिस् *áñgirobhis*	हविर्भिस् *havírbhis*
D. Ab.	मनोभ्यस् *mánobhyas*	अङ्गिरोभ्यस् *áñgirobhyas*	हविर्भ्यस् *havírbhyas*
G.	मनसाम् *mánasām*	अङ्गिरसाम् *áñgirasām*	हविषाम् *havíṣām*
L.	मनःसु *mánaḥsu*	अङ्गिरःसु *áñgiraḥsu*	हविःषु *havíḥṣu*

In like manner, चक्षुस् *cákṣus*, n., 'eye', forms चक्षुषा *cákṣuṣā*, चक्षुर्भ्याम् *cákṣurbhyām*, चक्षूंषि *cákṣūṅṣi*, and so on.

415. Vedic irregularities. **a.** The masc. and fem. du. ending *ā* instead of *āu* is as usual elsewhere; — **b.** The fem. *uṣás*, 'dawn', often prolongs its *a* in the other strong cases (besides nom. sing.): thus, *uṣā́sam, uṣā́sā, uṣā́sas.* In instr. pl. occurs (RV., once) *uṣā́dbhis* instead of *uṣóbhis* (only quotable example of a middle case). From *tōçás* is once found (RV.) in like manner the du. *toçā́sā;* — **c.** *Janús* has the nom. sing. masc. *janū́s,* like an *as*-stem; — **d.** From *svávas* and *svátavas* occur in RV. nom. sing. masc. in *vān;* — **e.** One or two apparently contracted forms — thus, *vedhā́m* for *vedhásam,* and *surā́dhās* for *surā́dhasas,* nom. pl. — are met with.

416. The grammarians regard *uçánas*, m., as regular stem-form of the proper name noticed above (**355 a**), but give it the irregular nom. *uçánā* and the voc. *uçanas* or *uçana* or *uçanan.* Forms from the *as*-stem, even nom., are sometimes met with in the later literature.

As to forms from *as*-stems to *áhan* or *áhar* and *ū́dhan* or *ū́dhar*, see below, **430**.

Adjectives.

417. A few neuter nouns in *as* with accent on the radical syllable have corresponding adjectives or appellatives in *ás*, with accent on the ending: thus, for example, *ápas*, 'work', *apás*, 'active'; *táras*, 'quickness', *tarás*, 'quick'; *yáças*, 'beauty', *yaçás*, 'beauteous'. A few other similar adjectives — as *tavás*, 'mighty', *vedhás*, 'pious' — are without corresponding nouns.

Original adjectives in *is* do not occur. But in *us* are found as many adjectives as nouns (about ten of each class); and in several instances adjective and noun stand side by side, without difference of accent such as appears in the stems in *as*: e. g. *tápus*, 'heat' and 'hot'; *vápus*, 'wonder' and 'wonderful'.

418. Adjective compounds having nouns of this division as final member are very common: thus, *sumánas*, 'favorably minded'; *dīrghā́yus*, 'long-lived'; *çukráçocis*, 'having brilliant brightness'. The stem-form is the same for all genders, and each gender is inflected in the usual manner, the stems in *as* making their nom. sing. masc. and fem. in *ās* (like *áñgiras*, above). Thus, from *sumánas*, the nom. and accus. are as follows:

	singular.		dual.		plural.	
	m. f.	n.	m. f.	n.	m. f.	n.
N.	*sumánās*	*-nas*	*sumánasāu*	*-nasī*	*sumánasas*	*-nāṅsi*
A.	*sumánasam*	*-nas*				

and the other cases (save the vocative) are alike in all genders.

From *dīrghā́yus*, in like manner:

	singular.		dual.		plural.	
N.	*dīrghā́yus*		*dīrghā́yuṣāu*	*-yuṣī*	*dīrghā́yuṣas*	*-yūṅṣi*
A.	*dīrghā́yuṣam*	*-yus*				
I.	*dīrghā́yuṣā*		*dīrghā́yurbhyām*		*dīrghā́yurbhis*	
	etc.		etc.		etc.	

419. The stem *anehás*, 'unrivalled' (defined as meaning 'time' in the later language), forms the nom. sing. masc. and fem. *anehā́*.

C. Derivative stems in *an*.

420. The stems of this division are those made by the three suffixes अन् *an*, मन् *man*, and वन् *van*, together with a few of more questionable etymology which are inflected like them. They are masculine and neuter only.

421. The stem has a triple form. In the strong cases of the masculine, the vowel of the ending is prolonged to

आ *ā;* in the weakest cases it is in general struck out altogether; in the middle cases, or before a case-ending beginning with a consonant, the final न् *n* is dropped. The न् *n* is also lost in the nom. sing. of both genders (leaving आ *ā* as final in the masculine, अ *a* in the neuter).

The peculiar cases of the neuter follow the usual analogy (**311**): the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. have the lengthening to आ *ā*, as strong cases; the nom.-acc.-voc. du., as weakest cases, have the loss of अ *a* — but this only optionally, not necessarily.

In the loc. sing. also, the *a* may be either rejected or retained (compare the corresponding usage with *ṛ*-stems: **373**). And after the *m* or *v* of *man* or *van*, when these are preceded by another consonant, the *a* is always retained, to avoid a too great accumulation of consonants.

422. The vocative sing. is in masculines the pure stem; in neuters, either this or like the nominative. The rest of the inflection requires no description.

423. As to accent, it needs only to be remarked that when, in the weakest cases, an acute *á* of the suffix is lost, the tone is thrown forward upon the ending.

424. Examples of declension. As such may be taken राजन् *rā́jan*, m., 'king'; आत्मन् *ātmán*, m., 'soul, self'; नामन् *nā́man*, n., 'name'. Thus:

Singular:			
N.	राजा *rā́jā*	आत्मा *ātmā́*	नाम *nā́ma*
A.	राजानम् *rā́jānam*	आत्मानम् *ātmā́nam*	नाम *nā́ma*
I.	राज्ञा *rā́jñā*	आत्मना *ātmánā*	नाम्ना *nā́mnā*
D.	राज्ञे *rā́jñe*	आत्मने *ātmáne*	नाम्ने *nā́mne*
Ab. G.	राज्ञस् *rā́jñas*	आत्मनस् *ātmánas*	नाम्नस् *nā́mnas*

L.	राज्ञि, राजनि *rā́jñi, rā́jani*	आत्मनि *ātmáni*	नाम्नि, नामनि *nā́mni, nā́mani*
V.	राजन् *rā́jan*	आत्मन् *ā́tman*	नामन्, नाम *nā́man, nā́ma*
Dual:			
N. A. V.	राजानौ *rā́jānāu*	आत्मानौ *ātmā́nāu*	नाम्नी, नामनी *nā́mnī, nā́manī*
I. D. Ab.	राजभ्याम् *rā́jabhyām*	आत्मभ्याम् *ātmábhyām*	नामभ्याम् *nā́mabhyām*
G. L.	राज्ञोस् *rā́jños*	आत्मनोस् *ātmános*	नाम्नोस् *nā́mnos*
Plural:			
N.	राजानस् *rā́jānas*	आत्मानस् *ātmā́nas*	नामानि *nā́māni*
A.	राज्ञस् *rā́jñas*	आत्मनस् *ātmánas*	नामानि *nā́māni*
I.	राजभिस् *rā́jabhis*	आत्मभिस् *ātmábhis*	नामभिस् *nā́mabhis*
D. Ab.	राजभ्यस् *rā́jabhyas*	आत्मभ्यस् *ātmábhyas*	नामभ्यस् *nā́mabhyas*
G.	राज्ञाम् *rā́jñām*	आत्मनाम् *ātmánām*	नाम्नाम्। *nā́mnām*
L.	राजसु *rā́jasu*	आत्मसु *ātmásu*	नामसु *nā́masu*

The weakest cases of *mūrdhán*, m., 'head', would be accented *mūrdhnā́*, *mūrdhné*, *mūrdhnós*, *mūrdhnás* (acc. pl.), *mūrdhnā́m*, etc.; and so in all similar cases (loc. sing., *mūrdhní* or *mūrdháni*).

425. Vedic Irregularities. **a.** Here, as elsewhere, the ending of the nom.-acc.-voc. du. masc. is usually *ā* instead of *āu*.

b. The briefer form (with ejected *a*) of the loc. sing., and of the neut. nom. etc. du., is almost unknown to the older language. RV. writes once *çatadā́vni*, but it is to be read *çatadā́vani;* and a few similar cases occur in AV. In the Brāhmaṇas also, such forms as *dhāmani* and *sāmanī* are much more common than such as *ahni* and *lomnī*.

c. But throughout both Veda and Brāhmaṇa, an abbreviated form of the loc. sing., with the ending *i* omitted, or identical with the stem, is common (in RV., of considerably more frequent occurrence than the regular form): thus, *mūrdhán*, *kárman*, *ádhvan*, beside *mūrdháni* etc.

d. In the nom.-acc. pl. neut., also, an abbreviated form is common, ending in *ā* or (twice as often) *a*, instead of *āni:* thus, *bráhma* and *bráhmā*, beside *bráhmāṇi:* compare the similar series of endings from *a*-stems, **329**.

e. From a few stems in *man* is made an abbreviated inst. sing., with loss of *m* as well as of *a:* thus, *mahinā́*, *prathinā́*, *variṇā́*, *dānā́*, *preṇā́*, *bhūnā́*, for *mahimnā́* etc. And *drāghmā́* (RV., once) is perhaps (Grassmann) for *drāghmáṇā*.

f. Other of the weakest cases than the loc. sing. are sometimes found with the *a* of the suffix retained: thus, for example, *bhū́manā*, *dā́mane*, *yā́manas*, *ukṣáṇas* (accus. pl.), etc. In the infinitive datives — *trā́maṇe*, *vidmáne*, *dāváne*, etc. — the *a* always remains. Still more numerous are the instances in which the *a*, omitted in the written form of the text, is, as the metre shows, to be restored in reading.

g. The voc. sing. in *vas*, which is the usual Vedic form from stems in *vant* (below, **453 b**), is found also from a few in *van*, perhaps by a transfer to the *vant*-declension: thus, *ṛtāvas*, *evayāvas*, *khidvas* (?), *prātaritvas*, *mātariçvas*, *vibhāvas*.

For words of which the *a* is not made long in the strong cases, see the next paragraph, **b**.

426. A few stems do not make the regular lengthening of *a* in the strong cases (except the nom. sing.). Thus:

a. The names of divinities, *pūṣán* and *aryamán:* thus, *pūṣā́*, *pūṣáṇam*, *pūṣṇā́*, etc.

b. In the Veda, *ukṣán*, 'bull' (but RV. *ukṣā́ṇam* once); *yóṣan*, 'maiden'; *vṛ́ṣan*, 'virile, bull' (but *vṛ́ṣāṇam* and *vṛ́ṣāṇas* are also met with); *tmán*, abbreviation of *ātmán;* and two or three other scattering forms: *anarvā́ṇam*, *jémanā*. And in a number of additional instances, the Vedic metre seems to demand *a* where *ā* is written.

427. The stems *çván*, m., 'dog', and *yúvan*, 'young', have in the weakest cases the contracted form *çún* and *yū́n* (with retention of the accent); in the strong and middle cases they are regular. Thus, *çvā́*, *çvā́nam*, *çúnā*, *çúne*, etc., *çvábhyām*, *çvábhis*, etc.

In dual, RV. has once *yū́nā* for *yúvānā*.

428. The stem *maghávan*, 'generous' (later, almost exclusively a name of Indra), is contracted in the weakest cases to *maghón:* thus, *maghávā*, *maghávānam*, *maghónā*, *maghóne*, etc.

The RV. has once the weak form *maghónas* in nom. pl.

Parallel with this is found the stem *maghávant* (division E); and from the latter alone in the older language are made the middle cases: thus, *maghávadbhis*, *maghávatsu*, etc. (not *maghávabhis* etc.).

429. A number of *an*-stems are more or less defective, making a part of their forms from other stems. Thus:

430. a. The stem *áhan*, n., 'day', is in the later language used only in the strong and weakest cases, the middle (with the nom. sing., which usually follows their analogy) coming from *áhar* or *áhas:* namely, *áhar* nom.-acc. sing., *áhobhyām, áhobhis,* etc. (PB. has *aharbhis*); but *áhnā* etc., *áhni* or *áhani, áhnī* or *áhanī, áhāni* (and, in V., *áhā*). In composition, only *ahar* or *ahas* is used as preceding member; as final member, *ahar, ahas, ahan,* or the derivatives *aha, ahna.*

In the oldest language, the middle cases *áhabhis, áhabhyas, áhasu* also occur.

b. The stem *ū́dhan*, n., 'udder', exchanges in like manner, in the old language, with *ū́dhar* and *ū́dhas*, but has become later an *as*-stem only (except in the fem. *ūdhnī* of adjective compounds): thus, *ū́dhar* or *ū́dhas* (so RV.: AV. only the latter), *ū́dhnas, ū́dhan* or *ū́dhani, ū́dhabhis, ū́dhaḥsu.*

431. The neuter stems *akṣán*, 'eye', *asthán*, 'bone', *dadhán*, 'curd', *sakthán*, 'thigh', form in the later language only the weakest cases, *akṣṇā́, asthné, dadhnás, sakthní* or *saktháni*, and so on; the rest of the inflection is made from stems in *i*, *ákṣi* etc.: see above, **343 f.**

In the older language, other cases from the *an*-stems occur: thus, *akṣā́ṇi* and *akṣábhis; asthā́ni, asthábhis*, and *asthábhyas; sakthā́ni.*

432. The neuter stems *asán*, 'blood', *yakán*, 'liver', *çakán*, 'ordure', *āsán*, 'mouth', *udán*, 'water', *doṣán*, 'fore-arm', *yūṣán*, 'broth', are required to make their nom.-acc.-voc. in all numbers from the parallel stems *ásṛj, yákṛt, çákṛt, āsyà, údaka* (in older language *udaká*), *dós, yū́ṣa*, which are fully inflected.

Earlier occurs also the dual *doṣáṇī.*

433. The stem *pánthan*, m., 'road', is reckoned in the later language as making the complete set of strong cases, with the irregularity that the nom.-voc. sing. adds a *s*. The corresponding middle cases are made from *pathí*, and the weakest from *path*. Thus:

from *pánthan* — *pánthās, pánthānam; pánthānāu; pánthānas;*
from *pathí* — *pathíbhyām; pathíbhis, pathíbhyas, pathíṣu;*
from *path* — *pathā́, pathé, pathás, pathí; pathós; pathás* (accus.), *pathā́m.*

In the oldest language (RV.), however, the strong stem is only *pánthā:* thus, *pánthās*, nom. sing.; *pánthām*, acc. sing.; *pánthās*, nom. pl.; and even in AV., *pánthānam* and *pánthānas* are rare compared with the others. From *pathí* occur also the nom. pl. *patháyas* and gen. pl. *pathīnā́m*. RV. has once *pāthás*, acc. pl., with long *ā*.

434. The stems *mánthan*, m., 'stirring-stick', and *ṛbhukṣán*, m., an epithet of Indra, are given by the grammarians the same inflection with *pánthan;* but only a few cases have been found in use. In V. occur from

the former the acc. sing. *mânthām*, and gen. pl. *mathīnā́m* (like the corresponding cases from *pânthan*); from the latter, the nom. sing. *ṛbhukṣā́s* and voc. pl. *ṛbhukṣās*, like the corresponding Vedic forms of *pânthan;* but also the acc. sing. *ṛbhukṣáṇam* and nom. pl. *ṛbhukṣáṇas*, which are after quite another model.

Adjectives.

435. Original adjective stems in *an* are almost exclusively those in *van*, as *yájvan*, 'sacrificing', *sútvan*, 'pressing the soma', *jítvan*, 'conquering'. The stem is masc. and neut. only (two or three sporadic cases of its use as fem. occur in RV.); the corresponding fem. stem is made in *varī:* thus, *yájvarī*, *jítvarī*.

436. Adjective compounds having a noun in *an* as final member are inflected after the model of noun-stems; and the masculine forms are said to be allowed in use also as feminine; but usually a special feminine is made by adding *ī* to the weakest form of the masculine stem: thus, *durṇā́mnī*, *sómarājñī*.

437. But nouns in *an* occuring as final members of compounds often lose the *n*, or substitute a stem in *a* for that in *an:* thus, *-rāja*, *-adhva*, *-aha;* the corresponding feminine is in *ā*. And feminines in *ā*, replacing *an*, are allowed to be widely formed in the compounds of this division.

The remaining divisions of the consonantal declension are made up of adjective stems only.

D. Derivative stems (adjective) in *in*.

438. The stems of this division are those formed with the suffixes इन् *in*, मिन् *min*, and विन् *vin*. They are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine being made by adding ई *ī*.

The stems in *in* are numerous, since almost any noun in *a* in the language may form a possessive derivative adjective with this suffix: thus, *bála*, 'strength', *balín*, m. n., *balínī*, f., 'possessing strength, strong'. Stems in *vin*, however, are very few, and those in *min* still fewer.

439. Their inflection is quite regular, except that they lose their final न् *n* in the middle cases (before an initial consonant of the ending), and also in the nom. sing., where the masculine lengthens the इ *i* by way of compensation. The voc. sing. is in the masculine the bare stem; in the neuter, either this or the nominative.

In all these respects, it will be noticed, the *in*-declension agrees with the *an*-declension; it differs from the latter only in never losing the vowel of the ending.

440. Example of inflection. As such may be taken बलिन् *balín*, 'strong'. Thus:

	Singular. m.	Singular. n.	Dual. m.	Dual. n.	Plural. m.	Plural. n.
N.	बली *balī́*	बलि *balí*	बलिनौ *balínāu*	बलिनी *balínī*	बलिनस् *balínas*	बलीनि *balī́ni*
A.	बलिनम् *balínam*	बलि *balí*	(N. A.)		(N. A.)	
I.	बलिना *balínā*		बलिभ्याम् *balíbhyām*		बलिभिस् *balíbhis*	
D.	बलिने *balíne*		(I. D. Ab.)		बलिभ्यस् *balíbhyas*	
Ab.	बलिनस् *balínas*		(I. D. Ab.)		(D. Ab.)	
G.	(Ab. G.)		बलिनोस् *balínos*		बलिनाम् *balínām*	
L.	बलिनि *balíni*		(G. L.)		बलिषु *balíṣu*	
V.	बलिन् *bálin*	बलिन्, बलि *bálin, báli*	बलिनौ *bálināu*	बलिनी *bálinī*	बलिनस् *bálinas*	बलीनि *bálīni*

The derived feminine stem in *inī* is inflected, of course, like any other feminine in derivative *ī* (**365**).

441. There are no irregularities in the inflection of *in*-stems, in either the earlier language or the later — except the usual Vedic dual ending in *ā* instead of *āu*.

E. Derivative stems (adjective) in *ant* (or *at*).

442. These stems fall into two sub-divisions: 1. those made by the suffix अन्त् *ant* (or अत् *at*), being, with a very few exceptions, active participles, present and future; 2. those made by the possessive suffixes मन्त् *mant* and वन्त् *vant* (or मत् *mat* and वत् *vat*). They are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding ई *ī*.

1. **Participles in *ant* or *at*.**

443. The stem has in general a double form, a stronger and a weaker, ending respectively in अन्त् *ant* and अत् *at*. The former is taken in the strong cases of the masculine, with, as usual, the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neuter; the latter is taken by all the remaining cases.

But, in accordance with the rule for the formation of the feminine stem (below, **449**), the future participles, and the present participles of verbs of the *tud*-class or accented *á*-class (**752**), and of verbs of the *ad*-class or root-class ending in *ā*, are by the grammarians allowed to make the nom.-acc.-voc. du. from either the stronger or the weaker stem; and the present participles from all other present-stems ending in *a* are required to make the same from the strong stem.

444. Those verbs, however, which in the 3d pl. pres. active lose न् *n* of the usual ending न्ति *nti* (**550**) lose it also in the present participle, and have no distinction of strong and weak stem.

Such are the verbs forming their present-stem by reduplication without added *a*: namely, those of the reduplicating or *hu*-class (**655**) and the intensives (**1012**): thus, from √*hu*, present-stem *juhu*, participle-stem *júhvat;* intensive-stem *johu*, intensive participle-stem *jóhvat*. Further, the participles of roots apparently containing a contracted reduplication: namely, *cákṣat, dáçat, dásat, çásat, sáçcat*; and the aorist participle *dhákṣat*. *Vāvṛdhánt* (RV., once), which has the *n* notwithstanding its reduplication, comes, like the desiderative participles (**1032**), from a stem in *a:* compare *vāvṛdhánta, vāvṛdhásva*.

Even these verbs are allowed by the grammarians to make the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut. in *anti*.

445. The inflection of these stems is quite regular. The nom. sing. masc. comes to end in अन् *an* by the regular (**150**) loss of the two final consonants from the etymological form अन्त्स् *ants*. The vocative of each gender is like the nominative.

446. Stems accented on the final syllable throw the accent forward upon the case-ending in the weakest cases (not in the middle also).

In the dual neut. (as in the feminine stem) from such participles, the accent is *ántī* if the *n* is retained, *atī́* if it is lost.

447. E x a m p l e s o f d e c l e n s i o n. As such may serve

भवन्त् *bhávant*, 'being'; अदन्त् *adánt*, 'eating'; जुह्वत् *júhvat*, 'sacrificing'. Thus:

	Singular:					
N.	भवन् *bhávan*	भवत् *bhávat*	अदन् *adán*	अदत् *adát*	जुह्वत् *júhvat*	जुह्वत् *júhvat*
A.	भवन्तम् *bhávantam*	भवत् *bhávat*	अदन्तम् *adántam*	अदत् *adát*	जुह्वतम् *júhvatam*	जुह्वत् *júhvat*
I.	भवता *bhávatā*		अदता *adatā́*		जुह्वता *júhvatā*	
D.	भवते *bhávate*		अदते *adaté*		जुह्वते *júhvate*	
Ab. G.	भवतस् *bhávatas*		अदतस् *adatás*		जुह्वतस् *júhvatas*	
L.	भवति *bhávati*		अदति *adatí*		जुह्वति *júhvati*	
V.	भवन् *bhávan*	भवत् *bhávat*	अदन् *ádan*	अदत् *ádat*	जुह्वत् *júhvat*	
	Dual:					
N. A. V.	भवन्तौ *bhávantāu*	भवन्ती *bhávantī*	अदन्तौ *adántāu*	अदती *adatī́*	जुह्वतौ *júhvatāu*	जुह्वती *júhvatī*
I. D. Ab.	भवद्भ्याम् *bhávadbhyām*		अदद्भ्याम् *adádbhyām*		जुह्वद्भ्याम् *júhvadbhyām*	
G. L.	भवतोस् *bhávatos*		अदतोस् *adatós*		जुह्वतोस् *júhvatos*	
	Plural:					
N. V.	भवन्तस् *bhávantas*	भवन्ति *bhávanti*	अदन्तस् *adántas*	अदन्ति *adánti*	जुह्वतस् *júhvatas*	जुह्वति *júhvati*
A.	भवतस् *bhávatas*	भवन्ति *bhávanti*	अदतस् *adatás*	अदन्ति *adánti*	जुह्वतस् *júhvatas*	जुह्वति *júhvati*
I.	भवद्भिस् *bhávadbhis*		अदद्भिस् *adádbhis*		जुह्वद्भिस् *júhvadbhis*	
D. Ab.	भवद्भ्यस् *bhávadbhyas*		अदद्भ्यस् *adádbhyas*		जुह्वद्भ्यस् *júhvadbhyas*	

G.	भवताम् *bhávatām*	अदताम् *adatā́m*	जुह्वताम् *júhvatām*
L.	भवत्सु *bhávatsu*	अदत्सु *adátsu*	जुह्वत्सु *júhvatsu*

The future participle *bhaviṣyánt* may form in nom. etc. dual neuter either *bhaviṣyántī* or *bhaviṣyatī́*; *tudánt*, either *tudántī* or *tudatī́*; *yā́nt* (√*yā*), either *yā́ntī* or *yātī́*. And *júhvat*, in nom. etc. plural neuter, may make also *júhvanti* (beside *júhvati*, as given in the paradigm above).

But these strong forms (as well as *bhávantī*, du., and its like from present-stems in unaccented *a*) are quite contrary to general analogy, and of somewhat doubtful character. No Vedic example of them is found; nor have they been noticed anywhere in the older language. The cases concerned, indeed, would be everywhere of rare occurrence.

448. The Vedic deviations from the model as above given are few. The dual ending *āu* is only one sixth as common as *ā*. Anomalous accent is seen in a case or two: *acodā́te* and *rathirāyátām*. The only instance in V. of nom. etc. pl. neut. is *sā́nti*, with lengthened *ā*: compare the forms in *-mānti* and *-vānti*, below, **454c**.

449. The feminine participle-stem, as already stated, is made by adding ई *ī* to either the strong or the weak stem-form of the masc.-neut. The rules as to which of the two forms shall be taken are the same with those given above respecting the nom. etc. dual neuter; namely:

a. Participles from tense-stems ending in unaccented *a* add *ī* to the strong stem-form, or make their feminine in *antī*.

Such are the *bhū* or unaccented *a*-class and the *dīv* or *ya*-class of present-stems (chap. IX.), and the desideratives and causatives (chap. XIV.): thus, from √*bhū* (stem *bháva*), *bhávantī*; from √*dīv* (stem *dī́vya*), *dī́vyantī*; from *búbhūṣa* and *bhāváya* (desid. and caus. of √*bhū*), *búbhūṣantī* and *bhāváyantī*.

Exceptions to this rule are rare. RV. has *tákṣatī* and *járatī*; Bopp (Gr., 530) quotes a few cases from the Nala. The AV. *jīvantī́*, with irregular accent, is doubtless to be regarded as a proper name.

b. Participles from tense-stems in accented *á* may add the feminine-sign either to the strong or to the weak stem-form, or may make their feminines in *ántī* or in *atī́* (with accent as here noted).

Such are the present-stems of the *tud* or accented *á*-class (chap. IX.), the *s*-futures (chap. XII.), and the denominatives (chap. XIV.): thus, from √*tud* (stem *tudá*), *tudántī* or *tudatī́*; from *bhaviṣyá* (fut. of √*bhū*), *bhaviṣyántī* or *bhaviṣyatī́*; from *devayá* (denom. of *devá*), *devayántī* or *devayatī́*.

The forms in *ántī* from this class are the prevailing ones. No future fem. participle in *atī́* is quotable from the older language. From pres.-stems in *á* are found there *ṛñjatī́* and *siñcatī́* (RV.), *tudatī́* and *pinvatī́* (AV.). From denominatives, *devayatī́* (RV.), *durasyatī́* and *çatrūyatī́* (AV.).

Verbs of the *ad* or root-class (chap. IX.) ending in *ā* are given by the grammarians the same option as regards the feminine of the present participle: thus, from √*yā*, *yā́ntī* or *yātī́*. The older language affords no example of the former, so far as noted.

c. From other tense-stems than those already specified — that is to say, from the remaining classes of present-stems and from the intensives — the feminine is formed in *atī́* (or, if the stem be otherwise accented than on the final, in *atī*) only.

Thus, *adatī́* from √*ad*; *júhvatī* from √*hu*; *yuñjatī́* from √*yuj*; *sunvatī́* from √*su*; *kurvatī́* from √*kṛ*; *krīṇatī́* from √*krī*; *dédiçatī* from *dédiç* (intens. of √*diç*).

Exceptions are occasionally met with in the later language, as *dviṣantī* (M.), *rudantī* and *kurvantī* (N.). And AV. has *yā́ntī* once.

450. A few words are participial in form and inflection, though not in meaning. Thus:

a. *bṛhánt* (often written *vṛhánt* in the later language), 'great': it is inflected like a participle (with *bṛhatī́* and *bṛhánti* in du. and pl. neut.).

b. *mahánt*, 'great'; inflected like a participle, but with the irregularity that the *a* of the ending is lengthened in the strong forms: thus, *mahā́n*, *mahā́ntam*; *mahā́ntāu* (neut. *mahatī́*); *mahā́ntas*, *mahā́nti*: instr. *mahatā́* etc.

c. *pṛ́ṣant*, 'speckled', and (in Veda only) *rúçant*, 'shining'.

d. *jágat*, 'movable, lively' (in the later language, as neuter noun, 'world'), a reduplicated formation from √*gam*, 'go'; its nom. etc. neut. pl. is allowed by the grammarians to be only *jáganti*.

e. *ṛhánt*, 'small' (only once, in RV., *ṛhaté*).

All these form their feminine in *atī* only: thus, *bṛhatī́*, *mahatī́*, *pṛ́ṣatī* and *rúçatī* (contrary to the rule for participles), *jágatī*.

For *dánt*, 'tooth', which is perhaps of participial origin, see above, **396**.

451. The pronominal adjectives *iyant* and *kiyant* are inflected like adjectives in *mant* and *vant*, having (**452**) *iyān* and *kiyān* as nom. masc. sing., *iyatī* and *kiyatī* as nom. etc. du. neut. and as feminine stems, and *iyanti* and *kiyanti* as nom. etc. plur. neut.

But the neut. pl. *íyānti* and the loc. sing. (?) *kíyāti* are found in RV

2. Possessives in *mant* and *vant*.

452. The adjectives formed by these two suffixes are

inflected precisely alike, and very nearly like the participles in अन्त् *ant*. From the latter they differ only by lengthening the अ *a* in the nom. sing. masc.

The voc. sing. is in *an*, like that of the participle (in the later language, namely: for that of the oldest, see below, **454 b**). The neut. nom. etc. are in the dual only *atī* (or *átī*), and in the plural *anti* (or *ánti*).

The feminine is always made from the weak stem: thus, *matī*, *vatī* (or *mátī*, *vátī*).

The accent, however, is never (as in the participle) thrown forward upon the case-ending or the feminine ending.

453. To illustrate the inflection of such stems it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of पशुमन्त् *paçumánt*, 'possessing cattle', and भगवन्त् *bhágavant*, 'fortunate, blessed'. Thus:

	m.	n.	m.	n.
Singular:				
N.	पशुमान् *paçumā́n*	पशुमत् *paçumát*	भगवान् *bhágavān*	भगवत् *bhágavat*
A.	पशुमन्तम् *paçumántam*	पशुमत् *paçumát*	भगवन्तम् *bhágavantam*	भगवत् *bhágavat*
	पशुमता *paçumátā* etc.		भगवता *bhágavatā* etc.	
V.	पशुमन् *páçuman*	पशुमत् *páçumat*	भगवन् *bhágavan*	भगवत् *bhágavat*
Dual:				
N. A. V.	पशुमन्तौ *paçumántāu*	पशुमती *paçumátī*	भगवन्तौ *bhágavantāu*	भगवती *bhágavatī*
	etc.		etc.	
Plural:				
N. V.	पशुमन्तस् *paçumántas*	पशुमन्ति *paçumánti*	भगवन्तस् *bhágavantas*	भगवन्ति *bhágavanti*
A.	पशुमतस् *paçumátas*	पशुमन्ति *paçumánti*	भगवतस् *bhágavatas*	भगवन्ति *bhágavanti*
I.	पशुमद्भिस् *paçumádbhis* etc.		भगवद्भिस् *bhágavadbhis* etc.	

454. Vedic Irregularities. **a.** In dual masc. nom. etc., *ā* (for *āu*) is the greatly prevailing ending.

b. In voc. sing. masc., the ending in the oldest language (RV.) is almost always in *as* instead of *an* (as in the perfect participle: below, **462 a**): thus, *adrivas, harivas, bhānumas, haviṣmas.* Such vocatives in RV. occur more than a hundred times, while not a single unquestionable instance of one in *an* is to be found. In the other Vedic texts, vocatives in *as* are extremely rare (but *bhagavas* and its contraction *bhagos* are met with, even in the later language); and in their reproduction of RV. passages the *as* is usually changed to *an.*

It was pointed out above (**425 g**) that the RV. makes the voc. in *as* also apparently from a few *an*-stems.

c. In RV., the nom. etc. pl. neut., in the only two instances that occur, ends in *ānti* instead of *anti:* thus, *ghṛtávānti, paçumánti.* No such forms have been noted elsewhere in the older language: the SV. reads *anti* in its version of the corresponding passages, and a few examples of the same ending are quotable from the Brāhmaṇas: thus, *tā́vanti, etā́vanti, yā́vanti, pravanti, ṛtumanti, yugmanti.* Compare **448, 451.**

d. In a few (eight or ten) more or less doubtful cases, a confusion of strong and weak forms of stem is made: they are too purely sporadic to require reporting. The same is true of a case or two where a masculine form appears to be used with a feminine noun (see Lanman).

455. The stem *árvant*, 'running, steed', has the nom. sing. *árvā*, from *árvan;* and in the older language also the voc. *arvan* and accus. *árvāṇam.*

456. Besides the participle *bhávant,* there is another stem *bhávant,* frequently used in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person (but construed, of course, with a verb in the third person), which is formed with the suffix *vant,* and so declined, having in the nom. sing. *bhávān;* and the contracted form *bhos* of its old-style vocative *bhavas* is a common exclamation of address: 'you, sir!' Its origin is variously explained; it is most probably a contraction of *bhágavant.*

457. The pronominal adjectives *tā́vant, etā́vant, yā́vant,* and the Vedic *ī́vant, mā́vant, tvā́vant,* etc., are inflected like ordinary derivatives from nouns.

F. Perfect Participles in *vāṅs.*

458. The active participles of the perfect tense-system are quite peculiar as regards the modifications of their stem. In the strong cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. pl. neut., the form of their suffix is वांस् *vāṅs,* which becomes, by regular process (**150**), *vān* in the nom. sing., and which is

shortened to वन् *van* in the voc. sing. In the weakest cases, the suffix is contracted into उष् *uṣ*. In the middle cases, including the nom.-acc.-voc. neut. sing., it is changed to वत् *vat*.

A union-vowel *i*, if present in the strong and middle cases, disappears in the weakest, before *uṣ*.

459. The forms as thus described are masculine and neuter only; the corresponding feminine is made by adding ई *ī* to the weakest form of stem, ending thus in उषी *úṣī*.

460. The accent is always upon the suffix, whatever be its form.

461. Examples of inflection. To show the inflection of these participles, we may take the stems विद्वांस् *vidvā́ṅs*, 'knowing' (which has irregular loss of the usual reduplication and of the perfect meaning) from √विद् *vid;* and तस्थिवांस् *tasthivā́ṅs*, 'having stood', from √स्था *sthā*.

Singular:

	m.	n.	m.	n.
N.	विद्वान् *vidvā́n*	विद्वत् *vidvát*	तस्थिवान् *tasthivā́n*	तस्थिवत् *tasthivát*
A.	विद्वांसम् *vidvā́ṅsam*	विद्वत् *vidvát*	तस्थिवांसम् *tasthivā́ṅsam*	तस्थिवत् *tasthivát*
I.	विदुषा *vidúṣā*		तस्थुषा *tasthúṣā*	
D.	विदुषे *vidúṣe*		तस्थुषे *tasthúṣe*	
Ab. G.	विदुषस् *vidúṣas*		तस्थुषस् *tasthúṣas*	
L.	विदुषि *vidúṣi*		तस्थुषि *tasthúṣi*	
V.	विद्वन् *vídvan*	विद्वत् *vídvat*	तस्थिवन् *tásthivan*	तस्थिवत् *tásthivat*

Dual:

	m.	n.	m.	n.
N. A. V.	विद्वांसौ *vidvā́ṅsāu*	विदुषी *vidúṣī*	तस्थिवांसौ *tasthivā́ṅsāu*	तस्थुषी *tasthúṣī*

I. D. Ab.	विद्वद्भ्याम् *vidvádbhyām*	तस्थिवद्भ्याम् *tasthivádbhyām*
G. L.	विदुषोस् *vidúṣos*	तस्थुषोस् *tasthúṣos*
	Plural:	
N. V.	विद्वांसस् विद्वांसि *vidvā́ṅsas vidvā́ṅsi*	तस्थिवांसस् तस्थिवांसि *tasthivā́ṅsas tasthivā́ṅsi*
A.	विदुषस् विद्वांसि *vidúṣas vidvā́ṅsi*	तस्थुषस् तस्थिवांसि *tasthúṣas tasthivā́ṅsi*
I.	विद्वद्भिस् *vidvádbhis*	तस्थिवद्भिस् *tasthivádbhis*
D. Ab.	विद्वद्भ्यस् *vidvádbhyas*	तस्थिवद्भ्यस् *tasthivádbhyas*
G.	विदुषाम् *vidúṣām*	तस्थुषाम् *tasthúṣām*
L.	विद्वत्सु *vidvátsu*	तस्थिवत्सु *tasthivátsu*

The feminine stems of these two participles are विदुषी *vidúṣī* and तस्थुषी *tasthúṣī*.

Other examples of the different stems are:
from √*kr̥* — *cakr̥vā́ṅs, cakr̥vát, cakrúṣ, cakrúṣī;*
from √*nī* — *ninīvā́ṅs, ninīvát, ninyúṣ, ninyúṣī;*
from √*bhū* — *babhūvā́ṅs, babhūvát, babhūvúṣ, babhūvúṣī;*
from √*tan* — *tenivā́ṅs, tenivát, tenúṣ, tenúṣī.*

462. a. In the oldest language (RV.), the vocative sing. masc. (like that of *vant* and *mant*-stems: above, **454 b**) has the ending *vas* instead of *van:* thus, *cikitvas* (changed to *-van* in a parallel passage of AV.), *titirvas, dīdivas, mīḍhvas.*

b. Forms from the middle stem, in *vat*, are extremely rare earlier: only three (*tatanvát* and *vavr̥tvát*, neut. sing., and *jāgr̥vádbhis*, instr. pl.), are found in RV., and not one in AV. And in the Veda the weakest stem and not the middle one, as later, is made the basis of comparison: thus, *vidúṣṭara, mīḍhúṣṭama.*

c. An example or two of the use of the weak stem-form for cases regularly made from the strong are found in RV.: they are *cakrúṣam*, acc. sing., and *ábibhyuṣas*, nom. pl.; *emuṣám*, by its accent (unless an error), is rather from a derivative stem *emuṣá:* and ÇB. has *proṣúṣam*. Similar instances, especially from *vidvā́ṅs*, are now and then met with later (see BR., under *vidvā́ṅs*).

d. The AV. has once *bhaktivā́ṅsas*, as if a participial form from a noun; but K. and TB. give in the corresponding passage *bhaktivā́nas*; *cakhvā́ṅsam* (RV., once) is of doubtful character; *okivā́ṅsā* (RV., once) shows a reversion to guttural form of the final of √*uc*, elsewhere unknown.

G. Comparatives in *yas*.

463. The comparative adjectives of primary formation (below, **467**) have a double form of stem for masculine and neuter: a stronger, ending in यांस् *yāṅs* (usually ईयांस् *īyāṅs*), in the strong cases, and a weaker, in यस् *yas* (or ईयस् *īyas*), in the weak cases (there being no distinction of middle and weakest). The voc. sing. masc. ends in यन् *yan* (but for the older language see below, **465 a**).

The feminine is made by adding ई *ī* to the weak masc.-neut. stem.

464. As models of inflection, it will be sufficient to give a part of the forms of श्रेयस् *çréyas*, 'better', and of गरीयस् *gárīyas*, 'heavier'. Thus:

	Singular:			
N.	श्रेयान् *çréyān*	श्रेयस् *çréyas*	गरीयान् *gárīyān*	गरीयस् *gárīyas*
A.	श्रेयांसम् *çréyāṅsam*	श्रेयस् *çréyas*	गरीयांसम् *gárīyāṅsam*	गरीयस् *gárīyas*
I.	श्रेयसा *çréyasā* etc.		गरीयसा *gárīyasā* etc.	
V.	श्रेयन् *çréyan*	श्रेयस् *çréyas*	गरीयन् *gárīyan*	गरीयस् *gárīyas*
	Dual:			
N. A. V.	श्रेयांसौ *çréyāṅsāu* etc.	श्रेयसी *çréyasī* etc.	गरीयांसौ *gárīyāṅsāu* etc.	गरीयसी *gárīyasī* etc.
	Plural:			
N. V.	श्रेयांसस् *çréyāṅsas*	श्रेयांसि *çréyāṅsi*	गरीयांसस् *gárīyāṅsas*	गरीयांसि *gárīyāṅsi*

A.	श्रेयसस् *çréyasas*	श्रेयांसि *çréyāṅsi*	गरीयसस् *gárīyasas*	गरीयांसि *gárīyāṅsi*
I.	श्रेयोभिस् *çréyobhis*		गरीयोभिस् *gárīyobhis*	
	etc.		etc.	

The feminine stems of these adjectives are श्रेयसी *çréyasī* and गरीयसी *gárīyasī*.

465. a. The Vedic voc. masc. (as in the two preceding divisions: **454 b, 462 a**) is in *yas* instead of *yan:* thus, *ojīyas*, *jyāyas* (RV.: no examples elsewhere have been noted).

b. No example of a middle case occurs in RV. or AV.

c. In the later language are found a few apparent examples of strong cases made from the weaker stem-form: thus, *kanīyasam*, acc. masc., *kanīyasāu* du. They are perhaps rather to be viewed as transition-forms to an *a*-declension.

Comparison.

466. Derivative adjective stems having a comparative and superlative meaning — or often also (and more originally) a merely intensive value — are made either directly from roots (by primary derivation), or from other derivative or compound stems (by secondary derivation).

The subject of comparison belongs properly to the chapter of derivation; but it stands in such near relation to inflection that it is, in accordance with the usual custom in grammars, conveniently and properly enough treated briefly here.

467. The suffixes of primary derivation are ईयस् *īyas* for the comparative and इष्ठ *iṣṭha* for the superlative. The root before them is accented, and usually strengthened by gunating, if capable of it — or, in some cases, by nasalization or prolongation. They are much more frequently and freely used in the oldest language than later; in the classical Sanskrit, only a limited number of such comparatives and superlatives are accepted in use; and these attach themselves in meaning for the most part to other adjectives from the same root, which seem to be their corresponding

positives; but in part also they are artificially connected with other words, unrelated with them in derivation.

Thus, from √*kṣip*, 'hurl', come *kṣépīyas* and *kṣépiṣṭha*, which belong in meaning to *kṣiprá*, 'quick'; from √*vṛ*, 'encompass', come *várīyas* and *váriṣṭha*, which belong to *urú*, 'broad'; while, for example, *káṇīyas* and *kániṣṭha* are attached by the grammarians to *yúvan*, 'young', or *álpa*, 'small'; and *várṣīyas* and *várṣiṣṭha* to *vṛddhá*, 'old'.

468. From Veda and Brāhmaṇa together, rather more than a hundred instances of this primary formation in *īyas* and *iṣṭha* (in many cases only one of the pair actually occurring) are to be quoted. About half of these (in RV., the decided majority) belong, in meaning as in form, to the bare root in its adjective value, as used especially at the end of compounds, but sometimes also independently: thus, from √*tap*, 'burn', comes *tápiṣṭha*, 'excessively burning'; from √*yaj*, 'offer', come *yájīyas* and *yájiṣṭha*, 'better and best (or very well) sacrificing'; from √*yudh*, 'fight', comes *yódhīyas*, 'fighting better'; — in a few instances, the simple root is also found used as corresponding positive: thus, *jū́*, 'hasty, rapid', with *jávīyas* and *jáviṣṭha*. In a little class of instances (eight), the root has a preposition prefixed, which then takes the accent: thus, *ā́gamiṣṭha*, 'especially coming hither'; *vícayiṣṭha*, 'best clearing away'; — in a couple of cases (*áçramiṣṭha*, *áparāvapiṣṭha*, *ástheyas*), the negative particle is prefixed; — in a single word (*çámbhaviṣṭha*), an element of another kind. The words of this formation often take an accusative object: thus, *nábhas tárīyān* (RV.), 'traversing rapidly the cloud'; *vṛtráṁ hániṣṭhaḥ* (RV.), 'best slayer of Vritra'.

But even in the oldest language appears not infrequently the same attachment in meaning to a derivative adjective which (as pointed out above) is usual in the later speech. Besides the examples that occur also later, others are met with like *váriṣṭha*, 'choicest' (*vára*, 'choice'), *bárhiṣṭha*, 'greatest' (*bṛhánt*, 'great'), *óṣiṣṭha*, 'quickest' (*óṣam*, 'quickly'), and so on. Probably by analogy with these, like formations are in a few cases made from the apparently radical syllables of words which have no otherwise traceable root in the language: thus, *kradhīyas* and *kradhiṣṭha* (K.) from *kṛdhú*, *sthávīyas* and *stháviṣṭha* from *sthūrá*, *çáçīyas* (RV.) from *çáçvant*, *áṇīyas* (AV.) and *áṇiṣṭha* (TS.) from *aṇú*; and so on. And yet again, in a few exceptional cases, the suffixes *īyas* and *iṣṭha* are applied to stems which are themselves palpably derivative: thus, *ā́çiṣṭha* from *āçú* (RV.: only case), *tíkṣṇīyas* (AV.) from *tīkṣṇá*, *bráhmīyas* and *bráhmiṣṭha* (TS.) from *bráhman*, *dhármiṣṭha* (TA.) from *dhárman*, *drā́ḍhiṣṭha* (TB.:

instead of *dárhiṣṭha*) from *dṛḍhá*, *rághīyas* (TS.) from *raghu*. These are beginnings, not followed up later, of the extension of the formation to unlimited use.

In *návīyas* or *návyas* and *náviṣṭha*, from *náva*, 'new', and in *sányas* from *sana*, 'old' (all RV.), we have also formations unconnected with verbal roots.

469. The stems in *iṣṭha* are inflected like ordinary adjectives in *a*, making their feminines in *ā*; those in *īyas* have a peculiar declension, which has been described above (**463** ff.).

470. Of peculiarities and irregularities of formation, the following may be noticed.

The suffix *īyas* has in a few instances the briefer form *yas*, generally as alternative with the other: thus, *távīyas* and *távyas*, *nâvīyas* and *nâvyas*, *vâsīyas* and *vâsyas*, *pânīyas* and *pânyas*; and so from *rabh* and *sah*; *sânyas* occurs alone. From *bhū* come *bhū́yas* and *bhū́yiṣṭha*, beside which RV. has also *bhávīyas*.

Of roots in *ā*, the final blends with the initial of the suffix to *e*: thus, *sthéyas*, *dhéṣṭha*, *yéṣṭha*; but such forms are in the Veda generally to be resolved, as *dháïṣṭha*, *yáïṣṭha*. The root *jyā* forms *jyéṣṭha*, but *jyā́yas* (like *bhū́yas*).

The two roots in *ī*, *prī* and *çrī*, form *préyas* and *préṣṭha* and *çréyas* and *çréṣṭha*.

From the root of *ṛjú* come, without strengthening, *ṛ́jīyas* and *ṛ́jiṣṭha*; but in the older language also, more regularly, *rájīyas* and *rájiṣṭha*.

471. The suffixes of secondary derivation are तर *tara* and तम *tama*. They are of almost unrestricted application, being added to adjectives of every form, simple and compound, ending in vowels or in consonants — and this from the earliest period of the language until the latest. The accent of the primitive remains (with rare exceptions) unchanged; and that form of stem is generally taken which appears before an initial consonant of a case-ending (weak or middle form).

Examples (of older as well as later occurrence) are: from vowel-stems, *priyátara*, *váhnitama*, *rathī́tara* and *rathī́tama* (RV.), *cā́rutara*, *potṛ́tama*; — from consonant-stems, *çámtama*, *çáçvattama*, *tavástara* and *tavástama*, *tuviṣṭama*, *vápuṣṭara*, *tapasvítara*, *bhágavattara*, *hiraṇyavāçīmattama*; — from compounds, *ratnadhā́tama*, *abhibhū́tara*, *sukṛ́ttara*, *pūrbhíttama*, *bhūridā́vattara*, *çúcivratatama*, *strīkā́matama*.

But in the Veda the final *n* of a stem is regularly retained: thus, *madíntara* and *madíntama*, *vṛṣántama;* and of a perfect participle the weakest stem is taken: thus, *vidúṣṭara*, *mīḍhúṣṭama*. A feminine final *ī* is shortened: thus, *devitamā* (RV.), *tejasvinītamā* (K.).

In the older language, the words of this formation are not much more frequent than those of the other: thus, in RV. the stems in *tara* and *tama* are to those in *īyas* and *iṣṭha* as three to two; in AV., only as six to five: but later the former win a great preponderance.

472. These comparatives and superlatives are inflected like ordinary adjectives in *a*, forming their feminine in *ā*.

473. That (especially in the Veda) some stems which are nouns rather than adjectives form derivatives of comparison is natural enough, considering the uncertain nature of the division-line between substantive and adjective value. Thus, we have *mātṛ́tama*, *nṛ́tama*, *marúttama*, and others.

The suffixes *tara* and *tama* also make forms of comparison from some of the pronominal roots, as *ka*, *ya*, *i* (see below, **520**); and from certain of the prepositions, as *ut;* and the adverbial accusative (older, neuter; later, feminine) of a comparative in *tara* from a preposition is used to make a corresponding comparative to the preposition itself (below, **1111 c**).

The Hindu grammarians even allow the suffixes of comparison in the adverbial accusative feminine, *tarām* and *tamām*, to be appended to conjugational forms: thus, *pacati*, 'he cooks', *pacatitarām*, 'he cooks better': but such are barbarous combinations, having no warrant in the earlier uses of the language.

The suffixes of secondary comparison are occasionally added to those of primary, forming double comparatives and superlatives: thus, *garīyastara*, *çréṣṭhatama*.

The use of *tama* as ordinal suffix is noted below (**487**); with this value, it is accented on the final, and makes its feminine in *ī:* thus, *çatatamá*, m. and n., *çatatamī́*, f., 'hundredth'.

474. From a few words, mostly prepositions, degrees of comparison are made by the briefer suffixes *ra* and *ma:* thus, *ádhara* and *adhamá*, *ápara* and *apamá*, *ávara* and *avamá*, *úpara* and *upamá*, *ántara*, *ántama*, *paramá*, *madhyamá*, *caramá*. And *ma* is also used to make ordinals (below, **487**).

CHAPTER VI.

NUMERALS.

475. The simple cardinal numerals for the first ten numbers (which are the foundation of the whole class), with their derivatives, the tens, and with some of the higher members of the decimal series, are as follows:

1	एक *éka*	10	दश *dáça*	100	शत *çatá*
2	द्व *dvá*	20	विंशति *viṅçatí*	1000	सहस्र *sahásra*
3	त्रि *trí*	30	त्रिंशत् *triṅçát*	10,000	अयुत *ayúta*
4	चतुर् *catúr*	40	चत्वारिंशत् *catvāriṅçát*	100,000	लक्ष *lakṣá*
5	पञ्च *páñca*	50	पञ्चाशत् *pañcāçát*	1,000,000	प्रयुत *práyuta*
6	षष् *ṣáṣ*	60	षष्टि *ṣaṣṭí*	10,000,000	कोटि *kóṭi*
7	सप्त *saptá*	70	सप्तति *saptatí*	10^8	अर्बुद *arbudá*
8	अष्ट *aṣṭá*	80	अशीति *açītí*	10^9	महार्बुद *mahārbuda*
9	नव *náva*	90	नवति *navatí*	10^{10}	खर्व *kharvá*
10	दश *dáça*	100	शत *çatá*	10^{11}	निखर्व *nikharva*

The accent *saptá* and *aṣṭá* is that belonging to these words in all accentuated texts; according to the grammarians, they are *sápta* and *áṣṭa* in the later language. See below, **483**.

The series of decimal numbers may be carried still further; but there are great differences among the different authorities

with regard to their names; and there is more or less of discordance even from *ayúta* on.

Thus, in the TS., we find *ayúta, niyúta, prayúta, árbuda, nyàrbuda, samudrá, mádhya, ánta, parārdhá;* K. reverses the order of *niyúta* and *prayúta*, and inserts *badva* after *nyarbuda* (reading *nyarbudha*): these are probably the oldest recorded series.

In modern time, the only numbers in practical use above 'thousand' are *lakṣa* ('lac' or lakh') and *koṭi* ('crore'); and an Indian sum is wont to be pointed thus: 123,45,67,890, to signify '123 crores, 45 lakhs, 67 thousands, eight hundred and ninety'.

As to the stem-forms *pañcan* etc., see below, **484.** As to the form *ṣakṣ* instead of *ṣaṣ*, see above, **146** end. The stem *dva* appears in composition and derivation also as *dvā* and *dvi; catúr* in composition is accented *cátur*. The older form of *aṣṭa* is *aṣṭā:* see below, **483.** Forms in *-çat* and *-çati* for the tens are occasionally interchanged.

The other numbers are expressed by the various composition and syntactical combination of those given above. Thus:

476. The odd numbers between the even tens are made by prefixing the (accented) unit to the ten to which its value is to be added: but with various irregularities. Thus:

eka in '11' becomes *ekā*, but is elsewhere unchanged;

dva becomes everywhere *dvā;* but in '42'—'72' and in '92' it is interchangeable with *dvi*, and in '82' *dvi* alone is used;

for *tri* is substituted its nom. pl. masc. *tráyas;* but *tri* itself is also allowed in '43'—'73' and in '93', and in '83' *tri* alone is used;

ṣaṣ becomes *ṣo* in '16', and makes the initial *d* of *daça* lingual (**199 b**); elsewhere its final undergoes the regular conversion (**226 b**) to *ṭ* or *ḍ* or *ṇ;* and in '96' the *n* of *navati* is assimilated to it (**199 b**);

aṣṭa becomes *aṣṭā* (**483**) in '18'—'38', and has either form in the succeeding combinations. Thus:

11 *ékādaça*	31 *ékatriṅçat*	61 *ékaṣaṣṭi*	81 *ékāçīti*
12 *dvā́daça*	32 *dvā́triṅçat*	62 *dvā́ṣaṣṭi* / *dvíṣaṣṭi*	82 *dvyàçīti*
13 *tráyodaça*	33 *tráyastriṅçat*	63 *tráyaḥṣaṣṭi* / *tríṣaṣṭi*	83 *tryàçīti*
14 *cáturdaça*	34 *cátustriṅçat*	64 *cátuḥṣaṣṭi*	84 *cáturaçīti*
15 *páñcadaça*	35 *páñcatriṅçat*	65 *páñcaṣaṣṭi*	85 *páñcāçīti*
16 *ṣóḍaça*	36 *ṣáṭtriṅçat*	66 *ṣáṭṣaṣṭi*	86 *ṣáḍaçīti*
17 *saptádaça*	37 *saptátriṅçat*	67 *saptáṣaṣṭi*	87 *saptā́çīti*
18 *aṣṭā́daça*	38 *aṣṭā́triṅçat*	68 *aṣṭáṣaṣṭi* / *aṣṭā́ṣaṣṭi*	88 *aṣṭā́çīti*
19 *návadaça*	39 *návatriṅçat*	69 *návaṣaṣṭi*	89 *návāçīti.*

The numbers '21'—'29' are made like those for '31'—'39'; the numbers '41'—'49', '51'—'59', '71'—'79', and '91'—'99' are made like those for '61'—'69'.

The forms made with *dvā* and *trayas* are more usual than those with *dvi* and *tri*, which are hardly to be quoted from the older literature (V. and Br.). The forms made with *aṣṭā* (instead of *aṣṭa*) are alone found in the older literature (**483**), and are usual in the later.

477. The above are the normal expressions for the odd numbers. But equivalent substitutes for them are also variously made. Thus:

a. By use of the adjectives *ūna*, 'deficient', and *adhika*, 'redundant', in composition with lesser numbers which are to be subtracted or added, and either independently qualifying or (more usually) in composition with larger numbers which are to be increased or diminished by the others: thus, *tryūnaṣaṣṭi*, 'sixty deficient by three' (i. e. '57'); *aṣṭādhikanavati*, 'ninety increased by eight' (i. e. '98'); *ekādhikaṁ çatam*, 'a hundred increased by one' (i. e. '101'); *pañconaṁ çatam*, '100 less 5' (i. e. '95'). For the nines, especially, such substitutes as *ekonaviṅçati*, '20 less 1', or '19', are not uncommon; and later the *eka*, '1', is left off, and *ūnaviṅçati* etc. have the same value.

b. A case-form of *éka*, 'one', is connected by *ná*, 'not', with a larger number from which one is to be deducted: thus, *ékayā ná triṅçát* (ÇB. PB. KB.), 'not thirty by one' (i. e. '29'); *ékasmān ná pañcāçát* (in ordinal), '49' (TS.); *ékasyāi* (abl. fem.: **366**.3) *ná pañcāçát*, '49' (TS.); most often, *ékān* (i. e. *ékāt*, irregular abl. for *ékasmāt*) *ná viṅçatí*, '19'; *ékān ná çatám*, '99'. This last form is admitted also in the later language: the others are found in the Brāhmaṇas.

c. Instances of multiplication by a prefixed number are occasionally met with: thus, *triṣaptá*, 'thrice seven'; *triṇavá*, 'thrice nine'; *tridaçá*, 'thrice ten'.

d. Of course, the numbers to be added together may be expressed by independent words, with connecting 'and': thus, *náva ca navatíç ca*, or *náva navatíṁ ca*, 'ninety and nine'; *dvāú ca viṅçatíç ca*, 'two and twenty'. But the connective is also (at least, in the older language) not seldom omitted: thus, *navatír náva*, '99'; *triṅçátaṁ trī́n*, '33'; *açītír aṣṭāú*, '88'.

478. The same methods are also variously used for forming the odd numbers above 100. Thus:

a. The added number is prefixed to the other, and takes the accent: for example, *ékaçatam*, '101'; *aṣṭáçatam*, '108'; *triṅçáchatam*, '130'; *aṣṭāviṅçatiçatam*, '148'; *cátuḥsahasram* (RV.: unless the accent is wrong), '1004'.

b. Or, the number to be added is compounded with *adhika*, 'redundant', and the compound is either made to qualify the other number or is further compounded with it: thus, *pañcādhikaṁ çatam* or *pañcādhikaçatam*, '105'.

Of course, *ūna*, 'deficient' (as also other words equivalent to *ūna* or *adhika*), may be used in the same way: thus, *pañconaṁ çatam*, '95'.

c. Syntactical combinations are made at convenience: for example, *dáça çatáṁ ca*, '110'; *çatám ékaṁ ca*, '101'.

479. Another usual method (beginning in the Brāhmaṇas) of forming the odd numbers above 100 is to qualify the larger

number by an adjective derived from the smaller, and identical with the briefer ordinal (below, **487**): thus, *dvādaçám̃ çatám*, '112' (lit'ly, 'a hundred of a 12-sort, or characterised by 12'); *catuçcatvāriñçám̃ çatám*, '124'; *ṣaṭṣaṣṭám̃ çatám*, '166'.

480. To multiply one number by another, among the higher or the lower denominations, the simplest and least ambiguous method is to make of the multiplied number a dual or plural, qualified by the other as any ordinary noun would be; and this method is a common one in all ages of the language. For example: *páñca pañcāçátas*, five fifties ('250'); *náva navatáyas*, 'nine nineties' ('810'); *açītíbhis tisṛ́bhis*, 'with three eighties' ('240'); *páñca çatā́ni*, 'five hundreds'; *trī́ṇi sahásrāṇi*, 'three thousands'; *ṣaṣṭím̃ sahásrāṇi*, '60,000'; *daça ca sahasrāṇy aṣṭāu ca çatāni*, '10,800': and, combined with addition, *trī́ṇi çatā́ni tráyastriñçatam̃ ca*, '333'; *sahasre dve pañconam̃ çatam eva ca*, '2095'.

By a peculiar and wholly illogical construction, such a combination as *trīṇi ṣaṣṭiçatāni*, which ought to signify '480' ($3 \times \overline{100+60}$), is frequently used in the Brāhmaṇas to mean '360' ($3 \times 100 + 60$); so also *dvé catustriñçé çaté*, '234' (not '268'); and other like cases.

481. But the two factors, multiplier and multiplied, are also, and in later usage more generally, combined into a compound (accented on the final); and this is then treated as an adjective, qualifying the numbered noun; or else its neuter or feminine (in *ī*) singular is used substantively: thus, *daçaçatā́s*, '1000'; *ṣaṭçatāiḥ padātibhiḥ* (MBh.), 'with 600 foot-soldiers'; *tráyastriñçat triçatā́ḥ ṣaṭsahasrā́ḥ* (AV.), '6333'; *dviçatám* or *dviçatī́*, '200'; *aṣṭādaçaçatī*, '1800'.

In the usual absence of accentuation, there arises sometimes a question as to how a compound number shall be understood: whether *aṣṭaçatam*, for example, is *aṣṭáçatam*, '108', or *aṣṭaçatám*, '800', and the like.

482. Inflection. The inflection of the cardinal numerals is in many respects irregular. Gender is distinguished only by the first four.

a. *Eka*, '1', is declined after the manner of a pronominal adjective (like *sárva*, below, **524**); its plural is used in the sense of 'some, certain ones'. Its dual does not occur.

Occasional forms of the ordinary declension are met with: thus, *éke* (loc. sing.), *ékāt*.

In the late literature, *eka* is used in the sense of 'a certain', or even sometimes almost of 'a', as an indefinite article. Thus, *eko vyāghraḥ* (H.), 'a certain tiger'; *ekasmin dine*, 'on a certain day'; *haste daṇḍam ekam ādāya* (H.), 'taking a stick in his hand'.

b. *Dva*, '2', is dual only, and is entirely regular: thus, N. A. V. *dvāú* (V. *dvā́*), m., *dvé*, f. n.; I. D. Ab. *dvā́bhyām*; G. L. *dváyos*.

c. *Tri*, '3', is in masc. and neut. nearly regular, like an ordinary stem in *i*; but their genitive is as if from *trayá* (only in the later language: the regular *trīṇā́m* occurs once in RV.). For the feminine it has the peculiar stem *tisṛ́*, which is inflected in general like an *ṛ*-stem; but the nom. and accus. are alike, and show no strengthening of the *ṛ*; and the *ṛ* is not prolonged in the gen. (excepting in the Veda). Thus:

	m.	n.	f.
N.	*tráyas*	*trī́ṇi*	*tisrás*
A.	*trī́n*	*trī́ṇi*	*tisrás*
I.	*tribhís*		*tisṛ́bhis*
D. Ab.	*tribhyás*		*tisṛ́bhyas*
G.	*trayāṇā́m*		*tisṛṇā́m*
L.	*triṣú*		*tisṛ́ṣu*.

The Veda has the abbreviated neut. nom. and accus. *trī́*. The accentuation *tisṛbhís*, *tisṛbhyás*, *tisṛ́ṇām*, and *tisṛṣú* is said to be also allowed in the later language.

The stem *tisṛ* occurs in composition in *tisṛdhanvá* (Br.), 'a bow along with three arrows'.

d. *Catúr*, '4', has *catvā́r* (the more original form) in the strong cases; in the fem. it substitutes the stem *cátasṛ*, apparently akin with *tisṛ́*, and inflected like it (but with anomalous change of accent, like that in the higher numbers: see below, **483**). Thus:

	m.	n.	f.
N.	*catvā́ras*	*catvā́ri*	*cátasras*
A.	*catúras*	*catvā́ri*	*cátasras*
I.	*catúrbhis*		*catasṛ́bhis*
D. Ab.	*catúrbhyas*		*catasṛ́bhyas*
G.	*caturṇā́m*		*catasṛṇā́m*
L.	*catúrṣu*		*catasṛ́ṣu*.

The use of *n* before *ām* of the gen. masc. and neut. after a final consonant of the stem is (as in *ṣaṣ*: below, **483**) a striking irregularity. The more regular gen. fem. *catasṛ́ṇām* also sometimes occurs. In the later language, the accentuation of the final syllable instead of the penult is allowed in inst., dat.-abl., and loc.

483. The numbers from '5' to '19' have no distinction of gender, nor any generic character. They are inflected, somewhat irregularly, as plurals, save in the nom.-acc., where they have no proper plural form, but show the bare stem instead. Of *ṣáṣ* (as of *catúr*), *nām* is the gen. ending, with mutual assimilation (**198 b**) of stem-final and initial of the termination. *Aṣṭá* (as

accented in the older language) has an alternative fuller form, *aṣṭā́*, which is almost exclusively used in the older literature (V. and Br.), both in inflection and in composition (but some compounds with *aṣṭa* are found as early as the AV.); its nom.-acc. is *aṣṭá* (usual later: found in RV. once, and in AV.), or *aṣṭā́* (RV.), or *aṣṭāú* (most usual in RV.; also in AV., Br., and later).

The accent is in many respects peculiar. In all the accented texts, the stress of voice lies on the penult before the endings *bhis, bhyas*, and *su*, from the stems in *a*, whatever be the accent of the stem: thus, *pañcábhis* from *páñca*, *navábhyas* from *náva*, *daçásu* from *dáça*, *navadaçábhis* from *návadaça*, *ekādaçábhyas* from *ékādaça*, *dvādaçásu* from *dvā́daça;* according to the grammarians, either the penult or the final is accented in these forms in the later language. In the gen. pl., the accent is on the ending (as in that of *i, u*, and *ṛ*-stems). The cases of *ṣaṣ*, and those made from the stem-form *aṣṭā*, have the accent throughout upon the ending.

Examples of the inflection of these words are as follows:

N. A.	*páñca*	*ṣáṭ*	*aṣṭāú*	*aṣṭá*
I.	*pañcábhis*	*ṣaḍbhís*	*aṣṭābhís*	*aṣṭábhis*
D. Ab.	*pañcábhyas*	*ṣaḍbhyás*	*aṣṭābhyás*	*aṣṭábhyas*
G.	*pañcānā́m*	*ṣaṇṇā́m*	*aṣṭānā́m*	
L.	*pañcásu*	*ṣaṭsú*	*aṣṭāsú*	*aṣṭásu.*

Saptá (in the later language *sápta*, as *áṣṭa* for *aṣṭá*) and *náva* and *dáça*, with the compounds of *dáça* ('11'—'19'), are declined like *páñca*, and with the same shift of accent (or with alternative shift to the endings, as pointed out above).

484. The Hindu grammarians give to the stems for '5' and '7'—'19' a final *n:* thus, *pañcan, saptan, aṣṭan, navan, daçan*, and *ekādaçan* etc. This, however, has nothing to do with the demonstrably original final nasal of '7', '9', and '10' (compare *septem, novem, decem; seven, nine, ten*); it is only owing to the fact that, starting from such a stem-form, their inflection is made to assume a more regular aspect, the nom.-acc. having the form of a neut. sing. in *an*, and the instr., dat.-abl., and loc. that of a neut. or masc. pl. in *an:* compare *nā́ma, nā́mabhis, nā́mabhyas, nā́masu* — the gen. alone being like that, rather, of a *a*-stem: compare *daçānā́m* with *índrāṇām* and *nā́mnām* or *ātmánām*. No trace whatever of a final *n* is found anywhere in the language, in inflection or derivation or composition, from any of these words.

485. The tens, *vinçatí* and *trinçát* etc., with their compounds, are declined regularly, as feminine stems of the same endings, and in all numbers.

Çatá and *sahásra* are declined regularly, as neuter (or, rarely, in the later language, as masculine) stems of the same final, in all numbers.

The like is true of the higher numbers — which have, indeed, no proper numeral character, but are ordinary nouns.

486. Construction. As regards their construction with the nouns enumerated by them:

a. The words for '1' to '19' are used adjectively, agreeing in case, and, if they distinguish gender, in gender also, with the nouns: thus, *daçábhir vīrāiḥ,* 'with ten heroes'; *yé devā́ divy ékādaça sthá* (AV.), 'what eleven gods of you are in heaven'; *pañcásu jáneṣu,* 'among the five tribes'; *catasṛ́bhir gīrbhíḥ,* 'with four songs'.

b. The numerals above '19' are construed usually as nouns, either taking the numbered noun as a dependent genitive, or standing in the singular in apposition with it: thus, *çataṁ dāsīḥ* or *çataṁ dāsīnām,* 'a hundred slaves' or 'a hundred of slaves'; *viṅçatyā́ háribhis,* 'with twenty bays'; *ṣaṣṭyā́m çarátsu,* 'in 60 autumns'; *çaténa pā́çāiḥ,* 'with a hundred fetters'; *çatáṁ sahásram ayútaṁ nyàrbudam jaghā́na çakró dásyūnām* (AV.), 'the mighty [Indra] slew a hundred, a thousand, a myriad, a hundred million, of demons'.

Occasionally they are put in the plural, as if used more adjectively: thus, *pañcāçadbhir vāṇāiḥ,* 'with fifty arrows'.

c. In the older language, the numerals for '5' and upward are sometimes used in the nom.-acc. form (or as if indeclinably) with other cases also: thus, *páñca kṛṣṭíṣu,* 'among the five races'; *saptá ṛṣīṇām,* 'of seven bards'; *sahásram ṛ́ṣibhiḥ,* 'with a thousand bards'; *çatám pūrbhíḥ,* 'with a hundred strongholds'.

487. Ordinals. Of the classes of derivative words coming from the original or cardinal numerals, the ordinals are by far the most important; and the mode of their formation may best be explained here.

Some of the first ordinals are irregularly made: thus,

éka, '1', forms no ordinal; instead is used *prathamá* (i. e. *pra-tama,* 'foremost'); *ādi* is rare in the Brāhmaṇas, and *ādya* even in the Sūtras;

from *dvá,* '2', and *trí,* '3', come *dvitī́ya* and *tṛtī́ya* (secondarily, through *dvita* and abbreviated *trita*);

catúr, '4', *ṣáṣ,* '6', and *saptá,* '7', take the ending *tha:* thus, *caturthá, ṣaṣṭhá, saptátha;* but for 'fourth' are used also *turī́ya* and *túrya,* and *saptátha* belongs to the older language only: *pañcatha,* for 'fifth', is excessively rare;

the numerals for '5' and '7' usually, and for '8', '9', '10', add *ma,* forming *pañcamá, saptamá, aṣṭamá, navamá, daçamá;*

for '11th' to '19th', the forms are *ekādaçá, dvādaçá*, and so on (the same with the cardinals, except change of accent);

for the tens and intervening odd numbers from '20' onward, the ordinal has a double form — one made by adding the full (superlative) ending *tamá* to the cardinal: thus, *viñçatitamá, triñçattamá, açītitamá*, etc.; the other, shorter, in *a*, with abbreviation of the cardinal: thus, *viñçá*, '20th'; *triñçá*, '30th'; *catvāriñçá*, '40th'; *pañcāçá*, '50th'; *ṣaṣṭá*, '60th'; *saptatá*, '70th'; *açītá*, '80th'; *navatá*, '90th'; and so likewise *ekaviñçá*, '21st', *catustriñçá*, '34th'; *aṣṭācatvāriñçá*, '48th'; *dvāpañcāçá*, '52d'; *ekaṣaṣṭá*, '61st'; and *ekānnaviñçá* and *ūnaviñçá* and *ekonaviñçá*, '19th'; — and so on. Of these two forms, the latter and briefer is by far the more common, the other being not quotable from the Veda, and extremely rarely from the Brāhmaṇas. From '50th' on, the briefer form is allowed by the grammarians only to the odd numbers, made up of tens and units; but it is sometimes met with, even in the later language, from the simple ten.

Of the higher numbers, *çatá* and *sahásra* form *çatatamá* and *sahasratamá*; but their compounds have also the simpler form: thus, *ekaçatá*, '101st'.

Of the ordinals, *prathamá* (and *ādya*), *dvitī́ya*, *tṛtī́ya*, and *turī́ya* (with *túrya*) form their feminine in *ā*; all the rest make it in *ī*.

488. The ordinals, as in other languages, have other than ordinal offices to fill; and in Sanskrit especially they are general adjectives to the cardinals, with a considerable variety of meanings, as fractionals, as signifying 'composed of so many parts' or 'so-many-fold', or 'containing so many', or (as was seen above, **479**) 'having so many added'.

In a fractional sense, the grammarians direct that their accent be shifted to the first syllable: thus, *dvítīya*, 'half'; *tṛ́tīya*, 'third part'; *cáturtha*, 'quarter', and so on. But in accented texts only *tṛ́tīya*, 'third', and *túrīya*, 'quarter', are found so treated; for 'half' occurs only *ardhá*; and *caturthá*, *pañcamá*, and so on, are accented as in their ordinal use.

489. Other numeral derivatives — thus,

multiplicative adverbs, as *dvís, trís, catúr*, 'twice', thrice', 'four times';

adverbs with the suffixes *dhā* and *ças*: for example, *ekadhā́*, 'in one way', *çatadhā́*, 'in a hundred ways'; *ekaças*, 'one by one', *çataçás*, 'by hundreds';

collectives, as *dvítaya* or *dvayá*, 'a pair', *dáçataya* or *daçát*, 'a decade' —

belong rather to the dictionary, or to the chapter of derivation.

CHAPTER VII.

PRONOUNS.

490. THE pronouns differ from the great mass of nouns and adjectives chiefly in that they come by derivation from another and a very limited set of roots, the so-called 'pronominal' or 'demonstrative' roots. But they have also many and marked peculiarities of inflection — some of which, however, find analogies also in a few adjectives; and such adjectives will accordingly be described at the end of this chapter.

Personal Pronouns.

491. The pronouns of the first and second persons are the most irregular and peculiar of all, being made up of fragments coming from various roots and combinations of roots. They have no distinction of gender.

Their inflection in the later language is as follows:

Singular:

	1st pers.	2d pers.
N.	अहम् *ahám*	त्वम् *tvám*
A.	माम्, मा *mā́m, mā*	त्वाम्, त्वा *tvā́m, tvā*
I.	मया *máyā*	त्वया *tváyā*
D.	मह्यम्, मे *máhyam, me*	तुभ्यम्, ते *túbhyam, te*
Ab.	मत् *mát*	त्वत् *tvát*

G.	मम, मे *máma, me*	तव, ते *táva, te*
L.	मयि *máyi*	त्वयि *tváyi*
Dual:		
N. A. V.	आवाम् *āvā́m*	युवाम् *yuvā́m*
I. D. Ab.	आवाभ्याम् *āvā́bhyām*	युवाभ्याम् *yuvā́bhyām*
G. L.	आवयोस् *āváyos*	युवयोस् *yuváyos*
and A. D. G.	नौ *nāu*	वाम् *vām*
Plural:		
N.	वयम् *vayám*	यूयम् *yūyám*
A.	अस्मान्, नस् *asmā́n, nas*	युष्मान्, वस् *yuṣmā́n, vas*
I.	अस्माभिस् *asmā́bhis*	युष्माभिस् *yuṣmā́bhis*
D.	अस्मभ्यम्, नस् *asmábhyam, nas*	युष्मभ्यम्, वस् *yuṣmábhyam, vas*
Ab.	अस्मत् *asmát*	युष्मत् *yuṣmát*
G.	अस्माकम्, नस् *asmā́kam, nas*	युष्माकम्, वस् *yuṣmā́kam, vas*
L.	अस्मासु *asmā́su*	युष्मासु *yuṣmā́su*

The briefer second forms for accus., dat., and gen., in all numbers, are accentless; and hence they are not allowed to stand at the beginning of a sentence, or elsewhere where any emphasis is laid.

The ablative *mat* is accentless in one or two AV. passages (xi. 4. 26; xii. 3. 46).

492. Forms of the older language. All the forms

given above are found also in the older language; which, however, has also others that afterward disappear from use.

Thus, the Veda (RV.) has a few times the instr. sing. *tvā́* (like *manīṣā́* for *manīṣáyā*); further, the loc. sing. *tvé*, the dat. pl. (less often loc.) *asmé*, and the loc. pl. *yuṣmé*: the final *e* of these forms is uncombinable (or *pragṛhya*: **138b**). The datives in *bhyam* are in RV. not seldom to be read as if in *bhya*, with loss of the final nasal; *asmā́kam* and *yuṣmā́kam* suffer the same loss only in a rare instance or two. The usual resolutions of semivowel to vowel are made, and are especially frequent in the forms of the second person (*tuám* for *tvám*, etc.).

But the duals, above all, wear a very different aspect earlier. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, the nominatives are *āvám* and *yuvám*, and only the accusatives *āvā́m* and *yuvā́m* (but in RV. the dual forms of 1st pers. chance not to occur, unless in *vā́m*[?], once, for *āvám*); the instr. in RV. is either *yuvábhyām* (not elsewhere found) or *yuvā́bhyām*; an abl. *yuvát* appears once in RV., and *āvát* twice in TS.; the gen.-loc. is in RV. (only) *yuvós* instead of *yuváyos*. Thus we have here a distinction (elsewhere unknown) of five different dual cases by endings, in part accordant with those of the other two numbers.

493. Peculiar endings. The ending *am*, appearing in the nom. sing. and pl. (and Vedic du.) of these pronouns, will be found often, though only in sing., among the other pronouns. The *bhyam* (or *hyam*) of dat. sing. and pl. is met with only here; its relationship with the *bhyām*, *bhyas*, *bhis* of the ordinary declension is palpable. The *t* (or *d*) of the abl., though here preceded by a short vowel, is doubtless the same with that of the *a*-declension of nouns and adjectives. That the nom., dat., and abl. endings should be the same in sing. and pl. (and in part in the earlier du. also), only the stem to which they are added being different, is unparalleled elsewhere in the language. The element *sma* appearing in the plural forms will be found frequent in the inflection of the singular in other pronominal words: in fact, the compound stem *asma* which underlies the plural of *aham* seems to be the same that furnishes part of the singular forms of *ayam* (**501**), and its value of 'we' to be a specialisation of the meaning 'these persons'. The genitives singular, *máma* and *táva*, have no analogies elsewhere; the derivation from them of the adjectives *māmaka* and *tāvaka* (below, **516**) suggests the possibility of their being themselves stereotyped stems. The gen. pl., *asmā́kam* and *yuṣmā́kam*, are certainly of this character: namely, neuter sing. case-forms of the adjective stems *asmā́ka* and *yuṣmā́ka*, other cases of which are found in the Veda.

494. Stem-forms. To the Hindu grammarians, the stems of the personal pronouns are *mad* and *asmad*, and *tvad* and *yuṣmad*, because these are forms used to a certain extent, and allowed to be indefinitely used, in derivation and composition (like *tad*, *kad*, etc.: see below, under the other pronouns). Words are thus formed from them even in the older language

— namely, *mátkṛta, mátsakhi, asmátsakhi, tvádyoni, mattás* (AV.), *tvátpitṛ* (TS.), *yuváddevatya* (ÇB.); but much more numerous are those that show the proper stem in *a*, or with the *a* lengthened to *ā*: thus, *mā́vant; asmatrā́, asmadrúh,* etc.; *tvā́datta, tvānid, tvā́vasu, tvā́hata,* etc.; *yuṣmā́datta, yuṣméṣita,* etc.; *yuvádhita, yuvā́datta, yuvā́nīta,* etc. And the later language also has a few words made in the same way, as *mādṛç*.

The Vedas have certain more irregular combinations, with complete forms: thus, *tvā́ṁkāma, māmpaçyá, mamasatyá, asméhiti, ahampūrvá, ahamuttará, ahaṁyú, ahaṁsana.*

From the stems of the grammarians come also the derivative adjectives *madī́ya, tvadī́ya, asmadī́ya, yuṣmadī́ya,* having a possessive value: see below, **516**.

For *sva* and *svayám*, see below, **513**.

Demonstrative Pronouns.

495. The simplest demonstrative, त *ta*, which answers also the purpose of a personal pronoun of the third person, may be taken as model of a mode of declension usual in so many pronouns and pronominal adjectives that it is fairly to be called the general pronominal declension.

But this root has also the special irregularity that in the nom. sing. masc. and fem. it has *sás* (for whose peculiar euphonic treatment see **176a**) and *sā́*, instead of *tás* and *tā́* (compare Gr. ὁ, ἡ, τό, and Goth. *sa, so, thata*). Thus:

Singular:

	m.	n.	f.
N.	सस् *sás*	तत् *tát*	सा *sā́*
A.	तम् *tám*	तत् *tát*	ताम् *tā́m*
I.	तेन *téna*		तया *táyā*
D.	तस्मै *tásmāi*		तस्यै *tásyāi*
Ab.	तस्मात् *tásmāt*		तस्यास् *tásyās*

G.	तस्य *tásya*		तस्यास् *tásyās*
L.	तस्मिन् *tásmin*		तस्याम् *tásyām*
Dual:			
N. A. V.	तौ *tāú*	ते *té*	ते *té*
I. D. Ab.	ताभ्याम् *tā́bhyām*		ताभ्याम् *tā́bhyām*
G. L.	तयोस् *táyos*		तयोस् *táyos*
Plural:			
N.	ते *té*	तानि *tā́ni*	तास् *tā́s*
A.	तान् *tā́n*	तानि *tā́ni*	तास् *tā́s*
I.	तैस् *tāís*		ताभिस् *tā́bhis*
D. Ab.	तेभ्यस् *tébhyas*		ताभ्यस् *tā́bhyas*
G.	तेषाम् *téṣām*		तासाम् *tā́sām*
L.	तेषु *téṣu*		तासु *tā́su*

The Vedas show no other irregularities of inflection than those which belong to all stems in *a* and *ā*: namely, *ténā* sometimes; usually *tā́* for *tāú*, du.; often *tā́* for *tā́ni*, pl. neut.; usually *tébhis* for *tāís*, instr. pl.; and the ordinary resolutions. The RV. has one more case-form from the root *sa*, namely *sásmin* (occurring nearly half as often as *tásmin*).

496. The peculiarities of the general pronominal declension, it will be noticed, are these:

In the singular, the use of *t* (properly *d*) as ending of nom.-acc. neut.; the combination with the root of another element *sma* in masc. and neut. dat., abl., and loc., and of *sy* in fem. dat., abl.-gen., and loc.; and the masc. and neut. loc. ending *in*, which is restricted to this declension (except in the anomalous *yādṛçmin*, RV., once).

The dual is precisely that of noun-stems in *a* and *ā*.

In the plural, the irregularities are limited to *té* for *tā́s* in nom. masc., and the insertion of *s* instead of *n* before *ām* of the gen., the stem-final being treated before it in the same manner as before *su* of the loc.

497. The stem of this pronoun is by the grammarians given as *tad;* and from that form come, in fact, the derivative adjective *tadī́ya*, with *tattvá, tadvat, tanmaya;* and numerous compounds, such as *tacchīla, tajjña, tatkara, tadanantara, tanmātra*, etc. These compounds are not rare even in the Veda: so *tádanna, tadvíd, tadvaçá*, etc. But derivatives from the true root *ta* are also many: especially adverbs, as *tátas, tátra, táthā, tadā́;* the adjectives *tā́vant* and *táti;* and the compound *tādṛ́ç* etc.

498. Though the demonstrative root *ta* is prevailingly of the third person, it is also freely used, both in the earlier language and in the later, as qualifying the pronouns of the first and second person, giving emphasis to them: thus, *sò 'hám*, 'this I', or 'I here'; *sá tvám*, 'thou there'; *te vayam*, 'we here'; and so on.

499. Two other demonstrative stems appear to contain *ta* as an element; and both, like the simple *ta*, substitute *sa* in the nom. sing. masc. and fem.

a. The one, *tyá*, is tolerably common (although only a third of its possible forms occur) in RV., but rare in AV., and almost unknown later: its nom. sing., in the three genders, is *syás, syā́, tyát*, and it makes the accusatives *tyám, tyā́m, tyát*, and goes on through the remaining cases in the same manner as *ta*. It has in RV. the instr. fem. *tyā́* (for *tyáyā*).

b. The other is the usual demonstrative of nearer position, 'this here', and is in frequent use through all periods of the language. It prefixes *e* to the simple root, forming the nominatives *eṣás, eṣā́, etát* — and so on through the whole inflection.

The stem *tya* has neither compounds nor derivatives. But from *eta* are formed both, in the same manner as from the simple *ta*, only much less numerous: thus, *etaddā́* (ÇB.), *etadartha*, etc., from the so-called stem *etat;* and *etā́dṛç* and *etā́vant* from *eta*.

500. There is a defective pronominal stem, *ena*, which is accentless, and hence used only in situations where no emphasis falls upon it. It does not occur elsewhere than in the accusative of all numbers, the instr. sing., and the gen.-loc. dual: thus,

	m.	n.	f.
Sing. A.	*enam*	*enat*	*enām*
I.	*enena*		*enayā*

Du.	A.	*enāu* *ene*	*ene*
	G. L.	*enayos*	*enayos*
Pl.	A.	*enān* *enāni*	*enās*

The RV. has *enos* instead of *enayos*, and in one or two instances accents a form: thus, *enā́m*, *enā́s*(?).

This stem forms neither derivatives nor compounds.

501. Two other demonstrative declensions are so irregularly made up that they have to be given in full. The one, अयम् *ayám* etc., is used as a more indefinite demonstrative, 'this' or 'that'; the other, असौ *asāú* etc., signifies especially the remoter relation, 'yon' or 'yonder'.

They are as follows:

Singular:

	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	f.
N.	अयम् *ayám*	इदम् *idám*	इयम् *iyám*	असौ *asāú*	अदस् *adás*	असौ *asāú*
A.	इमम् *imám*	इदम् *idám*	इमाम् *imā́m*	अमुम् *amúm*	अदस् *adás*	अमूम् *amū́m*
I.	अनेन *anéna*		अनया *anáyā*	अमुना *amúnā*		अमुया *amúyā*
D.	अस्मै *asmāí*		अस्यै *asyāí*	अमुष्मै *amúṣmāi*		अमुष्यै *amúṣyāi*
Ab.	अस्मात् *asmā́t*		अस्यास् *asyā́s*	अमुष्मात् *amúṣmāt*		अमुष्यास् *amúṣyās*
G.	अस्य *asyá*		अस्यास् *asyā́s*	अमुष्य *amúṣya*		अमुष्यास् *amúṣyās*
L.	अस्मिन् *asmín*		अस्याम् *asyā́m*	अमुष्मिन् *amúṣmin*		अमुष्याम् *amúṣyām*

Dual:

	m.	n.	f.	m. n. f.
N. A.	इमौ *imāú*	इमे *imé*	इमे *imé*	अमू *amū́*
I.D.Ab.	आभ्याम् *ābhyā́m*			अमूभ्याम् *amū́bhyām*
G. L.	अनयोस् *anáyos*			अमुयोस् *amúyos*

Plural:

N.	इमे इमानि *imé imā́ni*	इमास् *imā́s*	अमी अमूनि *amī́ amū́ni*	अमूस् *amū́s*
A.	इमान् इमानि *imā́n imā́ni*	इमास् *imā́s*	अमून् अमूनि *amū́n amū́ni*	अमूस् *amū́s*
I.	एभिस् *ebhís*	आभिस् *ābhís*	अमीभिस् *amī́bhis*	अमूभिस् *amū́bhis*
D. Ab.	एभ्यस् *ebhyás*	आभ्यस् *ābhyás*	अमीभ्यस् *amī́bhyas*	अमूभ्यस् *amū́bhyas*
G.	एषाम् *eṣā́m*	आसाम् *āsā́m*	अमीषाम् *amī́ṣām*	अमूषाम् *amū́ṣām*
L.	एषु *eṣú*	आसु *āsú*	अमीषु *amī́ṣu*	अमूषु *amū́ṣu*

The same forms are used in the older language, without variation, except that *imā́* occurs for *imāú* and *imā́ni*, and *amū́* for *amū́ni; amuyā* when used adverbially is accented on the final, *amuyā́; asāu* (with accent, of course, on the first, *ásāu*) is used also as vocative.

502. The former of these two pronouns, *ayám* etc., plainly shows itself to be pieced together from a number of defective stems. The majority of forms come from the root *a*, with which, as in the ordinary pronominal declension, *sma* (f. *sy*) is combined in the singular. All these forms from *a* have the peculiarity that in their substantive use they are either accented, as in the paradigm, or accentless (like *ena* and the second forms from *ahám* and *tvám*). The remaining forms are always accented. From *aná* come, with entire regularity, *anéna*, *anáyā*, *anáyos*. The strong cases in dual and plural, and in part in singular, come not less regularly from a stem *imá*. And *ayám*, *iyám*, *idám* are evidently to be referred to a simple root *i* (*idám* being apparently a double form: *id*, like *tad* etc., with ending *am*).

The Veda has from the root *a* also the instrumentals *enā́* and *ayā́* (used in general adverbially), and the gen. loc. du. *ayós;* from *ima*, *imásya* occurs once in RV. The RV. has in a small number of instances the irregular accentuation *ásmāi*, *ásya*, *ā́bhis*.

In analogy with the other pronouns, *idám* is by the grammarians regarded as representative stem of this pronominal declension; and it is actually found so treated in a very small number of compounds (*idammáya* and *idáṁrūpa* are of Brāhmaṇa age). As regards the actual stems, *ana* furnishes nothing further; from *ima* comes only the adverb *imáthā* (RV., once); but *a* and *i* furnish a number of derivatives, mostly adverbial: thus, for example, *átas*, *átra*, *átha; itás*, *íd* (Vedic particle), *idā́*, *ihá*, *ítara*, *īm* (Vedic particle), *īdṛ́ç*, perhaps *evá* and *evám*, and others.

503. The other pronoun, *asāú* etc., has *amú* for its leading stem, which in the singular takes in combination, like the *a*-stems, the element *sma* (f. *sy*), and which shifts to *amī* in part of the masc. and neut. plural. In part, too, like an adjective *u*-stem, it lengthens its final in the feminine. The gen. sing. *amúṣya* is the only example in the language of the ending *sya* added to any other than an *a*-stem. The nom. pl. *amī́* is unique in form; its *ī* is (like that of a dual) *pragṛhya*, or exempt from combination with a following vowel (**138 b**). *Asāú* and *adás* are also without analogies as regards their endings.

The grammarians, as usual, treat *adás* as representative stem of the declension, and it is found in this character in an extremely small number of words, as *adomūla; adomáya* is of Brāhmaṇa age. The ÇB. has also *asāunā́man*. But most of the derivatives, as of the cases, come from *amu:* thus, *amútas, amútra, amúthā, amúrhi, amuvát, amuka.*

In the older language occurs the root *tva* (accentless), meaning 'one, many a one'; it is oftenest found repeated, as 'one' and 'another'. It follows the ordinary pronominal declension.

Fragments of another demonstrative root or two are met with: thus, *ámas*, 'he', occurs in a formula in AV. and in Brāhmaṇas etc.; *avós* as gen.-loc. dual is found in RV.; the particle *u* points to a root *u*.

Interrogative Pronoun.

504. The characteristic part of the interrogative pronominal root is क् *k;* it has the three forms क *ka*, कि *ki*, कु *ku;* but the whole declensional inflection is from क *ka*, excepting the nom.-acc. sing. neut., which is from कि *ki*, and has the anomalous form किम् *kim* (not elsewhere known in the language from a neuter *i*-stem). The nom. and accus. sing., then, are as follows:

	m.	n.	f.
N.	कस् *kás*	किम् *kím*	का *kā́*
A.	कम् *kám*	किम् *kím*	काम् *kā́m*

and the rest of the declension is precisely like that of त *ta* (above, **495**).

The Veda has its usual variations, *kā́* and *kébhis* for *kā́ni* and *kāís*. It also has, along with *kím*, the pronominally regular neuter *kád;* and *kám*

(or *kam*) is a frequent particle. The masc. form *kis*, corresponding to *kim*, occurs as a stereotyped case in the combinations *nákis* and *mā́kis*.

505. The grammarians treat *kim* as representative stem of the interrogative pronoun; and it is in fact so used in a not large number of words, of which a few — *kimmáya*, *kim̐kará*, *kim̐kāmyā́*, *kím̐devata*, and the peculiar *kim̐yú* — go back even to the Veda and Brāhmaṇa. In closer analogy with the other pronouns, the form *kad*, a couple of times in the Veda (*katpayá*, *kádartha*), and not infrequently later, is found as first member of compounds. Then, from the real roots *ka*, *ki*, *ku* are made many derivatives; and from *ki* and *ku*, especially the latter, many compounds: thus, *káti*, *kathā́*, *kathám*, *kadā́*, *katará*, *katamá*, *kárhi*; *kíyant*, *kīdṛ́ç*; *kútas*, *kútra*, *kúha*, *kvà*, *kucará*, *kukarman*, *kumantrin*, etc.

506. Various forms of this pronoun, as *kad*, *kim*, and *ku* (and, rarely, *ko*), at the beginning of compounds, have passed from an interrogative meaning, through an exclamatory, to the value of prefixes signifying an unusual quality — either something admirable, or, oftener, something contemptible. This use begins in the Veda, but becomes much more common in later time.

507. The interrogative pronoun, as in other languages, turns readily in its independent use also to an exclamatory meaning. Moreover, it is by various added particles converted to an indefinite meaning: thus, by *ca*, *caná*, *cit*, *ápi*, *vā*, either alone or with the relative *ya* (below, **511**) prefixed: thus, *káç caná*, 'any one'; *ná kó 'pi*, 'not any one'; *yā́ni kā́ni cit*, 'whatsoever'. Occasionally, the interrogative by itself acquires a similar value.

Relative Pronoun.

508. The root of the relative pronoun is य *ya*, which from the earliest period of the language has lost all trace of the demonstrative meaning originally (doubtless) belonging to it, and is used as relative only.

509. It is inflected with entire regularity according to the usual pronominal declension: thus,

	Singular.			Dual.			Plural.		
	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	f.	m.	n.	f.
N.	यस् *yás*	यत् *yát*	या *yā́*	यौ *yā́u*	ये *yé*	ये *yé*	ये *yé*	यानि *yā́ni*	यास् *yā́s*
A.	यम् *yám*	यत् *yát*	याम् *yā́m*				यान् *yā́n*	यानि *yā́ni*	यास् *yā́s*

I.	येन *yéna*	यया *yáyā*	याभ्याम् *yā́bhyām*	यैस् *yāís*	याभिस् *yā́bhis*
D.	यस्मै *yásmāi*	यस्यै *yásyāi*		येभ्यस् *yébhyas*	याभ्यस् *yā́bhyas*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

The Veda shows its usual variations of these forms: *yā́* for *yāú* and for *yā́ni*, and *yébhis* for *yāís*; *yós* for *yáyos* also occurs once; *yénā*, with prolonged final, is in RV. twice as common as *yéna*. Resolutions occur in *yā́bhias*, and *yéṣaam* and *yā́saam*.

510. The use of *yát* as representative stem begins very early: we have *yátkāma* in the Veda, and *yatkārín*, *yaddevatyà* in the Brāhmaṇa; later it grows more general. From the proper root come also a considerable series of derivatives: *yátas, yáti, yátra, yáthā, yádā, yádi, yā́vant, yatará, yatamá;* and the compound *yādṛ́ç*.

511. The combination of *ya* with *ka* to make an indefinite pronoun has been noticed above (**507**). Its own repetition — as *yád-yat* — gives it sometimes a like meaning, won through the distributive.

512. One or two marked peculiarities in the Sanskrit use of the relative may be here briefly noticed:

a. A very decided preference for putting the relative clause before that to which it relates: thus, *yáḥ sunvatáḥ sákhā tásmā índrāya gāyata* (RV.), 'who is the friend of the soma-presser, to that Indra sing ye'; *yáṁ yajñám paribhū́r ási sá íd devéṣu gachati* (RV.), 'what offering thou protectest, that in truth goes to the gods'; *yé triṣaptā́ḥ pariyánti bálā téṣāṁ dadhātu me* (AV.), 'what thrice seven go about, their strength may he assign to me'; *asāú yó adharā́d gṛhā́s tátra santv arā́yyàḥ* (AV.), 'what house is yonder in the depth, there let the witches be'; *sahá yán me ásti téna* (TB.), 'along with that which is mine'; *haṅsānāṁ vacanaṁ yat tu tan māṁ dahati* (MBh.), 'but what the words of the swans were, that burns me'; *sarvasya locanaṁ çāstraṁ yasya nā 'sty andha eva saḥ* (H.), 'who does not possess learning, the eye of everything, blind indeed is he'. The other arrangement is comparatively unusual.

b. A frequent conversion of the subject or object of a verb by an added relative into a substantive clause: thus, *mé 'mám prā́ "pat pāúruṣeyo vadhó yáḥ* (AV.), 'may there not reach him a human deadly weapon' (lit'ly, 'what is such a weapon'); *pári ṇo pāhi yád dhánam* (AV.), 'protect of us what wealth [there is]'; *apāmārgó 'pa mārṣṭu kṣetriyáṁ çapáthaç ca yáḥ* (AV.), 'may the cleansing plant cleanse away the disease and the curse'; *puṣkareṇa hṛtaṁ rājyaṁ yac cā 'nyad vasu kiṁcana* (MBh.), 'by Pushkara was taken away the kingdom and whatever other property [there was]'.

Emphatic Pronoun.

513. The isolated and uninflected pronominal word स्वयम् *svayam* (from the root *sva*) signifies 'self, own self'. By its form it appears to be a nom. sing., and it is oftenest used as nominative, but along with words of all persons and numbers; and not seldom it represents other cases also.

Svayam is also used as a stem in composition: thus, *svayaṁjá*, *svayambhú*. But *sva* itself (usually adjective: below, **516**) has the same value in composition: and even its inflected forms are (in the older language very rarely) used as reflexive pronoun.

Nouns used pronominally.

514. The noun *ātmán*, 'soul', is widely employed, in the singular, as reflexive pronoun of all three persons.

The adjective *bhavant*, f. *bhavatī*, is used (as already pointed out: **456**) in respectful address as substitute for the pronoun of the second person. Its construction with the verb is in accordance with its true character, as a word of the third person.

Pronominal Derivatives.

515. From pronominal roots and stems, as well as from the larger class of roots and from noun-stems, are formed by the ordinary suffixes of adjective derivation certain words and classes of words, which have thus the character of pronominal adjectives.

Some of the more important of these may be briefly noticed here.

516. Possessives. From the representative stems *mad* etc. are formed the adjectives *madī́ya, asmadī́ya, tvadī́ya, yuṣmadī́ya, tadī́ya,* and *yadī́ya,* which are used in a possessive sense: 'relating to me, mine', and so on.

Other possessives are *māmaká* (also *mámaka*, RV.) and *tāvaká*, from the genitives *mama* and *tava*.

An analogous derivative from the genitive *amúṣya* is *āmuṣyāyaṇá* (AV. etc.), 'descendant of such a one'.

It was pointed out above (**493**) that the "genitives" *asmā́kam* and *yuṣmā́kam* are really stereotyped cases of possessive adjectives.

Corresponding to *svayám* (**513**) is the possessive *sva*, meaning 'own', as relating to all persons and numbers. The RV. has once the corresponding simple possessive of the second person, *tvá*, 'thy'.

For the use of *sva* as reflexive pronoun, see above, **513**, end.

All these words form their feminines in *ā*.

Other derivatives of a like value have no claim to be mentioned here. But (excepting *sva*) the possessives are so rarely used as to make but a small figure in the language, which prefers generally to indicate the possessive relation by the genitive case of the pronoun itself.

517. By the suffix *vant* are formed from the pronominal roots, with prolongation of their final vowels, the adjectives *mā́vant, tvā́vant, yuṣmā́vant, yuvā́vant, tā́vant, etā́vant, yā́vant*, meaning 'of my sort, like me', etc. Of these, however, only the last three are in use in the later language, in the sense of '*tantus*' and '*quantus*'. They are inflected like other adjective stems in *vant*, making their feminines in *vatī* (**452** ff.).

Words of similar meaning from the roots *i* and *ki* are *íyant* and *kíyant*, inflected in the same manner: see above, **451**.

518. The pronominal roots show a like prolongation of vowel in combination with the root *dṛç*, 'see, look', and its derivatives *dṛ́ça* and (quite rarely) *dṛ́kṣa*: thus, *mādṛ́ç, mādṛ́ça; asmādṛ́ça: tvādṛ́ç* etc.; *yuṣmādṛ́ç* etc.; *tādṛ́ç* etc.; *etādṛ́ç, etādṛ́ça, etādṛ́kṣa* (VS.); *yādṛ́ç* etc.; *īdṛ́ç* and *kīdṛ́ç* etc. They mean 'of my sort, like or resembling me', and the like, and the last five are not uncommon, with the sense of '*talis*' and '*qualis*'. The forms in *dṛç* are unvaried for gender; those in *dṛça* (and *dṛkṣa?*) have feminines in *ī*.

519. From *ta, ka, ya* come *táti*, 'so many', *káti*, 'how many?' *yáti*, 'as many'. They have a quasi-numeral character, and are inflected (like the numerals *páñca* etc.: above, **483**) only in the plural, and with the bare stem as nom. and accus.: thus, N.A. *táti*; I. etc. *tátibhis, tátibhyas, tátīnām, tátiṣu.*

520. From *ya* (in V. and Br.) and *ka* come the comparatives and superlatives *yatará* and *yatamá*, and *katará* and *katamá*; and from *i*, the comparative *ítara*. For their inflection, see below, **523**.

521. Derivatives with the suffix *ka*, sometimes conveying a diminutive or a contemptuous meaning, are made from certain of the pronominal roots and stems (and may, according to the grammarians, be made from them all): thus, from *ta, takám,*

takát, *takā́s;* from *sa*, *sakā́;* from *ya*, *yakás*, *yakā́*, *yaké;* from *asāú*, *asakāú;* from *amu*, *amuka*.

For the numerous and frequently used adverbs formed from pronominal roots, see Adverbs (below, chapter XVI.).

Adjectives declined pronominally.

522. A number of adjectives — some of them coming from pronominal roots, others more or less analogous with pronouns in use — are inflected, in part or wholly, according to the pronominal declension (like त *ta*, **495**). Thus:

523. The comparatives and superlatives from pronominal roots — namely, *katará* and *katamá*, *yatará* and *yatamá*, and *ítara;* also *anyá*, 'other', and its comparative *anyatará* — are declined like *ta* throughout. Their feminine stems are in *ā*.

But even from these words forms made according to the adjective declension are sporadically met with (e. g. *itarāyām*, K.).

524. Others words are so inflected except in the nom.-acc.-voc. sing. neut., where they have the ordinary adjective form *am*, instead of the pronominal *at (ad)*. Such are *sárva*, 'all', *víçva*, 'all, every', *éka*, 'one'.

These, also, are not without exception, at least in the earlier language (e. g. *víçvāya*, *víçvāt*, RV.; *éke* loc. sing., AV.).

525. Yet other words follow the same model usually, or in some of their significations, or optionally; but in other senses, or without known rule, lapse into the adjective inflection.

Such are the comparatives and superlatives from prepositional stems: *ádhara* and *adhamá*, *ántara* and *ántama*, *ápara* and *apamá*, *ávara* and *avamá*, *úttara* and *uttamá*, *úpara* and *upamá*. Of these, pronominal forms are decidedly more numerous from the comparatives than from the superlatives.

Further, the superlatives (without corresponding comparatives) *paramá*, *caramá*, *madhyamá;* and also *anyatama* (whose positive and comparative belong to the class first mentioned: **523**).

Further, the words *pára*, 'distant, other'; *pū́rva*, 'prior, east'; *dákṣiṇa*, 'right, south'; *ubháya* (f. *ubháyī* or *ubhayī́*), 'of both kinds or parties'; and the rare *sama* (accentless), 'any or every one', *simá*, 'each, all', *néma*, 'the one, half'; and the possessive *svá*.

526. Occasional forms of the pronominal declension are met with from numeral adjectives: e. g. *prathamásyās*, *tṛtī́yasyām;* and from other words having an indefinite numeral character: thus, *álpa*, 'few'; *ardhá*, 'half'; *kévala*, 'all'; *dvítaya*, 'of the two kinds' — and others.

CHAPTER VIII.

CONJUGATION.

527. The subject of conjugation or verbal inflection involves, as in the other languages of the family, the distinctions of voice, tense, mode, number, and person.

Then, besides the simpler or ordinary conjugation of a verbal root, there are certain more or less fully developed secondary or derivative conjugations.

528. Voice. There are (as in Greek) two voices, active and middle, distinguished by a difference in the personal endings. This distinction is a pervading one: there is no active personal form which does not have its corresponding middle, and *vice versa;* and it is extended also in part to the participles (but not to the infinitive).

529. An active form is called by the Hindu grammarians *parasmāi padam,* 'a word for another', and a middle form is called *ātmane padam,* 'a word for one's self': the terms might be best paraphrased by 'transitive' and 'reflexive'. And the distinction thus expressed is doubtless the original foundation of the difference of active and middle forms: in the recorded condition of the language, however, the antithesis of transitive and reflexive meaning is in no small measure blurred, or even altogether effaced.

530. Some verbs are conjugated in both voices, others in one only; sometimes a part of the tenses are inflected only in one voice, others only in the other or in both; of a verb usually inflected in one voice sporadic forms of the other occur; and sometimes the voice differs according as the verb is compounded with certain prepositions.

531. The middle forms outside the present-system (for which there is a special passive inflection: see below, **768**),

and sometimes also within that system, are liable to be used likewise in a passive sense.

532. Tense. The tenses are as follows: 1. a present, with 2. an imperfect, closely related with it in form, having a prefixed augment; 3. a perfect, made with reduplication (to which in the Veda is added, 4. a so-called pluperfect, made from it with prefixed augment); 5. an aorist, of three different formations: **a.** simple; **b.** reduplicated; **c.** sibilant; 6. a future, with 7. a conditional, an augment-tense, standing to it in the relation of an imperfect to a present; and 8. a second, a periphrastic, future (not found in the Veda).

The tenses here distinguished (in accordance with prevailing usage) as imperfect, perfect, pluperfect, and aorist receive those names from their correspondence in mode of formation with tenses so called in other languages of the family, especially in Greek, and not at all from differences of time designated by them. In no period of the Sanskrit language is there any expression of imperfect or pluperfect time — nor of perfect time, except in the older language, where the "aorist" has this value; later, imperfect, perfect, and aorist (of rare use) are so many undiscriminated past tenses or preterits: see below, under the different tenses.

533. Mode. In respect to mode, the difference between the classical Sanskrit and the older language of the Veda — and, in a less degree, of the Brāhmaṇas — is especially great.

In the Veda, the present tense has, besides its indicative inflection, a subjunctive, of considerable variety of formation, an optative, and an imperative (in 2d and 3d persons). The same three modes are found, though of much less frequent occurrence, as belonging to the perfect; and they are made also from the aorists, being of especial frequency from the simple aorist. The future has no modes (an occasional case or two are purely exceptional).

In the classical Sanskrit, the present adds to its indicative an optative and an imperative — of which last, moreover, the first persons are a remnant of the old subjunc-

tive. And the aorist has also an optative, of somewhat peculiar inflection, usually called the precative (or benedictive).

534. The present, perfect, and future tenses have each of them, alike in the earlier and later language, a pair of participles, active and middle, sharing in the various peculiarities of the tense-formations; and in the Veda are found such participles belonging also to the aorist.

535. Tense-systems. The tenses, then, with their accompanying modes and participles, fall into certain well-marked groups or systems:

I. The present-system, composed of the present tense with its modes, its participle, and its preterit which we have called the imperfect.

II. The perfect-system, composed of the perfect tense (with, in the Veda, its modes and its preterit, the so-called pluperfect) and its participle.

III. The aorist-system, or systems, simple, reduplicated, and sibilant, composed of the aorist tense along with, in the later language, its "precative" optative (but, in the Veda, with its various modes and its participle).

IV. The future-systems: **a.** the old or sibilant future, with its accompanying preterit, the conditional, and its participle; and **b.** the new periphrastic future.

536. Number and Person. The verb has, of course, the same three numbers with the noun, namely singular, dual, and plural; and in each number it has the three persons, first, second, and third. All of these are made in every tense and mode — except that the first persons of the imperative numbers are supplied from the subjunctive.

537. Verbal adjectives and nouns: Participles. The participles belonging to the tense-systems have been already spoken of above (**534**). There is besides, coming directly from the root of the verb, a participle, prevailingly of past and passive (or sometimes neuter) meaning. Future passive participles, or gerundives, of several different formations, are also made.

538. Infinitives. In the older language, a very considerable variety of derivative abstract nouns — only in a few sporadic instances having anything to do with the tense-systems — are used in an infinitive or quasi-infinitive sense; most often in the dative case, but sometimes also in the accusative, in the genitive and ablative, and (very rarely) in the locative. In the classical Sanskrit, there remains a single infinitive, of accusative case-form, having nothing to do with the tense-systems.

539. Gerund. A so-called gerund (or absolutive) — being, like the infinitive, a stereotyped case-form of a derivative noun — is a part of the general verb-system in both the earlier and later language, being especially frequent in the latter. In the Veda it has a somewhat various form; in the later language, it has only two forms, one for simple verbs, and the other for compound. Its value is that of an indeclinable active participle, of indeterminate but prevailingly past tense-character.

A second gerund, an adverbially used accusative in form, is found, but only rarely, both earlier and later.

540. Secondary conjugations. The secondary or derivative conjugations are as follows: **a.** the passive; **b.** the intensive; **c.** the desiderative; **d.** the causative. In these, a conjugation-stem, instead of the simple root, underlies the whole system of inflection. Yet there is clearly to be seen in them the character of a present-system, expanded

into a more or less complete conjugation; and the passive is so purely a present-system that it will be described in the chapter devoted to that part of the inflection of the verb.

Under the same general head belongs the subject of denominative conjugation, or the conversion of noun and adjective-stems into conjugation-stems. Further, that of compound conjugation, whether by the prefixion of prepositions to roots or by the addition of auxiliary verbs to noun and adjective-stems. And finally, that of periphrastic conjugation, or the looser combination of auxiliaries with verbal nouns and adjectives.

541. The characteristic of a proper (finite or personal) verb-form is its personal ending. By this alone is determined its character as regards number and person — and in part also as regards mode and tense. But the distinctions of mode and tense are mainly made by the formation of tense and mode-stems, to which, instead of to the pure root, the personal endings are appended.

In this chapter will be given a general account of the personal endings, and also of the formation of mode-stems from tense-stems, and of those elements in the formation of tense-stems — the augment and the reduplication — which are found in more than one tense-system. Then, in the following chapters, each tense-system will be taken up by itself, and the methods of formation of its stems, both tense-stems and mode-stems, and their combination with the endings, will be described in detail.

Personal Endings.

542. The endings of verbal inflection are, as was pointed out above, different throughout in the active and middle voices. They are also, as in Greek, usually of two somewhat varying forms for the same person in the same voice: one fuller, called primary; the other briefer, called secondary. There are also less pervading differences, depending upon other conditions.

A condensed statement of all the varieties of ending for each person and number here follows.

543. Singular: First person. The primary ending in the active is *mi*. The subjunctive, however (later imperative), has *ni* instead; and in the oldest Veda this *ni* is sometimes wanting, and the person ends in *ā* (as if the *ni* of *āni* were dropped). The secondary ending is *m;* and to this *m* an *a* has come to be so persistently prefixed, appearing always where the tense-stem does not itself end in *a* (*vam* for *varm* or *varam* in RV., once, is an isolated anomaly), that it is necessary to reckon *am* as ending, alternate with *m*. But the perfect tense has neither *mi* nor *m;* its ending is simply *a* (sometimes *ā:* **248 c**): or, from *ā*-roots, *āu*.

The primary middle ending, according to the analogy of the other persons, would be regularly *me*. But no tense or mode, at any period of the language, shows any relic whatever of a *m* in this person: the primary ending, present as well as perfect, from *a*-stems and others alike, is *e;* and to it corresponds *i* as secondary ending, which blends with the final of an *a*-stem to *e*. The optative has, however, *a* instead of *i;* and in the subjunctive (later imperative) appears *āi* for *e*.

544. Second person. In the active, the primary ending is *si*, which is shortened to *s* as secondary: as to the loss of this *s* after a final radical consonant, see below, **555**. But the perfect and the imperative desert here entirely the analogy of the other forms. The perfect ending is invariably *tha* (or *thā*, **248 c**). The imperative is far less regular. The fullest form of its ending is *dhi;* which, however, is more often reduced to *hi;* and in the great majority of verbs (including all *a*-stems, at every period of the language) no ending is present, but the bare stem stands as personal form. In a very small class of verbs (**722**) *āna* is the ending. The Veda has also an ending *tāt;* and this is even used sporadically in other persons of the imperative (see below, **570—1**).

In the middle voice, the primary ending, both present and perfect, is *se*. The secondary stands in no apparent relation to this, being *thās;* and in the imperative is found only *sva* (or *svā:* **248 c**), which in the Veda is not seldom to be read as *sua*. In the older language, *se* is sometimes strengthened to *sāi* in the subjunctive.

545. Third person. The active primary ending is *ti;* the secondary, *t:* as to the loss of the latter after a final radical consonant, see below, **555.** But in the imperative appears instead the peculiar ending *tu;* and in the perfect no characteristic consonant is present, and the third person has the same ending as the first.

The primary middle ending is *te*, with *ta* as corresponding secondary. In the older language, *te* is often strengthened to *tāi* in the subjunctive. In the perfect, the middle third person has, like the active, the same ending with the first, namely *e* simply; and in the older language, the third person present also often loses the distinctive part of its termination, and comes to coincide in form with the first. To this *e* perhaps corresponds, as secondary, the *i* of the aorist 3d pers. passive (**842** ff.). The imperative has *tām* (or, in the Veda, rarely *ām*) for its ending.

546. Dual: First person. Both in active and in middle, the dual first person is in all its varieties precisely like the corresponding plural, only with substitution of *v* for the *m* of the latter: thus, *vas* (no *vasi* has been found to occur), *va*, *vahe*, *vahi*, *vahāi*. The person is, of course, of comparatively rare use, and from the Veda no form in *vas*, even, is quotable.

547. Second and Third persons. In the active, the primary ending of the second person is *thas*, and that of the third is *tas*; and this relation of *th* to *t* appears also in the perfect, and runs through the whole series of middle endings. The perfect endings are primary, but have *u* instead of *a* as vowel; and an *a* has become so persistently prefixed that their forms have to be reckoned as *athus* and *atus*. The secondary endings exhibit no definable relation to the primary in these two persons; they are *tam* and *tām*; and they are used in the imperative as well.

In the middle, a long *ā* — which, however, with the final *a* of *a*-stems becomes *e* — has become prefixed to all dual endings of the second and third persons, so as to form an inseparable part of them. The primary endings, present and perfect, are *āthe* and *āte*; the secondary (and imperative) are *āthām* and *ātām* (or, with stem-final *a*, *ethe* etc.).

The Rig-Veda has a very few forms in *āithe* and *āite*, apparently from *ethe* and *ete* with subjunctive strengthening (they are all detailed below: see **615, 701, 737, 752, 836, 1008, 1043**).

548. Plural: First person. The earliest form of the active ending is *masi*, which in the oldest language is more frequent than the briefer *mas* (in RV., as five to one; in AV., however, only as three to four). In the classical Sanskrit, *mas* is the exclusive primary ending; but the secondary abbreviated *ma* belongs also to the perfect and the subjunctive (imperative). In the Veda, *ma* often becomes *mā* (**248 c**), especially in the perfect.

The primary middle ending is *mahe*. This is lightened in the secondary form to *mahi*; and, on the other hand, it is regu-

larly (in the Veda, not invariably) strengthened to *mahāi* in the subjunctive (imperative).

549. Second person. The active primary ending is *tha*. The secondary, also imperative, ending is *ta* (in the Veda, *tā* only once in impv.). But in the perfect any characteristic consonant is wanting, and the ending is simply *a*. In the Veda, the syllable *na,* of problematic origin, is not infrequently added to both forms of the ending, making *thana* (rarely *thanā*) and *tana*. The forms in which this occurs will be detailed below, under the different formations: the addition is very rarely made excepting to persons of the first general conjugation.

The middle primary ending is *dhve*, which belongs to the perfect as well as the present. In the subjunctive of the older language it is sometimes strengthened to *dhvāi*. The secondary (and imperative) ending is *dhvam* (in RV., once *dhva*); and *dhvāt* is once met with in the imperative (**570**). In the Veda, the *v* of all these endings is sometimes resolved into *u*, and the ending becomes dissyllabic.

550. Third person. The full primary ending is *anti* in the active, with *ante* as corresponding middle. The middle secondary ending is *anta*, to which should correspond an active *ant;* but of the *t* only altogether questionable traces are left, in the euphonic treatment of a final *n* (**207**); the ending is *an*. In the imperative, *antu* and *antām* take the place of *anti* and *ante*. The initial *a* of all these endings is like that of *am* in the 1st sing., disappearing after the final *a* of a tense-stem.

Moreover, *anti, antu, ante, antām, anta* are all liable to be weakened by the loss of their nasal, becoming *ati* etc. In the active, this weakening takes place only after reduplicated stems (and after a few roots which are treated as if reduplicated: **639** ff.); in the middle, it occurs after all tense-stems save those ending in *a*.

Further, for the secondary active ending *an* there is a substitute *us* (or *ur:* **169**, end), which is used in the same reduplicating verbs that change *anti* to *ati* etc., and which accordingly appears as a weaker correlative of *an*. The same *us* is also used universally in the perfect, in the optative (not in the subjunctive), in those forms of the aorist whose stem does not end in *a*, and in the imperfect of roots ending in *ā,* and a few others (**621**).

The perfect middle has in all periods of the language the peculiar ending *re*, and the optative has the allied *ran*, in this person. In the Veda, a variety of other endings containing a *r* as distinctive consonant are met with: namely, *re* (and *ire*) and *rate* in the present; *rata* in the optative (both of present and of

aorist); *rire* in the perfect; *ranta, ran,* and *ram* in aorists (and in an imperfect or two); *rām* and *ratām* in the imperative. The three *rate, ratām,* and *rata* are found even in the later language in one or two verbs (**629**).

551. Below are given, for convenience, in tabular form, the schemes of endings as accepted in the classical or later language: namely, **a.** the regular primary endings, used in the present indicative and the future (and the subjunctive in part); and **b.** the regular secondary endings, used in the imperfect, the conditional, the aorist, the optative (and the subjunctive in part); and further, of special schemes, **c.** the perfect endings (chiefly primary, especially in the middle); and **d.** the imperative endings (chiefly secondary). To the so-called imperative endings of the first person is prefixed the *ā* which is practically a part of them, though really containing the mode-sign of the subjunctive from which they are derived.

552. Further, a part of the endings are marked with an accent, and a part are left unaccented. The latter are those which never, under any circumstances, receive the accent; the former are accented in considerable classes of verbs, though by no means in all. It will be noticed that, in general, the unaccented endings are those of the singular active; but the 2d sing. imperative has an accented ending; and, on the other hand, the whole series of 1st persons imperative, active and middle, have unaccented endings (this being a characteristic of the subjunctive formation which they represent).

553. The schemes of normal endings, then, are as follows:

a. Primary Endings.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*mi*	*vás*	*más*	*é*	*váhe*	*máhe*
2	*si*	*thás*	*thá*	*sé*	*ā́the*	*dhvé*
3	*ti*	*tás*	*ánti, áti*	*té*	*ā́te*	*ánte, áte*

b. Secondary Endings.

	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*am*	*vá*	*má*	*í, á*	*váhi*	*máhi*
2	*s*	*tám*	*tá*	*thā́s*	*ā́thām*	*dhvám*
3	*t*	*tā́m*	*án, ús*	*tá*	*ā́tām*	*ánta, áta, rán*

c. Perfect Endings.

	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*a*	*vá*	*má*	*é*	*váhe*	*máhe*
2	*tha*	*áthus*	*á*	*sé*	*ā́the*	*dhvé*
3	*a*	*átus*	*ús*	*é*	*ā́te*	*ré*

d. Imperative Endings.

1	*āni*	*āva*	*āma*	*āi*	*āvahāi*	*āmahāi*
2	*dhí, hí, —*	*tám*	*tá*	*svá*	*áthām*	*dhvám*
3	*tu*	*tā́m*	*ántu, átu*	*tā́m*	*ā́tām*	*ántām, átām*

554. In general, the rule is followed that an accented ending, if dissyllabic, is accented on its first syllable — and the constant union-vowels are regarded, in this respect, as integral parts of the endings. But the 3d pl. ending *ate* of the pres. indic. middle has in RV. the accent *até* in a number of verbs (see **613, 685, 699, 718**); and an occasional instance is met with in other endings: thus, *mahé* (see **719, 735**).

555. The secondary endings of the second and third persons singular, as consisting of an added consonant without vowel, should regularly (**150**) be lost whenever the root or stem to which they are to be added itself ends in a consonant. And this rule is in general followed; yet not without exceptions. Thus:

a. A root ending in a dental mute sometimes drops this final mute instead of the added *s* in the second person; and, on the other hand, a root or stem ending in *s* sometimes drops this *s* instead of the added *t* in the third person — in either case, establishing the ordinary relation of *s* and *t* in these persons, instead of *s* and *s*, or *t* and *t*. A similar loss of any other final consonant before the ending is exceedingly rare. For instances, see below, **692.**

b. Again, a union-vowel is sometimes introduced before the ending, either *a* or *ī:* see below, **621, 631, 819, 880.**

In a few isolated cases in the older language, this *ī* is changed to *āi:* see below, **904 b, 1068.**

556. The changes of form which roots and stems undergo in their combinations with these endings will be pointed out in detail below, under the various formations. Here may be simply mentioned in advance, as by far the most important among them, a distinction of stronger and weaker form of stem in large classes of verbs, standing in relation with the accent — the stem being of stronger form when the accent falls upon it, or before an accentless ending, and of weaker form when the accent is on the ending.

Of the endings marked as accented in the scheme, the *ta* of 2d pl. is not infrequently in the Veda treated as unaccented, the tone resting on the stem, which is strengthened. Much less often, the *tam* of 2d du. is treated in the same way: other endings, only sporadically.

Subjunctive Mode.

557. Of the subjunctive mode (as was pointed out above) only fragments are left in the later or classical language: namely, in the so-called first persons imperative, and in the use (**580**)

of the imperfect and aorist persons without augment after *mā́* prohibitive. In the oldest period, however, it was a very frequent formation, being three or four times as common as the optative in the Rig-Veda, and nearly the same in the Atharvan; but already in the Brāhmaṇas it becomes comparatively rare. Its varieties of form are considerable, and sometimes perplexing.

558. In its most normal and regular formation, a special mode-stem is made for the subjunctive by adding to the tense-stem an *a* — which combines with a final *a* of the tense-stem to *ā*. The accent rests upon the tense-stem, which accordingly has the strong form. Thus, from the strong present-stem *doh* (*√duh*) is made the subjunctive-stem *dóha*; from *juhó* (*√hu*), *juhóva*; from *yunáj* (*√yuj*), *yunája*; from *bháva* (*√bhū*), *bhávā*; from *tudá* (*√tud*), *tudā́*; from *ucyá* (pass., *√vac*), *ucyā́*; and so on.

559. The stem thus formed is inflected in general as an *a*-stem would be inflected in the indicative, with constant accent, and *ā* for *a* before the endings of the first person (**733**) — but with the following peculiarities as to ending etc.:

560. In the active, the 1st sing. has *ni* as ending: thus, *dóhāni*, *yunájāni*, *bhávāni*. But in the Rig-Veda sometimes *ā* simply: thus, *áyā*, *brávā*.

In 1st du., 1st pl., and 3d pl., the endings are always the secondary: thus, *dóhāva*, *dóhāma*, *dóhan*; *bhávāva*, *bhávāma*, *bhávān*.

In 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., the endings are always primary: thus, *dóhathas*, *dóhatas*, *dóhatha*; *bhávāthas*, *bhávātas*, *bhávātha*.

In 2d and 3d sing., the endings are either primary or secondary: thus, *dóhasi* or *dóhas*, *dóhati* or *dóhat*; *bhávāsi* or *bhávās*, *bhávāti* or *bhávāt*.

Occasionally, forms with double mode-sign *ā* (by assimilation to the more numerous subjunctives from tense-stems in *a*) are met with from non-*a*-stems: thus, *ásātha* from *as*; *áyās*, *áyāt*, *áyān* from *e* (*√i*).

561. In the middle, forms with secondary instead of primary endings are very rare, being found only in the 3d pl. (where they are more frequent than the primary), and in a case or two of the 3d sing.

The striking peculiarity of subjunctive middle inflection is the frequent strengthening of *e* to *āi* in the endings. This is less general in the very earliest language than later. In 1st sing., *āi* alone is found as ending, even in RV.; and in 1st du. also (of rare occurrence), only *āvahāi* is met with. In 1st pl., *āmahāi* prevails in RV. and AV. (*āmahe* is found a few times), and is alone known later. In 2d sing., *sāi* for *se* does not occur in RV., but is the only form in AV. and the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d sing., *tāi* for *te* occurs once in RV., and is the predominant form in AV., and the only one later. In 2d pl., *dhvāi* for *dhve* is found in one word in RV., and a few times in the Brāhmaṇas. In 3d pl., *ntāi* for *nte* is the Brāhmaṇa form (of far from frequent occurrence); it occurs neither in RV. nor AV. No such

dual endings as *thāi* and *tāi*, for *the* and *te*, are anywhere found; but RV. has in a few words (nine: above, **527**, end) *āithe* and *āite*, which appear to be a like subjunctive strengthening of *ethe* and *ete* (although found in one indicative form, *kṛṇvāite*). Before the *āi*-endings the penultimate vowel is regularly long *ā*; but *antāi* instead of *āntāi* is two or three times met with, and once (TS.) *atāi* for *ātāi*.

562. The subjunctive endings, then, in combination with the subjunctive mode-sign, are as follows:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*āni*	*āva*	*āma*	*āi*	*āvahāi*, *āvahe*	*āmahāi*, *āmahe*
2	*asi*, *as*	*athas*	*atha*	*ase*, *āsāi*	*āithe*	*adhve*, *ādhvāi*
3	*ati*, *at*	*atas*	*an*	*ate*, *ātāi*	*āite*	*ante*, *anta*, *āntāi*

And, in further combination with final *a* of a tense-stem, the initial *a* of all these endings becomes *ā*: thus, for example, in 2d pers.: *āsi* or *ās*, *āthas*, *ātha*, *āse*, *ādhve*.

563. Besides this proper subjunctive, with mode-sign, in its triple form — with primary, with strengthened primary, and with secondary endings — there is in the older language another, without mode-sign and with secondary endings, or in all respects coinciding with the forms of an augment-tense (imperfect or aorist) save for the absence of the augment. Subjunctives of this character are frequent in RV., decidedly less common in later Vedic, and very little used in the Brāhmaṇas except after *mā́* prohibitive (**580**) — after which they stand also in the later language.

These forms are sometimes called "imperfect subjunctive", but the appellation is an evident misnomer: "improper subjunctive" is preferable. Since (below, **587**) the forms of augmented tenses are also freely used in an indicative sense without augment in the oldest Veda, the distinction of the two classes of use is often difficult to make.

As to the uses of the subjunctive, see below, **572** ff.

Optative Mode.

564. As has been already pointed out, the optative is of comparatively rare occurrence in the language of the Vedas; but it gains rapidly in frequency, and already in the Brāhmaṇas greatly outnumbers the subjunctive, which still later it comes almost entirely to replace.

Its mode of formation is the same in all periods of the language.

565. The optative mode-sign is in the active voice a different one, according as it is added to a tense-stem ending in *a*, or in some other final. In the latter case, it is *yā́*, accented; this *yā* is appended to the weaker form of the tense-stem, and takes the regular series of secondary endings, with, in 3d plur., *us* instead of *an*, and loss of the *ā* before it. After an *a*-stem, it is *ī*, unaccented; this *ī* blends with the final *a* to *e* (which then is accented or not according to the accent of the *a*); and the *e* is maintained unchanged before a vowel-ending *(am, us)*, by means of an interposed euphonic *y*.

In the middle voice, the mode-sign is *ī* throughout, and takes the secondary endings, with *a* in 1st sing., and *ran* in 3d pl. After an *a*-stem, the rules as to its combination to *e*, the accent of the latter, and its retention before a vowel-ending with interposition of a *y*, are the same as in the active. After any other final, the weaker form of stem is taken, and the accent is on the ending (except in one class of verbs, where it falls upon the tense-stem: see **645**); and the *ī* (as when combined to *e*) takes an inserted *y* before a vowel-ending.

It is, of course, impossible to tell from the form whether *i* or *ī* is combined with the final of an *a*-stem to *e;* but no good reason appears to exist for assuming *i*, rather than the *ī* which shows itself in the other class of stems in middle voice.

566. The combined mode-sign and endings of the optative, then, are as follows, in their double form, for *a*-stems and for others:

a. for non-*a*-stems.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*yā́m*	*yā́va*	*yā́ma*	*īyá*	*īváhi*	*īmáhi*
2	*yā́s*	*yā́tam*	*yā́ta*	*īthā́s*	*īyā́thām*	*īdhvám*
3	*yā́t*	*yā́tām*	*yús*	*ītá*	*īyā́tām*	*īrán*

b. combined with the final of *a*-stems.

1	*eyam*	*eva*	*ema*	*eya*	*evahi*	*emahi*
2	*es*	*etam*	*eta*	*ethās*	*eyāthām*	*edhvam*
3	*et*	*etām*	*eyus*	*eta*	*eyātām*	*eran*

The *yā* is in the Veda not seldom resolved into *iā*.

The Vedic 3d pl. middle forms in *rata* will be detailed below, under the various formations.

567. Precative. Precative forms are such as have a sibilant inserted between the optative-sign and the ending. They are made almost only from the aorist stems, and, though allowed by the grammarians to be formed from every root — the active

precative from the simple aorist, the middle from the sibilant aorist — are practically of rare occurrence at every period of the language, and especially later.

The inserted *s* runs in the active through the whole series of persons; in the middle, it is allowed only in the 2d and 3d persons sing. and du., and the 2d pl., and is quotable from the older literature only for the 2d and 3d sing. In the 2d sing. act., the precative form, by reason of the necessary loss of the added *s*, is not distinguishable from the simple optative; in the 3d sing. act., the same is the case in the later language, which (above, **555**) saves the personal ending *t* instead of the precative-sign *s;* but the RV. usually, and the other Vedic texts to some extent, have the proper ending *yās* (for *yāst*).

The accent is as in the simple optative.

568. The precative endings, then, accepted in the later language (including, in brackets, those which are identical with the simple optative), are as follows:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*yā́sam*	*yā́sva*	*yā́sma*	*[īyá]*	*[īváhi]*	*[īmáhi]*
2	*[yā́s]*	*yā́stam*	*yā́sta*	*īṣṭhā́s*	*īyā́sthām*	*īḍhvám*
3	*[yā́t]*	*yā́stām*	*yā́sus*	*īṣṭá*	*īyā́stām*	*[īrán]*

As to the uses of the optative, see below, **572** ff.

Imperative Mode.

569. The imperative has no mode-sign; it is made by adding its own endings directly to the tense-stem, just as the other endings are added to form the indicative tenses.

Hence, in 2d and 3d du. and 2d pl., its forms are indistinguishable from those of the augment-preterit from the same stem with its augment omitted.

The rules as to the use of the different endings — especially in 2d sing., where the variety is considerable — will be given below, in connection with the various tense-systems. The ending *tāt*, however, has so much that is peculiar in its use that it calls for a little explanation here.

570. The Imperative in *tāt*. This is nowhere a frequent form, though found from the earliest period of the language, and allowed to be made in the latest; in the five leading Vedic texts it is formed from nearly fifty verbs, and has less than seventy occurrences. Its usual value is that of a second person singular; but it occurs as 1st sing. once, in AV. (*ā́vyuṣáṁ jāgṛtād ahám*, 'let me watch till day-break'); as 3d sing., toward a dozen times (e. g. *púnar mā́ "viçatād rayíḥ*, TS., 'let wealth come again to me'; *ayáṁ tyásya rā́jā mūrdhā́naṁ ví pātayatāt*, ÇB., 'the king here shall make

his head fly off'); and as 2d pl. several times in TS. (e. g. *āpaḥ . . . devéṣu naḥ sukṛ́to brūtāt,* 'ye waters, announce us to the gods as well-doers'), and many times in a Brāhmaṇa passage (repeated in K. xvi. 21, TB. iii. 6. 1, and AB. ii. 6, 7) — in which, moreover, two authorities (K. and AB.) have once *vārayadhvāt* for *vārayatāt:* no other occurrence of *dhvāt* has been noted.

571. As regards its meaning, this form has been shown (Delbrück) to have prevailingly in the Brāhmaṇas, and traceably but much less distinctly in the Vedic texts, a specific tense-value added to its mode-value — as signifying, namely, an injunction to be carried out at a later time than the present: it is (like the Latin forms in *to* and *tote*) a posterior or future imperative.

Examples are: *ihāì 'vá mā tíṣṭhantam abhyèhí 'ti brūhi tā́ṁ tú na ā́gatām pratiprábrūtāt* (ÇB.), 'say to her "come to me as I stand just here", and [afterward] announce her to us as having come'; *yád ūrdhvás tíṣṭhā drávine 'há dhattāt* (RV.), 'when thou shalt stand upright, [then] bestow riches here' (and similarly in many cases); *utkū́lam udvahó bhavo 'dū́hya práti dhāvatāt* (AV.), 'be a carrier up the ascent; after having carried up, run back again'; *vánaspátir ádhi tvā sthāsyati tásya vittāt* (TS.), 'the tree will ascend thee, take [then] note of it'.

According to the grammarians, the form in *tāt* may be used when benediction is intended.

Uses of the Modes.

572. Of the three modes, the imperative is the one most distinct and limited in office, and most unchanged in use throughout the whole history of the language. It signifies a command or injunction — an attempt at the exercise of the speaker's will upon some one or something outside of himself.

This, however (in Sanskrit as in other languages), is by no means always of the same force; the command shades off into a demand, an exhortation, an entreaty, an expression of earnest desire. The imperative also sometimes signifies an assumption or concession; and occasionally, by pregnant construction, it becomes the expression of something conditional or contingent; but it does not acquire any regular use in dependent-clause-making.

573. The optative appears to have as its primary office the expression of wish or desire; in the oldest language, its prevailing use in independent clauses is that to which the name "optative" properly belongs.

The so-called precative forms (**567**) are restricted to this use, but are not otherwise distinguished from the simple optatives.

But the expression of desire, on the one hand, passes naturally over into that of request or entreaty, so that the optative becomes a softened imperative; and, on the other hand, it comes to signify what is generally desirable or proper, what should or ought to be, and so becomes the mode of prescription; or, yet again, it is weakened into signifying what may or can be, what is likely or usual, and so becomes at last a softened statement of what is.

Further, the optative in dependent clauses, with relative pronouns and conjunctions, becomes a regular means of expression of the conditional and contingent, in a wide and increasing variety of uses.

574. The subjunctive, as has been pointed out, becomes nearly extinct at an early period in the history of the language; there are left of it in classical usage only two relics; the use of its first persons in an "imperative" sense, or to signify a necessity or obligation resting on the speaker, or a peremptory intention on his part; and the use of its other persons, with the negative particle मा *mā́*, in a prohibitive or negative imperative sense.

And the general value of the subjunctive from the beginning was what these relics would seem to indicate: its fundamental meaning is perhaps that of requisition, less peremptory than the imperative, more so than the optative. But this meaning is liable to the same modifications and transitions with that of the optative; and subjunctive and optative run closely parallel with one another in the oldest language in their use in independent clauses, and are hardly distinguishable in dependent. And instead of their being (as in Greek) both maintained in use, and endowed with nicer and more distinctive values, the subjunctive gradually disappears, and the optative assumes alone the offices formerly shared by both.

575. The difference, then, between imperative and subjunctive and optative, in their fundamental and most characteristic uses, is one of degree: command, requisition, wish: and no sharp line of division exists between them; they are more or less exchangeable with one another, and combinable in coördinate clauses.

Thus, in AV., we have in impv.: *çatáṁ jīva çarádaḥ,* 'do thou live a hundred autumns'; *ubhāú tāú jīvatāṁ jarádaṣṭī,* 'let them both live to attain old age'; — in subj., *adyá jīvāni,* 'let me live this day'; *çatáṁ jīvāti çarádaḥ,* 'he shall live a hundred autumns'; — in opt., *jīvema çarádāṁ çatā́ni,* 'may we live hundreds of autumns'; *sárvam ā́yur jīvyāsam* (prec.), 'I would fain live out my whole term of life'. Here the modes would be interchangeable with a hardly perceptible change of meaning.

Examples, again, of different modes in coördinate construction are: *iyám agne nā́rī pátiṁ videṣṭa . . . súvānā putrā́n máhiṣī bhavāti gatvā́ pátiṁ subhágā ví rājatu* (AV.), 'may this woman, O Agni! find a spouse; giving birth to sons she shall become a chieftainess; having attained a spouse let her rule in happiness'; *gopāyá naḥ svastáye prabúdhe naḥ púnar dadaḥ* (TS.), 'watch over us for our welfare, grant unto us to wake again'; *syā́n naḥ sūnúḥ . . . sā́ te sumatír bhūtv asmé* (RV.), 'may there be to us a son; let that favor of thine be ours'. It is not very seldom the case that versions of the same passage in different texts show different modes as various readings.

There is, in fact, nothing in the earliest employment of these modes to prove that they might not all be specialized uses of forms originally equivalent — having, for instance, a general future meaning.

576. As examples of the less characteristic use of subjunctive and optative in the older language, in independent clauses, may be quoted the following: *ā́ ghā tā́ gachān úttarā yugā́ni* (RV.), 'those later ages will doubtless come'; *yád . . . ná marā íti mányase* (RV.), 'if thou thinkest "I shall not die"'; *ná tā́ naçanti ná dabhāti táskaraḥ* (RV.), 'they do not become lost; no thief can harm them'; *kásmāi devā́ya havíṣā vidhema* (RV.), 'to what god shall we offer oblation?' *agnínā rayim açnavat . . . divé-dive* (RV.), 'by Agni one may gain wealth every day'; *utāí 'nām brahmáṇe dadyāt táthā syonā́ çivā́ syāt* (AV.), 'one should give her, however, to a Brahman; in that case she will be propitious and favorable'; *áhar-ahar dadyāt* (ÇB.), 'one should give every day'.

577. The uses of the optative in the later language are of the utmost variety, covering the whole field occupied jointly by the two modes in earlier time. A few examples from a single text (MBh.) will be enough to illustrate them: *uchiṣṭaṁ nāi 'va bhuñjīyāṁ na kuryām pādadhāvanam,* 'I will not eat of the remnant of the sacrifice, I will not perform the foot-lavation'; *jñātīn vrajet,* 'let her go to her relations'; *nāi 'vaṁ sā karhicit kuryāt,* 'she should not act thus at any time'; *kathaṁ vidyāṁ nalam nṛpam,* 'how can I know king Nala?' *utsarge saṁçayaḥ syāt tu*

vindetā 'pi sukhaṁ kvacit, 'but in case of her abandonment there may be a chance; she may also find happiness somewhere'; *kathaṁ vāso vikarteyaṁ na ca budhyeta me priyā,* 'how can I cut off the garment and my beloved not wake?'

578. The later use of the first persons subjunctive as so-called imperative involves no change of construction from former time, but only restriction to a single kind of use: thus, *dīvyāva,* 'let us two play'; *kiṁ karavāṇi te,* 'what shall I do for thee?'

579. The subjunctive with *mā́* is in the oldest language almost the sole form of prohibitive expression, and is very common. The kind of subjunctive employed is that which corresponds to the augmentless forms of a past tense; and in the great majority of cases (five sixths in RV., nine tenths in AV.) it is the augmentless aorist that is chosen. Thus: *prá pata mé 'há raṅsthāḥ* (AV.), 'fly away; do not stay here'; *dviṣáṅç ca máhyaṁ rádhyatu mā́ cā 'háṁ dviṣaté radham* (AV.), 'both let my foe be subject to me, and let me not be subject to my foe'; *urv àçyām ábhayaṁ jyótir indra mā́ no dīrghā́ abhí naçan tamisrā́ḥ* (RV.), 'I would win broad fearless light, O Indra; let not the long darknesses come upon us'; *mā́ na ā́yuḥ prá moṣīḥ* (RV.), 'do not steal away our life'; *mā́ bibher* (impf.) *ná mariṣyasi* (RV.), 'do not fear; thou wilt not die'; *mā́ smāi 'tā́nt sákhīn kuruthāḥ* (AV.), 'do not make friends of them'.

Only one optative *(bhujema)* is used prohibitively with *mā́* in RV., and only once (in a probably corrupted passage) an imperative; neither construction is found in AV.; and the cases in the later language are rare.

580. This very definite and peculiar construction, of an augmentless past tense with *mā,* has preserved itself in use, and is occasionally met with in the later language: thus, *samāçvasihi mā çucaḥ,* 'be comforted, do not grieve'; *mā bhāiḥ,* 'do not fear' (both MBh.).

But the use of the optative with *ná,* 'not', in a prohibitive sense appears even (very rarely) in the Veda, and becomes later the prevalent construction; thus, *ná riṣyema kadā́ caná* (RV.), 'may we suffer no harm at any time'; *ná cā 'tisṛjén ná juhuyāt* (AV.), 'and if he do not grant permission, let him not sacrifice'; *tád u táthā ná kuryāt* (ÇB.), 'but he must not do that so'; *na divā çayīta* (ÇGS.), 'let him not sleep by day'; *na tvāṁ vidyur janāḥ* (MBh.), 'let not people know thee'. This in the later language is the correlative of the prescriptive optative, and both are extremely common; so that in a text of prescriptive character the optative forms may come to outnumber the indicative and imperative together (as is the case, for example, in Manu).

581. In all dependent constructions, it is still harder even

in the oldest language to establish a distinction between subjunctive and optative: a method of use of either is scarcely to be found to which the other does not furnish a practical equivalent — and then, in the later language, such uses are represented by the optative alone. A few examples will be sufficient to illustrate this:

a. After relative pronouns and conjunctions in general: *yā́ vyūchúr yā́ç ca nūnám vyuchā́n* (RV.), 'which have shone forth [hitherto], and which shall hereafter shine forth'; *yó 'to jā́yātā asmā́kaṁ sá éko 'sat* (TS.), 'whoever shall be born of her, let him be one of us'; *yó vāí tā́n vidyā́t pratyákṣaṁ sá brahmā́ véditā syāt* (AV.), 'whoever shall know them face to face, he may pass for a knowing priest'; *putrā́ṇāṁ . . . jātā́nāṁ janáyāç ca yā́n* (AV.), 'of sons born and whom thou mayest bear'; *yásya . . . átithir gṛhā́n āgáchet* (AV.), 'to whosesoever house he may come as guest'; *yatamáthā kāmáyeta táthā kuryāt* (ÇB.), 'in whatever way he may choose, so may he do it'; *yárhi hótā yájamānasya nā́ma gṛhṇīyā́t tárhi brūyāt* (TS.), 'when the sacrificing priest shall name the name of the offerer, then he may speak'; *svarūpaṁ yadā draṣṭum ichethāḥ* (MBh.), 'when thou shalt desire to see thine own form'.

b. In more distinctly conditional constructions: *yájāma devā́n yádi çaknávāma* (RV.), 'we will offer to the gods if we shall be able'; *yád agne syā́m aháṁ tváṁ tváṁ vā ghā syā́ aháṁ syúṣ ṭe satyā́ ihā́ ''çíṣaḥ* (RV.), 'if I were thou, Agni, or if thou wert I, thy wishes should be realized on the spot'; *yó dyā́m atisárpāt parástān ná sá mucyātāi váruṇasya rā́jñaḥ* (AV.), 'though one steal far away beyond the sky, he shall not escape king Varuna'; *yád ánāçvān upaváset kṣódhukaḥ syād yád açnīyā́d rudrò 'sya paçū́n abhí manyeta* (TS.), 'if he should continue without eating, he would starve; if he should eat, Rudra would attack his cattle'; *prārthayed yadi māṁ kaçcid daṇḍyaḥ sa me pumān bhavet* (MBh.), 'if any man soever should desire me, he should suffer punishment'. These and the like constructions, with the optative, are very common in the Brāhmaṇas and later.

c. In final clauses: *yáthā 'háṁ çatruhó 'sāni* (AV.), 'that I may be a slayer of my enemies'; *gṛṇānā́ yáthā píbātho ándhaḥ* (RV.), 'that being praised with song ye may drink the draught'; *urāú yáthā táva çárman mádema* (RV.), 'in order that we rejoice in thy wide protection'; *úpa jānīta yáthe 'yáṁ púnar āgáchet* (ÇB.), 'contrive that she come back again'; *kṛpāṁ kuryād yathā mayi* (MBh.), 'so that he may take pity on me'. This is in the Veda one of the most frequent uses of the subjunctive; and in its correlative negative form, with *ned*, 'in order that not' or 'lest', it continues not rare in the Brāhmaṇas.

The indicative is also used in final clauses after *yathā:* thus, *yathā 'yaṁ naçyati tathā vidheyam* (H.), 'it must be so managed that he perish' (and thus usually in H.).

With the conditional use of subjunctive and optative is further to be compared that of the so-called "conditional" tense: see below, chap. XII.

582. No distinction of meaning has been established between the modes of the present-system and those (in the older language) of the perfect and aorist-systems.

Participles.

583. Participles, active and middle, are made from all the tense-stems — except the periphrastic future, and, in the later language, the aorist (and aorist participles are rare from the beginning).

584. The general participial endings are अन्त् *ant* (weak form अत् *at;* fem. अन्ती *antī* or अती *atī:* see above, **449**) for the active, and आन *āna* (fem. आना *ānā*) for the middle. But:

a. After a tense-stem ending in *a*, the active participial suffix is virtually *nt*, one of the two *a*'s being lost in the combination of stem-final and suffix.

b. After a tense-stem ending in *a*, the middle participial suffix is *māna* instead of *āna*.

c. The perfect has in the active the peculiar suffix *vāṅs* (weakest form *uṣ*, middle form *vat;* fem. *uṣī:* see, for the inflection of this participle, above, **458** ff.).

For details, as to form of stem etc., and for special exceptions, see the following chapters.

Augment.

585. The augment is a short *a*, prefixed to a tense-stem — and, if the latter begin with a vowel, combining with that vowel irregularly into the heavier or *vṛddhi* diphthong (**136 a**). It is always (without any exception) the accented element in the verbal form of which it makes a part.

In the Veda, the augment is in a few forms long *ā:* thus, *ānaç*, *āvar*, *āvṛṇi*, *āvṛṇak*, *āvidhyat*, *āyunak*, *āyukta*, *āriṇak*, *ārāik*.

586. The augment is a sign of past time. And an augment-preterit is made from each of the tense-stems from which

the system of conjugation is derived: namely, the imperfect, from the present-stem; the pluperfect (in the Veda only), from the perfect-stem; the conditional, from the future-stem; while in the aorist such a preterit stands without any corresponding present indicative.

587. In the older language (mainly in the Veda; the usage is a rare one in the Brāhmaṇa) the augment is often lost, and the augmentless forms have the same value as if they were complete; or, rather more often, they are used as subjunctives (above, **563**).

The accentuation of the augmentless forms is throughout accordant with that of the corresponding unaugmented tense — that is to say, where such a tense exists (which is not the case with the varieties of sibilant aorist).

Reduplication.

588. The derivation of conjugational and declensional stems from roots by reduplication, either alone or along with other formative elements, has been already spoken of (**259**), and the formations in which reduplication appears have been specified: they are, in primary verb-inflection, the present (of a certain class of verbs), the perfect (of nearly all), and the aorist (of a large number); and the intensive and desiderative secondary conjugations contain in their stems the same element.

589. The general principle of reduplication is the prefixion to a root of a part of itself repeated — if it begin with consonants, the initial consonant and the vowel; if it begin with a vowel, that vowel, either alone or with a following consonant. The varieties of detail, however, are very considerable. Thus, especially as regards the vowel, which in present and perfect and desiderative is regularly shorter and lighter in the reduplication than in the root-syllable, in aorist is longer, and in intensive is strengthened. The differences as regards an initial consonant are less, and chiefly confined to the intensive; for the others, certain general rules may be here stated, all further details being

left to be given in connection with the account of the separate formations.

590. The consonant of the reduplicating syllable is in general the first consonant of the root: thus, पप्रछ् *paprach* from √प्रछ् *prach;* शिश्लिष् *çiçliṣ* from √श्लिष् *çliṣ;* बुबुध् *bubudh* from √बुध्. But:

a. A non-aspirate is substituted in reduplication for an aspirate: thus, दधा *dadhā* from √धा; बिभृ *bibhṛ* from √भृ *bhṛ*.

b. A palatal is substituted for a guttural or for ह् *h:* thus, चकृ *cakṛ* from √कृ *kṛ;* चिखिद् *cikhid* from √खिद् *khid;* जग्रभ् *jagrabh* from √ग्रभ् *grabh;* जह्ृ *jahṛ* from √हृ *hṛ*.

The occasional reversion, on the other hand, of a palatal in the radical syllable to guttural form has been noticed above (**216**. 9).

c. Of two initial consonants, the second, if it be a non-nasal mute preceded by a sibilant, is repeated instead of the first: thus, तस्था *tasthā* from √स्था *sthā;* चस्कन्द् *caskand* form √स्कन्द् *skand;* पस्पृध् *paspṛdh* from √स्पृध् *spṛdh:* — but सस्मृ *sasmṛ* from √स्मृ.

Accent of the Verb.

591. The statements which have been made above, and those which will be made below, as to the accent of verbal forms, apply to those cases in which the verb is actually accented.

But, according to the grammarians, and according to the invariable practice in accentuated texts, the verb is in the great majority of its occurrences unaccented or toneless.

That is to say, of course, the verb in its proper forms, its personal or so-called finite forms. The verbal nouns and adjectives, or the infinitives and participles, are subject to precisely the same laws of accent as other nouns and adjectives.

592. The general rule, covering most of the cases, is this: The verb in an independent clause is unaccented, unless it stand at the beginning of the clause — or also, in metrical text, at the beginning of a *pāda*.

For the accent of the verb, as well as for that of the vocative case (above, **314**), the beginning of a *pāda* counts as that of a sentence, whatever be the logical connection of the *pāda* with what precedes it.

Examples of the unaccented verb are: *agním īḍe puróhitam,* 'I praise

Agni, the house-priest'; *sá íd devéṣu gachati,* 'that, truly, goes to the gods'; *ágne sūpāyanó bhava,* 'O Agni, be easy of access'; *idám indra çṛṇuhi somapa,* 'hear this, O Indra, soma-drinker'; *námas te rudra kṛṇmas,* 'homage to thee, Rudra, we offer'; *yájamānasya paçū́n pāhi,* 'protect the cattle of the sacrificer'.

Hence, there are two principal situations in which the verb retains its accent:

593. First, the verb is accented when it stands at the beginning of a clause — or, in verse, of a *pāda.*

Examples of the verb accented at the head of the sentence are, in prose, *çúndhadhvaṁ dāívyāya kármaṇe,* 'be pure for the divine ceremony'; *āpnóti 'máṁ lokám,* 'he wins this world'; — in verse, where the head of the sentence is also that of the *pāda, syā́mé 'd índrasya çármaṇi,* 'may we be in Indra's protection'; *darçáya mā yātudhā́nān,* 'show me the sorcerers'; *gámad vā́jebhir ā́ sá naḥ,* 'may he come with good things to us'; — in verse, where the head of the clause is within the *pāda, téṣām pāhi çrudhī́ hávam,* 'drink of them, hear our call'; *sástu mātā́ sástu pitā́ sástu çvā́ sástu viçpátiḥ,* 'let the mother sleep, let the father sleep, let the dog sleep, let the master sleep'; *víçvakarman námas te pāhy àsmā́n,* 'Viçvakarman, homage to thee; protect us!' *yuvā́m ... rā́jña ūce duhitā́ pṛché vāṁ narā,* 'the king's daughter said to you "I pray you, ye men"'; *vayáṁ te váya indra viddhí ṣu ṇaḥ prá bharāmahe,* 'we offer thee, Indra, strengthening; take note of us'.

Examples of the verb accented at the head of the *pāda* when this is not the head of the sentence are: *áthā te ántamānāṁ vidyā́ma sumatīnā́m,* 'so may we enjoy thy most intimate favors'; *dhātā́ 'syā́ agrúvāi pátiṁ dádhātu pratikāmyàm,* 'Dhātar bestow upon this girl a husband according to her wish'; *yātudhā́nasya somapa jahí prajā́m,* 'slay, O Soma-drinker, the progeny of the sorcerer'.

594. Certain special cases under this head are as follows:

a. As a vocative forms no syntactical part of the sentence to which it is attached, but is only an external appendage to it, a verb following an initial vocative, or more than one, is accented, as if it were itself initial in the clause or *pāda:* thus, *ā́çrutkarṇa çrudhī́ hávam,* 'O thou of listening ears, hear our call!' *sī́te vándāmahe tvā,* 'O Sītā, we reverence thee'; *víçve devā vásavo rákṣate 'mám,* 'all ye gods, ye Vasus, protect this man'; *utá ''gaç cakrúṣaṁ devā dévā jīváyathā púnaḥ,* 'likewise him, O gods, who has committed crime, ye gods, ye make to live again'.

b. If more than one verb follow a word or words syntactically connected with them all, only the first loses its accent, the others being treated as if they were initial verbs in separate clauses, with the same adjuncts understood: thus, *tarániṛ íj jayati kṣéti púṣyati,* 'successful he conquers, rules, thrives'; *amítrān ... párāca indra prá mṛṇā jahī́ ca,* 'our foes, Indra, drive far away and slay'; *asmábhyaṁ jeṣi yótsi ca,* 'for us conquer and fight'; *ágnīṣomā havíṣaḥ prásthitasya vītám háryataṁ vṛṣaṇā juṣéthām,* 'O Agni and Soma, of the oblation set forth partake, enjoy, ye mighty ones, take pleasure'.

c. In like manner (but much less often), an adjunct, as subject or object, standing between two verbs and logically belonging to both, is reckoned to the first alone, and the second has the initial accent: thus, *jahí prajā́ṁ náyasva ca*, 'slay the progeny, and bring [it] hither'; *çṛṇótu naḥ subhágā bódhatu tmánā*, 'may the blessed one hear us, [and may she] kindly regard [us]'.

d. As to cases in which a single verb standing between two adjuncts has the initial accent perhaps as being in the division of the sentence reckoned to the second rather than the first, see below, **597**.

595. Second, the verb is accented, whatever its position, in a dependent clause.

a. The dependency of a clause is in the very great majority of cases conditioned by the relative pronoun *ya*, or one of its derivatives or compounds. Thus: *yáṁ yajñám paribhū́r ási*, 'what offering thou protectest'; *ó té yanti yé aparī́ṣu paçyán*, 'they are coming who shall behold her hereafter'; *sahá yán me ásti téna*, 'along with that which is mine'; *yátra naḥ pū́rve pitáraḥ pareyúḥ*, 'whither our fathers of old departed'; *adyā́ murīya yádi yātudhā́no ásmi*, 'let me die on the spot, if I am a sorcerer'; *yáthā́ 'hāny anupūrvám bhávanti*, 'as days follow one another in order'; *yā́vad idám bhúvanaṁ víçvam ásti*, 'how great this whole creation is'; *yátkāmās te juhumás tán no astu*, 'what desiring we sacrifice to thee, let that become ours'; *yatamás títṛpsāt*, 'whichever one desires to enjoy'.

The presence of a relative word in the sentence does not, of course, accent the verb, unless this is really the predicate of a dependent clause: thus, *ápa tyé tāyávo yathā yanti*, 'they make off like thieves (as thieves do)'; *yát sthā́ jágac ca rejate*, 'whatever [is] movable and immovable trembles'; *yathākā́maṁ ní padyate*, 'he lies down at his pleasure'.

b. The particle *ca* when it means 'if', and *céd (ca + íd)*, 'if', give an accent to the verb: thus, *brahmā́ céd dhástam ágrahīt*, 'if a Brahman has grasped her hand'; *tváṁ ca soma no váço jīvā́tuṁ ná marāmahe*, 'if thou, Soma, willest us to live, we shall not die'; *ā́ ca gáchān mitrám enā dadhāma*, 'if he will come here, we will make friends with him'.

c. There are a very few passages in which the logical dependence of a clause containing no subordinating word appears to give the verb its accent: thus, *sám áçvaparṇāç cáranti no náro 'smā́kam indra rathíno jayantu*, 'when our men, horse-winged, come into conflict, let the chariot-fighters of our side, O Indra, win the victory'. Rarely, too, an imperative so following another imperative that its action may seem a consequence of the latter's is accented; thus, *tū́yam ā́ gahi káṇveṣu sú sácā píba*, 'come hither quickly; drink along with the Kanvas' (i. e. in order to drink).

d. A few other particles give the verb an accent, in virtue of a slight subordinating force belonging to them: thus, especially *hí* (with its negation *nahí*), which in its fullest value means 'for', but shades off from that into a mere asseverative sense; the verb or verbs connected with it are always accented: thus, *ví té muñcantā́ṁ vimúco hí sánti*, 'let them release him, for they are releasers'; *yác cid dhí... anāçastā́ iva smási*, 'if we, forsooth, are

as it were unrenowned'; — also *néd (ná + íd)*, meaning 'lest, that not': thus, *nét tvā tápāti sū́ro arcíṣā*, 'that the sun may not burn thee with his beam'; *virā́jaṁ néd vichinádānī́ 'ti*, 'saying to himself, "lest I cut off the virāj"'; — and the interrogative *kuvíd*, 'whether?' thus, *ukthébhiḥ kuvíd āgámat*, 'will he come hither for our praises?'

596. But further, the verb of a prior clause is not infrequently accented in antithetical construction.

Sometimes, the relation of the two clauses is readily capable of being regarded as that of protasis and apodosis; but often, also, such a relation is very indistinct; and the cases of antithesis shade off into those of ordinary coördination, the line between them appearing to be rather arbitrarily drawn.

In the majority of cases, the antithesis is made distincter by the presence in the two clauses of correlative words, especially *anya — anya*, *eka — eka*, *vā — vā*, *ca — ca*: thus, *prá-prā 'nyé yánti páry anyá āsate*, 'some go on and on, others sit about' (as if it were 'while some go' etc.); *úd vā siñcádhvam úpa vā pṛṇadhvam*, 'either pour out, or fill up'; *sáṁ ce 'dhyásvā 'gne prá ca vardhaye 'mám*, 'both do thou thyself become kindled, Agni, and do thou increase this person'. But it is also made without such help: thus, *prá 'jātāḥ prajā́ janáyati pári prájātā gṛhṇāti*, 'the unborn progeny he generates, the born he embraces'; *ápa yuṣmád ákramīn ná 'smā́n upā́vartate*, '[though] she has gone away from you, she does not come to us'; *nā́ 'ndhò 'dhvaryúr bhávati ná yajñáṁ rákṣāṅsi ghnanti*, 'the priest does not become blind, the demons do not destroy the sacrifice'.

597. Where the verb would be the same in the two antithetical clauses, it is not infrequently omitted in the second: thus, beside complete expressions like *urvī́ cā́ 'si vásvī cā 'si*, 'both thou art broad and thou art good', occur, much oftener, incomplete ones like *agnír amúṣmin loká ā́sīd yamò 'smín*, 'Agni was in yonder world, Yama [was] in this'; *asthnā́ 'nyā́ḥ prajā́ḥ pratitíṣṭhanti māṅsénā 'nyā́ḥ*, 'by bone some creatures stand firm, by flesh others'; *dvipā́c ca sárvaṁ no rákṣa cátuṣpād yác ca naḥ svám*, 'both protect everything of ours that is biped, and also whatever that is quadruped belongs to us'.

Examples from the Brāhmaṇas like the first of those here given (with the second verb expressed), and like the third (in composition with a preposition), show that this explanation of the verbal accent is preferable to the one formerly given — namely, that the verb is to be regarded as understood in the first clause and initial in the second.

598. In a very small number of more or less doubtful cases, the verb appears to be accented for emphasis.

Thus, before *caná*, 'in any wise'; in connection with the asseverative particles *íd*, *áha*, *kíla*, *aṅgá*, *evá*, but sporadically; and so on. The detail and examination of the cases is not worth while here*.

* The specialities and irregularities of the RV. as regards verbal accent are discussed by A. Mayr in Sitzungsb. d. Wiener Akad. for 1871; of the AV., by W. D. Whitney in J. A. O. S., vol. v. (and Kuhn's Beiträge, vol. i.); of the TS., by A. Weber in Ind. Stud., vol. xiii.

CHAPTER IX.

THE PRESENT-SYSTEM.

599. The present-system, or system of forms coming from the present-stem, is composed (as was pointed out above) of a present indicative tense, along with a subjunctive (mostly lost in the classical language), an optative, an imperative, and a participle, and also a past tense, an augment-preterit, to which we give (by analogy with the Greek) the name of imperfect.

These forms generally go in Sanskrit grammar by the name of "special tenses", while the other tense-systems are styled "general tenses" — as if the former were made from a special tense-stem or modified root, while the latter came, all alike, from the root itself. There is no reason why such a distinction and nomenclature should be retained; since, on the one hand, the "special tenses" come in one set of verbs directly from the root, and, on the other hand, the other tense-systems are mostly made from stems — and, in the case of the aorist, from stems having a variety of form comparable with that of present-stems.

600. Practically, the present-system is the most prominent and important part of the whole conjugation, since, from the earliest period of the language, its forms are very much more frequent than those of all the other systems together.

Thus, in the Veda, the occurrences of personal forms of this system are to those of all others about as three to one; in the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa, as five to one; in the Hitopadeça, as six to one; in the Çakuntalā, as eight to one; in Manu, as thirty to one.

601. And, as there is also great variety in the manner in which different roots form their present-stem, this, as being their most conspicuous difference, is made the basis of their principal classification; and a verb is said to be of this or of that conjugation, or class, according to the way in which its present-stem is made.

602. In a small minority of verbs, the present-stem is identical with the root. Then there are besides (excluding the passive and causative) eight more or less different ways of forming a present-stem from the root, each way being followed by a larger or smaller number of verbs. These are the "classes" or "conjugation-classes", as laid down by the native Hindu grammarians. They are arranged by the latter in a certain wholly artificial and unsystematic order (the ground of which has never been pointed out); and they are wont to be designated in European works according to this order, or else, after Hindu example, by the root standing at the head of each class in the Hindu lists. A different arrangement and nomenclature will be followed here, namely as below — the classes being divided (as is usual in European grammars) into two more general classes or conjugations, distinguished from one another by wider differences than those which separate the special classes.

603. The classes of the First Conjugation are as follows:

I. The root-class (second class, or *ad*-class, of the Hindu grammarians); its present-stem is coincident with the root itself: thus, अद् *ad,* 'eat'; इ *i,* 'go'; या *yā,* 'go'; द्विष् *dviṣ,* 'hate'; दुह् *duh,* 'milk'.

II. The reduplicating class (third or *hu*-class); the root is reduplicated to form the present-stem: thus, जुहु *juhu* from √हु *hu,* 'sacrifice'; ददा *dadā* from √दा, 'give'; बिभृ *bibhṛ* from √भृ, 'bear'.

III. The nasal class (seventh or *rudh*-class); a nasal, extended to the syllable न *na* in strong forms, is inserted before the final consonant of the root: thus, रुन्ध् *rundh* (or रुणध् *ruṇadh*) from √रुध् *rudh;* युञ्ज् *yuñj* (or युनज् *yunaj*) from √युज् *yuj.*

IV. **a.** The *nu*-class (fifth or *su*-class); the syl-

lable नु *nu* is added to the root: thus, सुनु *sunu* from √सु; आप्नु *āpnu* from √आप् *āp*.

b. A very small number (only half-a-dozen) of roots ending already in न् *n*, and also one very common and quite irregularly inflected root not so ending (कृ *kṛ*, 'make'), add उ *u* alone to form the present-stem. This is the eighth or *tan*-class of the Hindu grammarians; it may be best ranked by us as a sub-class, the *u*-class: thus, तनु *tanu* from √तन् *tan*.

V. The *nā*-class (ninth or *krī*-class); the syllable ना *nā* (or, in weak forms, नी *nī*) is added to the root: thus, क्रीणा *krīṇā* (or क्रीणी *krīṇī*) from √क्री *krī*, 'buy'; स्तभ्ना *stabhnā* (or स्तभ्नी *stabhnī*) from √स्तभ् *stabh*, 'establish'.

604. These classes have in common, as their most fundamental characteristic, a shift of accent: the tone being now upon the ending, and now upon the root or the class-sign. Along with this goes a variation in the stem itself, which has a stronger or fuller form when the accent rests upon it, and a weaker or briefer form when the accent is on the ending: these forms are to be distinguished as the strong stem and the weak stem respectively (in part, both have been given above). The classes also form their optative active, their 2d sing. imperative, and their 3d pl. middle, in a different manner from the others.

605. In the classes of the SECOND CONJUGATION, the present-stem ends in *a*, and the accent has a fixed place, remaining always upon the same syllable of the stem, and never shifted to the endings. Also, the optative, the 2d sing. impv., and the 3d pl. middle are (as just stated) unlike those of the other conjugation.

606. The classes of this conjugation are as follows:

VI. The *a*-class, or unaccented *a*-class (first

or *bhū*-class); the added class-sign is *a* simply; and the root, which has the accent, is strengthened by *guṇa* throughout: thus, भव *bháva* from √भू *bhū*, 'be'; नय *náya* from √नी *nī*, 'lead'; बोध *bódha* from √बुध् *budh*, 'wake'; वद *váda* from √वद् *vad*, 'speak'.

VII. The *á*-class, or accented *a*-class (sixth or *tud*-class); the added class-sign is *a*, as in the preceding class; but it has the accent, and the unaccented root remains unstrengthened: thus, तुद *tudá* from √तुद्, 'thrust'; सृज *sṛjá* from √सृज् *sṛj*, 'let loose'; सुव *suvá* from √सू *sū*, 'give birth'.

VIII. The *ya*-class (fourth or *div*-class); *ya* is added to the root, which has the accent: thus, दीव्य *dī́vya* from √दिव् *div* (more properly दीव् *dīv*: see 765); नह्य *náhya* from √नह् *nah*, 'bind'; क्रुध्य *krúdhya* from √क्रुध् *krudh*, 'be angry'.

IX. The passive conjugation is also properly a present-system only, having a class-sign which is not extended into the other systems; though it differs markedly from the remaining classes in having a specific meaning, and in being formable in the middle voice (only) from all transitive verbs. Its inflection may therefore best be treated next to that of the *ya*-class, with which it is most nearly connected, differing from it as the *á*-class from the *a*-class. It forms its stem, namely, by adding an accented *yá* to the root: thus, अद्य *adyá* from √अद् *ad*; रुध्य *rudhyá* from √रुध् *rudh*; बुध्य *budhyá* from √बुध् *budh*; तुद्य *tudyá* from √तुद् *tud*.

607. The Hindu grammarians reckon a tenth class or *cur*-class, having a class-sign *áya* added to a strengthened root (thus, *coráya* from √*cur*), and an inflection like that of the other *a*-stems. Since, however, this stem is not limited to the present-system, but extends also into the rest of the conjugation — while it also has to a great extent a causative value, and may

be formed in that value from a large number of roots — it will be best treated along with the derivative conjugations (chap. XIV.).

608. A small number of roots add in the present-system a *ch,* or substitute a *ch* for their final consonant, and form a stem ending in *cha* or *chá,* which is then inflected like an *a*-stem. This is historically, doubtless, a true class-sign, analogous with the rest; but the verbs showing it are so few, and in formation partly so irregular, that they are not well to be put together into a class, but may best be treated as special cases falling under the other classes.

Roots adding *ch* are *ṛ* and *yu,* which make the stems *ṛchá* and *yúcha.*

Roots substituting *ch* for their final are *iṣ, uṣ* (or *vas* 'shine'), *gam, yam,* which make the stems *ichá, uchá, gácha, yácha.*

Of so-called roots ending in *ch,* several are more or less clearly stems, whose use has been extended from the present to other systems of tenses.

609. Roots are not wholly limited, even in the later language, to one mode of formation of their present-stem, but are sometimes reckoned as belonging to two or more different conjugation-classes. And such variety of formation is especially frequent in the Veda, being exhibited by a considerable proportion of the roots there occurring; already in the Brāhmaṇas, however, a condition is reached nearly agreeing in this respect with the classical language. The different present-formations sometimes have differences of meaning; yet not more important ones than are often found belonging to the same formation, nor of a kind to show a difference of value as originally belonging to the separate classes of presents. If anything of this kind is to be established, it must be from the derivative conjugations, which are separated by no fixed line from the present-systems.

610. We take up now the different classes, in the order in which they have been arranged above, to describe more in detail, and with illustration, the formation of their present-systems, and to notice the irregularities belonging under each class.

I. Root-class (second, *ad*-class).

611. In this class there is no class-sign; the root itself is also present-stem, and to it are added directly the personal endings — but combined in subjunctive and optative with the respective mode-signs, and in the imperfect taking the augment prefixed to the root.

The accented endings (**552**) regularly take the accent — except in the imperfect, where it falls on the augment — and before

them the root remains unchanged; before the unaccented endings, the root takes the *guṇa*-strengthening.

It is only in the first three classes that the endings come immediately in contact with a final consonant of the root, and that the rules for consonant combination have to be noted and applied.

1. Present Indicative.

612. The endings are the primary (with अते *áte* in 3d pl. mid.), added to the bare root. The root takes the accent, and has *guṇa*, if capable of it, in the three persons sing. act.

Examples of inflection: **a.** root इ *i*, 'go': strong form of root-stem, ए *é*; weak form, इ *i*.

	active.			middle.*		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	एमि *émi*	इवस् *ivás*	इमस् *imás*	इये *iyé*	इवहे *iváhe*	इमहे *imáhe*
2	एषि *éṣi*	इथस् *ithás*	इथ *ithá*	इषे *iṣé*	इयाथे *iyā́the*	इध्वे *idhvé*
3	एति *éti*	इतस् *itás*	यन्ति *yánti*	इते *ité*	इयाते *iyā́te*	इयते *iyáte*

b. root द्विष् *dviṣ*, 'hate'; strong stem-form, द्वेष् *dvéṣ*; weak, द्विष् *dviṣ*.

For rules of combination for the final *ṣ*, see **226**.

1	द्वेष्मि *dvéṣmi*	द्विष्वस् *dviṣvás*	द्विष्मस् *dviṣmás*	द्विषे *dviṣé*	द्विष्वहे *dviṣváhe*	द्विष्महे *dviṣmáhe*
2	द्वेक्षि *dvékṣi*	द्विष्ठस् *dviṣṭhás*	द्विष्ठ *dviṣṭhá*	द्विक्षे *dvikṣé*	द्विषाथे *dviṣā́the*	द्विड्ढ्वे *dviḍḍhvé*
3	द्वेष्टि *dvéṣṭi*	द्विष्टस् *dviṣṭás*	द्विषन्ति *dviṣánti*	द्विष्टे *dviṣṭé*	द्विषाते *dviṣā́te*	द्विषते *dviṣáte*

c. root दुह् *duh*, 'milk': strong stem-form दोह् *dóh*; weak, दुह् *duh*.

For rules of combination for the final *h*, and for the conversion of the initial to *dh*, see **222, 155, 160**.

1	दोह्मि *dóhmi*	दुह्वस् *duhvás*	दुह्मस् *duhmás*	दुहे *duhé*	दुह्वहे *duhváhe*	दुह्महे *duhmáhe*

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* Used in the middle with the preposition *adhi*, to signify 'go over for one's self', i. e. 'repeat, learn, read'.

2	धोक्षि *dhókṣi*	दुग्धस् *dugdhás*	दुग्ध *dugdhá*	धुक्षे *dhukṣé*	दुहाथे *duháthe*	धुग्ध्वे *dhugdhvé*
3	दोग्धि *dógdhi*	दुग्धस् *dugdhás*	दुहन्ति *duhánti*	दुग्धे *dugdhé*	दुहाते *duháte*	दुहते *duháte*

613. Examples of the 3d sing. mid. coincident in form with the 1st sing. are not rare in the older language (both V. and Br.): the most frequent examples are *íçe*, *duhé*, *vidé*, *çáye:* more sporadic are *cité*, *bruve*, *huvé*. The irregular accent of the 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in *rihaté*, *duhaté*. Examples of the same person in *re* and *rate* also occur: thus (besides those mentioned below, **629—30, 635**), *vidré*, and, with auxiliary vowel, *arhire* (unless these are to be ranked, rather, as perfect forms without reduplication: **790** b).

2. Present Subjunctive.

614. Subjunctive forms of this class are not uncommon in the older language, and nearly all those which the formation anywhere admits are quotable, from Veda or from Brāhmaṇa. A complete paradigm, accordingly, is given below, with the few forms not actually quotable for this class enclosed in brackets. We may take as models, for the active the root *i*, 'go', and for the middle the root *ās*, 'sit', of both of which numerous forms are met with (although neither for these nor for any others can the whole series be found in actual use).

The mode-stems are *áya* (*é* + *a*) and *ā́sa* respectively.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*áyāni* / *áyā*	*áyāva*	*áyāma*	*ā́sāi*	*ā́sāvahāi* / *[ā́sāvahe]*	*ā́sāmahāi* / *[ā́sāmahe]*
2	*áyasi* / *áyas*	*áyathas*	*áyatha*	*ā́sase* / *ā́sāsāi*	*[ā́sāithe]*	*[ā́sadhve]* / *ā́sādhvāi*
3	*áyati* / *áyat*	*áyatas*	*áyan*	*ā́sate* / *ā́sātāi*	*ā́sāite*	*[ā́sante]*-nta / *ā́sāntāi*

615. The RV. has no middle forms in *āi* except those of the first person. The 1st sing. act. in *ā* occurs only in RV., in *ayā*, *bravā*, *stávā*. The 2d and 3d sing. act. with primary endings are very unusual in the Brāhmaṇas. Forms irregularly made with long *ā*, like those from present-stems in *a*, are not rare in AV. and Br.: thus, *ayās*, *ayāt*, *áyān; ásāt*, *brávāt; asātha*, *bravātha*, *hanātha; ádān*, *dohān*. Of middle forms with secondary endings are found *hánanta*, 3d pl., and *íçata*, 3d sing. (after *mā́* prohibitive), which is an isolated example. The only dual person in *āite* is *brávāite*.

3. Present Optative.

616. The personal endings combined with the mode-signs of this mode (या *yā* in act., ई *ī* in mid.) have been

given in full above (**566**). The stem-form is the unaccented and unstrengthened root. The whole formation is so regular that a single example of inflection will be enough.

	active. s.	d.	p.	middle. s.	d.	p.
1	द्विष्याम् *dviṣyā́m*	द्विष्याव *dviṣyā́va*	द्विष्याम *dviṣyā́ma*	द्विषीय *dviṣīyá*	द्विषीवहि *dviṣīváhi*	द्विषीमहि *dviṣīmáhi*
2	द्विष्यास् *dviṣyā́s*	द्विष्यातम् *dviṣyā́tam*	द्विष्यात *dviṣyā́ta*	द्विषीथास् *dviṣīthā́s*	द्विषीयाथाम् *dviṣīyā́thām*	द्विषीध्वम् *dviṣīdhvám*
3	द्विष्यात् *dviṣyā́t*	द्विष्याताम् *dviṣyā́tām*	द्विष्युस् *dviṣyús*	द्विषीत *dviṣītá*	द्विषीयाताम् *dviṣīyā́tām*	द्विषीरन् *dviṣīrán*

So likewise, from √*i*, *iyā́m* and *iyīyá*; from √*duh*, *duhyā́m* and *duhīyá*; and so on.

The RV. has once *tana* in 2d pl. act. (in *syātana*).

4. Present Imperative.

617. The imperative adds, in second and third persons, its own endings (with अताम् *atām* in 3d pl. mid.) directly to the root-stem. The stem is accented and strengthened in 3d sing. act.; elsewhere, the accent is on the ending and the root remains unchanged. The first persons, so called, of the later language are from the old subjunctive, and have its strengthened stem and accent; they are repeated here from where they were given above (**614**). In the 2d sing. act., the ending is regularly (as in the two following classes) धि *dhi* if the root end with a consonant, and हि *hi* if it end with a vowel. As examples we take some of the roots already used for the purpose.

	active. s.	d.	p.	middle. s.	d.	p.
1	अयानि *áyāni*	अयाव *áyāva*	अयाम *áyāma*	आसै *ā́sāi*	आसावहै *ā́sāvahāi*	आसामहै *ā́sāmahāi*
2	इहि *ihí*	इतम् *itám*	इत *itá*	आस्स्व *āssvá*	आसाथाम् *āsā́thām*	आद्ध्वम् *āddhvám*
3	एतु *étu*	इताम् *itā́m*	यन्तु *yántu*	आस्ताम् *āstā́m*	आसाताम् *āsā́tām*	आसताम् *ā́satām*

1	दोहानि	दोहाव	दोहाम	दोहै	दोहावहै	दोहामहै
	dóhāni	*dóhāva*	*dóhāma*	*dóhāi*	*dóhāvahāi*	*dóhāmahāi*
2	दुग्धि	दुग्धम्	दुग्ध	धुक्ष्व	दुहाथाम्	धुग्ध्वम्
	dugdhí	*dugdhám*	*dugdhá*	*dhukṣvá*	*duhā́thām*	*dhugdhvám*
3	दोग्धु	दुग्धाम्	दुहन्तु	दुग्धाम्	दुहाताम्	दुहताम्
	dógdhu	*dugdhā́m*	*duhántu*	*dugdhā́m*	*duhā́tām*	*duhátām*

618. The 2d sing. act. ending *tāt* is found in the older language in a few verbs of this class: namely, *vittā́t*, *vītāt*, *brūtāt*. In 3d sing. mid., two or three verbs have in the older language the ending *ām:* thus, *duhā́m* (only RV. case), *vidām*, *çayām;* and in 3d pl. mid. AV. has *duhrā́m* and *duhratām*. The use of *tana* for *ta* in 2d pl. act. is quite frequent in the Veda: thus, *itana*, *yātána*, *hantana*, etc. And in *stota*, *étana*, *sotana*, we have examples in the same person of a strong (and accented) stem.

5. Present Participle.

619. The active participle has the ending अन्त् *ánt* (weak stem-form अत् *at*) added to the unstrengthened root. Mechanically, it may be formed from the 3d pl. by dropping the final इ *i*. Thus, for the verbs inflected above, the active participles are यन्त् *yánt*, दुहन्त् *duhánt*, द्विषन्त् *dviṣánt*. The feminine stem ends usually in अती *atī́:* thus, यती *yatī́*, दुहती *duhatī́*, द्विषती *dviṣatī́:* but, from roots in *ā*, in आन्ती *ā́ntī* or आती *ātī́* (**449**).

The middle participle has the ending आन *āná*, added to the unstrengthened root: thus, इयान *iyāná*, दुहान *duhāná*, द्विषाण *dviṣāṇá*.

But a number of these participles in the older language have a double accent, either on the ending or on the radical syllable: thus, *duhāná* and *dúhāna* (also *dúghāna*), *vidāná* and *vídāna*, *suvāná* and *súvāna*, *stuvāná* and *stávāna* — the last having also a stronger form of the root when accented. The root *ās*, 'sit', forms the unique *ā́sīna* (along with, in the Veda, *āsāná*).

6. Imperfect.

620. This tense adds the secondary endings to the root as increased by prefixion of the augment. The root has the *guṇa*-strengthening (if capable of it) in the three persons of

the singular, although the accent is always upon the augment. Examples of inflection are:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	आयम् *áyam*	ऐव *āíva*	ऐम *āíma*	आसि *ási*	आस्वहि *ásvahi*	आस्महि *ásmahi*
2	ऐस् *āís*	ऐतम् *āítam*	ऐत *āíta*	आस्थास् *ásthās*	आसाथाम् *ásāthām*	आद्ध्वम् *áddhvam*
3	ऐत् *āít*	ऐताम् *āítām*	आयन् *áyan*	आस्त *ásta*	आसाताम् *ásātām*	आसत *ásata*

and, from the root दुह् *duh:*

1	अदोहम् *ádoham*	अदुह्व *áduhva*	अदुह्म *áduhma*	अदुहि *áduhi*	अदुह्वहि *áduhvahi*	अदुह्महि *áduhmahi*
2	अधोक् *ádhok*	अदुग्धम् *ádugdham*	अदुग्ध *ádugdha*	अदुग्धास् *ádugdhās*	अदुहाथाम् *áduhāthām*	अधुग्ध्वम् *ádhugdhvam*
3	अधोक् *ádhok*	अदुग्धाम् *ádugdhām*	अदुहन् *áduhan*	अदुग्ध *ádugdha*	अदुहाताम् *áduhātām*	अदुहत *áduhata*

621. Roots ending in *ā* may in the later language optionally take *us* instead of *an* in 3d pl. act. (the *ā* being lost before it); and in the older they always do so: thus, *áyus* from √*yā*, *ápus* from √*pā* 'protect'. The same ending is also allowed and met with in the case of a few roots ending in consonants: namely *vid*, 'know', *cakṣ*, *dviṣ*, *duh*, *mṛj*.

The ending *tana*, 2d pl. act., is found in the Veda in *áyātana*, *ásastana*, *āítana*.

To save the characteristic endings in 2d and 3d sing. act., the root *ad* inserts *a:* thus, *ā́das*, *ā́dat;* the root *as* inserts *ī:* thus, *ā́sīs*, *ā́sīt* (see below, **636**).

622. The use of the persons of this tense, without augment, in the older language, either in the same sense as with augment, or as subjunctives, has been noticed above (**587**). Augmentless imperfects of this class are rather uncommon in the Veda: thus, *hán*, *ves*, 2d sing.; *han*, *vet*, *stāut*, *dán* (?), 3d sing.; *bruvan*, *duhús*, *cakṣus*, 3d pl.; *vasta*, *sūta*, 3d sing. mid.

623. The first or root-form of aorist is identical in its formation with this imperfect: see below, **829** ff.

624. In the Veda (but almost limited to RV.) are found certain second persons singular, made by adding the ending *si* to the (accented and strengthened) root, and having an imperative value. There is some difference of view as to their formal character; but the most acceptable opinion regards them as isolated indicative persons of this class, used imperatively. They

are: *kṣéṣi* (1 *kṣi* 'rule'), *jéṣi*, *jóṣi* (for *jóṣṣi*, from √*juṣ*), *dárṣi*, *dhakṣi*, *nakṣi* (2 *naç* 'attain'), *néṣi*, *párṣi* (2 *pṛ* 'set across'), *prā́si*, *bhakṣi*, *mátsi*, *māsi* (2 *mā* 'measure'), *yákṣi*, *yáṅsi*, *yāsi*, *yótsi*, *rátsi*, *rā́si*, *vákṣi*, *véṣi* (1 *vī* 'strive after'), *çróṣi*, *sakṣi*, *sátsi*, *hoṣi*.

Irregularities of the Root-class.

625. It is impossible (at least at present) to determine with accuracy how many of the actually used roots of the language are inflected in the present-system according to this class, or according to any of the other classes, because the older language especially, and the later in less degree, has sporadic forms which are either of doubtful classification or too isolated to determine the character of the root to which they belong. The root-class may be said, however, to include from seventy to ninety roots. A considerable number of them present irregularities of inflection, a brief account of which (not claiming exhaustive completeness) is given in the following paragraphs.

626. The roots of the class ending in *u* have in their strong forms the *vṛddhi* instead of the *guṇa*-strengthening before an ending beginning with a consonant: thus, from √*stu*, *stāúmi*, *ástāut*, and the like: but *ástavam*, *stávāni*, etc.

Roots found to exhibit this peculiarity in actual use are *kṣṇu*, *yu*, *sku*, *stu*, *snu* (these five in the earlier language), *nu*, *ru*, *su* 'impel', and *hnu*.

627. The root *mṛj* also has the *vṛddhi*-vowel in its strong forms: thus, *mā́rjmi*, *ámārjam*, *ámārṭ*; and the same strengthening is allowed in weak forms before endings beginning with a vowel: thus, *mārjantu*, *amārjan*: but this is not found to occur in the older language.

In the other tense-systems, also, and in derivation, *mṛj* shows often the *vṛddhi* instead of the *guṇa*-strengthening.

628. A number of roots accent the radical syllable throughout, both in strong and in weak forms: thus, all those beginning with a long vowel, *ās*, *īḍ*, *īr*, *īç*; and also *cakṣ*, *takṣ*, *trā*, *niṅs*, *vas* 'clothe', *çiñj*, *çī*, and *sū* 'generate'. All these, except *takṣ* and *trā* (and *trā* in the only Vedic forms), are ordinarily conjugated in middle voice only. Forms with the same irregular accent occur now and then in the Veda from other verbs: thus, *mátsva*, *ṛ́dhat*. Middle participles so accented have been noticed above (**619**).

629. Of the roots mentioned in the last paragraph, *çī* has the *guṇa*-strengthening throughout: thus, *çáye*, *çéṣe*, *çáyīya*, *çáyāna*, and so on. Other irregularities in its inflection (in part already noticed) are the 3d pl. persons *çérate* (AV. etc.

have also *çére*), *çératām*, *áçerata* (RV. has also *áçeran*), the 3d sing. pres. *çáye* (R.) and impv. *çáyām*. The isolated active form *áçayat* is common in the older language.

630. Of the same roots, *īḍ* and *īç* insert a union-vowel *i* before endings beginning with *s*, *sv*, *th*: thus, *ī́çiṣe*, *ī́çidhve*, *ī́ḍiṣva* (these three being the only forms noted in the older language); but RV. has *ī́kṣe* beside *ī́çiṣe*. The 3d pl. *ī́çire* (on account of its accent) is also apparently present rather than perfect.

631. The roots *rud* (not in Veda), *svap*, *an*, and *çvas* insert a union-vowel *i* before all the endings beginning with a consonant, except the *s* and *t* of 2d and 3d sing. impf., where they insert instead either *a* or *ī*: thus, *svápimi*, *çvásiṣi*, *ániti*, and *ā́nat* or *ā́nīt*. And in the remaining forms, the last three are allowed to accent either root or ending: thus, *svápantu* and *çvásantu* (AV.), or *svapántu* etc.

In the older language, √*vam* makes the same insertions: thus, *vamiti*, *avamīt*; and other cases occasionally occur: thus, *janiṣva*, *vasiṣva* (√*vas* 'aim'), *çnathihi*, *stanihi* (all RV.). On the other hand, *an* sometimes makes forms from an *a*-stem: thus, *ánati* (AV.); pple *ánant* (ÇB.); opt. *anet* (AB.).

632. The root *brū* (of very frequent use) takes the union-vowel *ī* after the root when strengthened, before the initial vowel of an ending: thus, *brávīmi*, *brávīṣi*, *brávīti*, *ábravīs*, *ábravīt*; but *brūmás*, *brūyā́m*, *ábravam*, *ábruvan*, etc. Special occasional irregularities are *brūmi*, *bravīhi*, *abruvam*, *abrūvan*, *bruyāt*, and sporadic forms from an *a*-stem. The subj. dual *brávāite* has been noticed above (**615**).

633. Some of the roots in *u* are allowed to be inflected like *brū*: namely, *ku*, *tu*, *ru*, and *stu*; and an occasional instance is met with of a form so made (in V., only *tavīti* noted).

634. The root *am* (hardly found in the later language) takes *ī* as union-vowel: thus, *amīṣi* (RV.), *amīti* and *āmīt* and *amīṣva* (TS). From √*çam* occur *çamīṣva* (VS.: TS. *çamiṣva*) and *çamīdhvam* (TB. etc.).

635. The irregularities of √*duh* in the older language have been already in part noted: the 3d pl. indic. mid. *duhaté*, *duhré*, and *duhráte*; 3d sing. impv. *duhā́m*, pl. *duhrā́m* and *duhratām*; impf. act. 3d sing. *áduhat* (which is found also in the later language), 3d pl. *aduhran* (beside *áduhan* and *duhús*); the mid. pple *dúghāna*; and (quite unexampled elsewhere) the opt. forms *duhīyát* and *duhīyán* (RV. only).

Some of the roots of this class are abbreviated or otherwise weakened in their weak forms: thus —

636. The root अस् *as*, 'be', loses its vowel in weak forms (except where protected by combination with the augment).

Its 2d sing. indic. is असि *ási* (instead of *assi*); its 2d sing. impv. is एधि *edhí* (irregularly from *asdhi*). The insertion of ई *ī* in 2d and 3d sing. impf. has been noticed already above.

The forms of this extremely common verb are, then, as follows:

	Indicative.			Optative.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अस्मि *ásmi*	स्वस् *svás*	स्मस् *smás*	स्याम् *syā́m*	स्याव *syā́va*	स्याम *syā́ma*
2	असि *ási*	स्थस् *sthás*	स्थ *sthá*	स्यास् *syā́s*	स्यातम् *syā́tam*	स्यात *syā́ta*
3	अस्ति *ásti*	स्तस् *stás*	सन्ति *sánti*	स्यात् *syā́t*	स्याताम् *syā́tām*	स्युस् *syús*

	Imperative.			Imperfect.		
1	असानि *ásāni*	असाव *ásāva*	असाम *ásāma*	आसम् *ā́sam*	आस्व *ā́sva*	आस्म *ā́sma*
2	एधि *edhí*	स्तम् *stám*	स्त *stá*	आसीस् *ā́sīs*	आस्तम् *ā́stam*	आस्त *ā́sta*
3	अस्तु *ástu*	स्ताम् *stā́m*	सन्तु *sántu*	आसीत् *ā́sīt*	आस्ताम् *ā́stām*	आसन् *ā́san*

Participle सन्त् *sánt* (fem. सती *satī́*).

The Vedic subjunctive forms are the usual ones, made upon the stem *ása*. They are in frequent use, and appear (*asat* especially) even in late Brāhmaṇas where the subjunctive is almost lost. The resolution *siā́m* etc. (opt.) is common in Vedic verse. In 2d and 3d sing. impf. is a few times met with the more normal *ās* (for *ās-s*, *ās-t*).

Middle forms from √*as* are also given by the grammarians as allowed with certain prepositions (*vi* + *ati*), but they do not appear to have been met with in use. A middle present indicative is compounded (in 1st and 2d persons) with the *nomen agentis* in *tṛ* (*tar*) to form the periphrastic future in the middle voice (see below, **942** ff.). The 1st sing. indic. is *he;* the rest is in the usual relation of middle to active forms (in 2d pers., *se*, *dhve*, *sva*, *dhvam*, with total loss of the root itself).

The only other tense of this verb in use is the perfect, which is entirely regular in its inflection.

637. The root *han*, 'strike, slay', is treated somewhat after the manner of noun-stems in *an* in declension (**421**): in weak

forms, it loses its *n* before an initial consonant (except *m* and *v*) of an ending, and its *a* before an initial vowel — and in the latter case its *h*, in contact with the *n*, is changed to *gh* (compare **402**). Thus, for example:

	Present Indicative.			Imperfect.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*hánmi*	*hanvás*	*hanmás*	*áhanam*	*áhanva*	*áhanma*
2	*háṅsi*	*hathás*	*hathá*	*áhan*	*áhatam*	*áhata*
3	*hánti*	*hatás*	*ghnánti*	*áhan*	*áhatām*	*ághnan*

Its participle is *ghnánt* (fem. *ghnatī́*). Its 2d sing. impv. is *jahí* (by anomalous dissimilation, on the model of reduplicating forms).

Middle forms from this root are frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, and those that occur are formed according to the same rules: thus, *hate*, *hanmahe*, *ghnate; ahata, aghnātām, aghnata* (in AB., also *ahata*); *ghnīta* (but also *hanīta*).

638. The root *vaç*, 'wish', is in the weak forms regularly and usually contracted to *uç* (as in the perfect: see chap. X.): thus, *uçmási* (V.: once apparently abbreviated in RV. to *çmasi*), *uçánti;* pple *uçánt, uçāná*. Middle forms (except the pple) do not occur; nor do the weak forms of the imperfect, which are given as *āuçva*, *āuṣṭam*, etc.

RV. has in like manner the participle *uṣāṇá* from the root *vas* 'clothe'.

639. The root *çās*, 'command', shows some of the peculiarities of a reduplicated verb, lacking (**646**) the *n* before *t* in all 3d perss. pl. and in the active participle. A part of its active forms — namely, the weak forms having endings beginning with consonants (including the optative) — come from a stem with weakened vowel, *çiṣ* (as do the aorist, **854**, and some of the derivatives). Thus, for example:

	Present Indicative.			Imperfect.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*çā́smi*	*çiṣvás*	*çiṣmás*	*áçāsam*	*áçiṣva*	*áçiṣma*
2	*çā́ssi*	*çiṣṭhás*	*çiṣṭhá*	*áçās*	*áçiṣṭam*	*áçiṣṭa*
3	*çā́sti*	*çiṣṭás*	*çā́sati*	*áçāt*	*áçiṣṭām*	*áçāsus*

In 2d sing. impf., *açāt* is said to be also allowed. If it is actually so used, the *t* must be the sporadic conversion of final radical *s* to *t* (**167**); and then it would be open to question whether the *t* of 3d sing. is radical or of the ending (according to **555**). The optative is *çiṣyā́m* etc. The 2d sing. impv. is *çādhí* (with total loss of the *s*); and RV. has the strong 2d pl. *çāstána* (with anomalous accent). But no *çiṣ*-forms of the present-system occur in the Veda.

The middle inflection is regular, and the accent (apparently) always upon the radical syllable (pple *çā́sāna*, RV. etc.).

The root *dāç*, 'worship', has in like manner (RV.) the pple *dā́çat* (not *dā́çant*).

640. The double so-called root *jakṣ*, 'eat, laugh', is an evident reduplication of *ghas* and *has*. It has the absence of *n* in act. 3d perss. pl. and pple, and the accent on the root before vowel-endings, which belong to reduplicated verbs; and it also takes the union-vowel *i* in the manner of *rud* etc. (above, **631**). A 2d pers. impv. *jagdhi* from it occurs.

641. Other obviously reduplicated verbs are treated by the native grammarians as if simple, and referred to this conjugation: such are the intensively reduplicated *jāgṛ*, *daridrā*, and *vevī* (chap. XIV.), *dīdhī* etc. (**676**), and *cakās* (**677**).

II. Reduplicating Class (third, *hu*-class).

642. This class forms its present-stem by prefixing a reduplication to the root.

643. a. As regards the consonant of the reduplication, the general rules which have already been given above (**590**) are followed.

b. A long vowel is shortened in the reduplicating syllable: thus, ददा *dadā* from √दा *dā*; बिभी *bibhī* from √भी *bhī*; जुहू *juhū* from √हू *hū*. The vowel ऋ *ṛ* never appears in the reduplication, but is replaced by इ *i*: thus, बिभृ *bibhṛ* from √भृ *bhṛ*; पिपृच् *pipṛc* from √पृच् *pṛc*.

For verbs in which *a* and *ā* also are irregularly represented in the reduplication by *i*, see below, **660**.

c. The only root of this class with initial vowel is *ṛ* (or *ar*); it takes as reduplication *i*, which is held apart from the root by an interposed *y*: thus, *iyar* and *iyṛ* (the latter has not been found in actual use).

644. The present-stem of this class (as of the other classes belonging to the first conjugation) has a double form: a stronger form, with gunated root-vowel; and a weaker form, without *guṇa*: thus, from √हु *hu*, the two forms are जुहो *juho* and जुहु *juhu*; from √भी *bhī*, they are बिभे *bibhe* and बिभी *bibhī*. And the rule for their use is the same as in the other classes of this conjugation: the strong stem is found before the unaccented endings (**552**), and the weak stem before the accented.

645. According to all the analogies of the first general conjugation, we should expect to find the accent upon the root-syllable when this is strengthened. That is actually the case, however, only in a small minority of the roots composing the class: namely, in *hu, bhī* (no test-forms in the older language), *hrī* (not found in the older language), *mad* and *dhan* (both very rare), *jan* (no forms of this class found to occur), *ci* 'notice' (in V.), *yu* 'separate' (in older language only), and in *bhṛ* in the later language (in V. it goes with the majority: but RV. has *bibhárti* once; and this, the later accentuation, is found also in the Brāhmaṇas). In all the rest — apparently, by a recent transfer — it rests upon the reduplicating instead of upon the radical syllable. And in both classes alike, the accent is anomalously thrown back upon the reduplication in those weak forms of which the ending begins with a vowel; while in the other weak forms it is upon the ending.

Apparently (the cases with written accent are too few to determine the point satisfactorily) the middle optative endings, *īya* etc. (**566**), are reckoned throughout as endings with initial vowel, and throw back the accent upon the reduplication.

646. The verbs of this class lose the न् *n* in the 3d pl. endings in active as well as middle, and in the imperfect have उस् *us* instead of अन् *an* — and before this a final radical vowel has *guṇa*.

1. Present Indicative.

647. The combination of stem and endings is as in the preceding class.

Examples of inflection: **a.** √हु *hu*, 'sacrifice': strong stem-form, जुहो *juhó;* weak form, जुहु *juhu* (or *júhu*).

	active. s.	d.	p.	middle. s.	d.	p.
1	जुहोमि *juhómi*	जुहुवस् *juhuvás*	जुहुमस् *juhumás*	जुह्वे *júhve*	जुहुवहे *juhuváhe*	जुहुमहे *juhumáhe*
2	जुहोषि *juhóṣi*	जुहुथस् *juhuthás*	जुहुथ *juhuthá*	जुहुषे *juhuṣé*	जुह्वाथे *júhvāthe*	जुहुध्वे *juhudhvé*
3	जुहोति *juhóti*	जुहुतस् *juhutás*	जुह्वति *júhvati*	जुहुते *juhuté*	जुह्वाते *júhvāte*	जुह्वते *júhvate*

b. Root भृ *bhṛ*, 'bear' (given with Vedic accentuation): strong stem-form, बिभर् *bíbhar;* weak, बिभृ *bibhṛ* (or *bíbhṛ*).

1	बिभर्मि *bíbharmi*	बिभृवस् *bibhṛvás*	बिभृमस् *bibhṛmás*	बिभ्रे *bíbhre*	बिभृवहे *bibhṛváhe*	बिभृमहे *bibhṛmáhe*
2	बिभर्षि *bíbharṣi*	बिभृथस् *bibhṛthás*	बिभृथ *bibhṛthá*	बिभृषे *bibhṛṣé*	बिभ्राथे *bíbhrāthe*	बिभृध्वे *bibhṛdhvé*
3	बिभर्ति *bíbharti*	बिभृतस् *bibhṛtás*	बिभ्रति *bíbhrati*	बिभृते *bibhṛté*	बिभ्राते *bíbhrāte*	बिभ्रते *bíbhrate*

The *u* of *hu* (like that of the class-signs *nu* and *u*: see below, **697**) is said to be omissible before *v* and *m* of the endings of 1st du. and pl.: thus, *juhvás*, *juhváhe*, etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

648. It is not possible (at least, at present) to draw a distinct line between those subjunctive forms of the older language which should be reckoned as belonging to the present-system and those which should be assigned to the perfect — even, in some cases, to the reduplicated aorist and intensive. Here will be noticed only those which most clearly belong to this class; the more doubtful cases will be treated under the perfect-system. Except in first persons (which continue in use as "imperatives" down to the later language), subjunctives from roots having unmistakably a reduplicated present-system are of far from frequent occurrence.

649. The subjunctive mode-stem is formed in the usual manner, with the mode-sign *a* and *guṇa* of the root-vowel, if this is capable of such strengthening. The evidence of the few accented forms met with indicates that the accent is laid in accordance with that of the strong indicative forms: thus, from √*hu*, the stem would be *juháva*; from √*bhṛ*, it would be *bíbhara* (but *bibhára* later). Before the mode-sign, final radical *ā* would be, in accordance with analogies elsewhere, dropped: thus *dáda* from √*dā*, *dádha* from √*dhā* (all the forms actually occurring would be derivable from secondary roots, as *dad* and *dadh*).

650. Instead of giving a theoretically complete scheme of inflection, it will be better to note all the examples quotable from the older language (accented when found so occurring).

Thus, of 1st persons, we have in the active *juhávāni*, *bibharāṇi*, *dadāni*, *dadhāni*, *jahāni*; *juhavāma*, *dádhāma*, *jáhāma*; — in the middle, *dadhāi*, *mimāi*, *dadhāvahāi*; *juhavāmahāi*, *dadāmahe*, *dadāmahāi*, *dadhāmahāi*.

Of other persons, we have with primary endings in the active *bibharāsi* (with double mode-sign: **560**, end), *dádhathas*, *juhavātha* (do.) and *juhavatha*; in the middle, *dádhase*; *dádhate*, *rárate*, *dádhātāi*, *dadātāi*: — with secondary endings, *dádhas*, *vívešas*, *juhavat*, *bibharat*, *yuyávat*, *dádhat*, *dadhánat*, *babhasat*; *dadhan*, *yuyavan*, *juhavan*.

3. Present Optative.

651. To form this mode, the optative endings given above (**566**), as made up of mode-sign and personal endings, are added to the unstrengthened stem. The accent is as already stated (**645**). The inflection is so regular that it is unnecessary to give here more than the first persons of a single verb: thus,

	active. s.	d.	p.	middle. s.	d.	p.
1	जुहुयाम् *juhuyā́m* etc.	जुहुयाव *juhuyā́va* etc.	जुहुयाम *juhuyā́ma* etc.	जुह्वीय *júhvīya* etc.	जुह्वीवहि *júhvīvahi* etc.	जुह्वीमहि *júhvīmahi* etc.

4. Present Imperative.

652. The endings, and the mode of their combination with the root, have been already given. In 2d sing. act., the ending is हि *hi* after a vowel, but धि *dhi* after a consonant: हु *hu*, however, forms जुहुधि *juhudhí* (apparently, in order to avoid the recurrence of ह् *h* in two successive syllables): and other examples of धि *dhi* after a vowel are found in the Veda.

653. Example of inflection:

	active. s.	d.	p.	middle. s.	d.	p.
1	जुहवानि *juhávāni*	जुहवाव *juhávāva*	जुहवाम *juhávāma*	जुहवै *juhávāi*	जुहवावहै *juhávāvahāi*	जुहवामहै *juhávāmahāi*
2	जुहुधि *juhudhí*	जुहुतम् *juhutám*	जुहुत *juhutá*	जुहुष्व *juhuṣvá*	जुह्वाथाम् *júhvāthām*	जुहुध्वम् *juhudhvám*
3	जुहोतु *juhótu*	जुहुताम् *juhutā́m*	जुह्वतु *júhvatu*	जुहुताम् *juhutā́m*	जुह्वाताम् *júhvātām*	जुह्वताम् *júhvatām*

The other division of this class differ here, as in the indicative, in the accentuation of their strong forms only: namely, in all the first persons (borrowed subjunctives), and in the 3d sing. act.: thus (in the older language) *bíbharāṇi* etc., *bíbhartu, bíbharāi* etc.

654. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: **a.** the occasional use of strong forms in 2d persons: thus, *yuyodhi, çiçādhi* (beside *çiçīhí*); *yuyotam* (beside *yuyutám*); *íyarta, dádāta, dádhāta* and *dádhātana* (see below, **673**),

pipartana, juhóta and *juhótana, yuyótana;* **b.** the use of *dhi* instead of *hi* after a vowel (only in the two instances just quoted); **c.** the ending *tana* in 2d pl. act. (in the instances just quoted and in others, as *mamáttana, jigātana, dhattana,* etc.); **d.** the ending *tāt* in 2d sing. act., in *dattāt, dhattāt, piprtāt.*

5. Present Participle.

655. As elsewhere, the active participle-stem may be made mechanically from the 3d pl. indic. by dropping इ *i:* thus, जुह्वत् *júhvat,* बिभ्रत् *bíbhrat.* In inflection, it has no distinction of strong and weak forms (**444**). The feminine stem ends in अती *atī.* The middle participles are regularly made: thus, जुह्वान *júhvāna,* बिभ्राण *bíbhrāṇa.*

6. Imperfect.

656. As already pointed out, the 3d pl. act. of this class takes the ending उस् *us,* and a final radical vowel has *guṇa* before it. The strong forms are, as in pres. indic., the three sing. act. persons.

657. Example of inflection:

	active. s.	active. d.	active. p.	middle. s.	middle. d.	middle. p.
1	अजुहवम् *ájuhavam*	अजुहुव *ájuhuva*	अजुहुम *ájuhuma*	अजुह्वि *ájuhvi*	अजुहुवहि *ájuhuvahi*	अजुहुमहि *ájuhumahi*
2	अजुहोस् *ájuhos*	अजुहुतम् *ájuhutam*	अजुहुत *ájuhuta*	अजुहुथास् *ájuhuthās*	अजुह्वाथाम् *ájuhvāthām*	अजुहुध्वम् *ájuhudhvam*
3	अजुहोत् *ájuhot*	अजुहुताम् *ájuhutām*	अजुहवुस् *ájuhavus*	अजुहुत *ájuhuta*	अजुह्वाताम् *ájuhvātām*	अजुह्वत *ájuhvata*

From √भृ *bhṛ,* the 2d and 3d sing. act. are अबिभर् *ábibhar* (for *abibhar-s* and *abibhar-t*) — and so in all other cases where the strong stem ends in a consonant. The 3d pl. act. is अबिभरुस् *ábibharus;* and from √भी *bhī,* it is अबिभयुस् *ábibhayus.*

658. The usual Vedic irregularities in 2d pl. act. — strong forms, and the ending *tana* — occur in this tense also: thus, *ádadāta, ádadhāta; ádattana, ájagantana, ájahātana.* The RV. has also once *apiprata* for *apiprta* in 3d sing. mid., and *abibhran* for *abibharus* in 3d pl. act. Examples of augmentless forms are *çiçās, vivés, jígāt; jíhīta, çíçīta, jihata.*

Irregularities of the Reduplicating Class.

659. It is still more difficult to determine the precise limits of this class than of the root-class, because of the impossibility (referred to above, under subjunctive: **648**) of always separating its forms from those of other reduplicating conjugations and parts of conjugations. In the RV., about forty roots may be confidently assigned to it; in the AV., less than thirty; many of them have irregularities (besides those in tense-inflection already pointed out).

660. Besides the roots in *ṛ* or *ar* — namely, *ṛ*, *ghṛ* (usually written *ghar*), *tṛ, pṛ, bhṛ, sṛ, pṛc* — the following roots having *a* or *ā* as radical vowel take *i* instead of *a* in the reduplicating syllable: *gā* 'go', 3 *pā* 'rise', *mā* 'measure', *mā* 'bellow', *çā, hā* 'remove' (mid.), *vac, sac; vaç* has both *i* and *a; rā* has *i* once in RV.: for *sthā, pā* 'drink', *ghrā, han,* see below (**670—4**).

661. Several roots of this class in final *ā* change the *ā* in weak forms to *ī* (occasionally even to *i*), and then drop it altogether before endings beginning with a vowel.

This is in close analogy with the treatment of the vowel of the class-sign of the *nā*-class: below, **717**.

These roots are:

662. *çā*, act. and mid.: thus, *çiçāti, çiçīmasi, çiçīhí* (also *çiçādhi:* above, **654**), *çiçātu, açiçāt, çíçīte.*

663. *mā* 'bellow', act., and *mā* 'measure', mid. (rarely also act.): thus, *mimāti, mimanti, mimīyāt; mímīte, mimate, ámimīta; mimīhi, mímātu.*

664. *hā* 'remove', mid.: thus, *jíhīte, jihīdhve, jíhate; jihīṣva, jihatām; ájihīta, ajihata.*

665. *hā* 'quit', act. (originally identical with the former), may further shorten the *ī* to *i:* thus, *jahāti, jahīta, jahītāt* (AV.); *jahimas* (AV.), *jahitas* (TB.), *jahitam* (TA.), *ajahitām* (TS.). In the optative, the radical vowel is lost altogether; thus, *jahyām, jahyus* (AV.). The 2d sing. impv. is *jahīhi* or *jahihi.*

Compare with this the forms in *dhi* from √*dhā* (below, **669**).

666. *rā* 'give', mid.: thus, *rarīdhvam, rarīthās* (impf. without augment): and, with *i* in reduplication, *rirīhi.*

In all these verbs, the accent is constant on the reduplicating syllable.

667. The two roots *dā* and *dhā* (the commonest of the class) lose their radical vowel altogether in the weak forms, being shortened to *dad* and *dadh.* In 2d sing. impv. act., they form respectively *dehí* and *dhehí.* In combination with a following *t* or *th,* the final *dh* of *dadh* does not follow the special rule of combination of a final sonant aspirate (becoming *ddh* with the *t* or *th:* **160**), but — as also before *s* and *dhv* — the

more general rules of aspirate and of surd and sonant combination; and its lost aspiration is thrown back upon the initial of the root.

668. The inflection of √*dhā* is, then, as follows:

Present Indicative.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*dádhāmi*	*dadhvás*	*dadhmás*	*dadhé*	*dádhvahe*	*dádhmahe*
2	*dádhāsi*	*dhatthás*	*dhatthá*	*dhatsé*	*dadhā́the*	*dhaddhve*
3	*dádhāti*	*dhattás*	*dádhati*	*dhatté*	*dadhā́te*	*dádhate*

Present Optative.

1	*dadhyā́m*	*dadhyā́va*	*dadhyā́ma*	*dádhīya*	*dádhīvahi*	*dádhīmahi*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Present Imperative.

1	*dádhāni*	*dádhāva*	*dádhāma*	*dádhāi*	*dádhāvahai*	*dádhāmahāi*
2	*dhehí*	*dhattám*	*dhattá*	*dhatsva*	*dadhā́thām*	*dhaddhvam*
3	*dádhātu*	*dhattā́m*	*dádhatu*	*dhattām*	*dadhā́tām*	*dadhatām*

Imperfect.

1	*ádadhām*	*ádadhva*	*ádadhma*	*ádadhi*	*ádadhvahi*	*ádadhmahi*
2	*ádadhās*	*ádhattam*	*ádhatta*	*ádhatthās*	*ádadhāthām*	*ádhaddhvam*
3	*ádadhāt*	*ádhattām*	*ádadhus*	*ádhatta*	*ádadhātām*	*ádadhata*

Participles: act. *dádhat;* mid. *dádhāna.*

In the middle (except impf.), only those forms are here accented for which there is authority in the accentuated texts, as there is discordance between the actual accent and that which the analogies of the class would lead us to expect. RV. has once *dhátse: dadhé* and *dadhā́te* might be perfect, so far as the form is concerned. RV. accents *dadhītá* once (*dádhīta* thrice); TS. and TB. have *dádhīran.*

The root *dā* is inflected in precisely the same way, with change everywhere of *dh* to *d*.

669. The older language has irregularities as follows: **a.** the usual strong forms in 2d pl., *dádhāta* and *ádadhāta*, *dádāta* and *ádadāta;* **b.** the usual *tana* endings in the same person, *dhattana*, *dádātana*, etc.; **c.** the 3d sing. indic. act. *dadhé* (like 1st sing.); **d.** the 2d sing. impv. act. *daddhí* (for both *dehi* and *dhehi*); **e.** the middle forms *dadhidhvé*, *dadhiṣvá*, *dadhidhvam* (in RV.), with vowel weakened to *i* instead of being dropped.

670. A number of roots have been transferred from this to the *a*-class (class VI., below, **749**), their reduplicated root becoming a stereotyped stem inflected after the manner of *a*-stems. These roots are as follows:

671. In all periods of the language, from the roots *sthā* 'stand', *pā* 'drink', and *ghrā* 'smell', are made the presents

tiṣṭhāmi, píbāmi (with irregular sonantizing of the second *p:* later often written *pivāmi*), and *jíghrāmi* — which then are inflected not like *mímāmi,* but like *bhávāmi,* as if from the present-stems *tíṣṭha, píba, jíghra.*

672. In the Veda, the reduplicated roots *dā* and *dhā* are also sometimes turned into the *a*-stems *dáda* and *dádha,* or inflected as if roots *dad* and *dadh* of class VI.; and single forms of the same character are made from other roots: thus, *mimanti* (√*mā* 'bellow'), *rárate* (√*rā* 'give': 3d sing. mid.).

673. In the Veda, also, a like secondary root, *jighn,* is made from √*han* (with omission of the radical vowel, and conversion, usual in this root, of *h* to *gh* when in contact with *n*); and some of the forms of *saçc,* from √*sac,* show the same conversion to an *a*-stem, *saçca.*

674. In AB. (viii. 28), a similar secondary form, *jighy,* is given to √*hi:* thus, *jighyati, jighyatu.*

675. A few so-called roots of the first or root-class are the products of reduplication, more or less obvious: thus, *jakṣ* (**640**), and probably *çās* (from √*ças*) and *cakṣ* (from √*kāç* or a lost root *kas,* 'see'). In the Veda is found also *saçc,* from √*sac.*

676. The grammarians reckon (as already noticed, **641**) several roots of the most evidently reduplicate character as simple, and belonging to the root-class. Some of these (*jāgṛ, daridrā, vevī*) are regular intensive stems, and will be described below under Intensives (chap. XIV.); *dīdhī,* 'shine', along with Vedic *dīdī* 'shine' and *pīpī* 'swell', are sometimes also classed as intensives; but they have not the proper reduplication of such, and may perhaps be best noticed here, as reduplicated present-stems with irregularly long reduplicating vowel.

Of pres. indic. occurs in the older language only *dīdyati,* 3d pl., with the pples *dī́dyat* and *dī́dhyat,* and mid. *dīdye, dīdhye, dīdhyāthām,* with the pples *dī́dyāna, dī́dhyāna, pī́pyāna.* The subj. stems are *dīdáya, dīdhaya, pīpáya,* and from them are made forms with both primary (from *dīdáya*) and secondary endings (and the irregularly accented *dī́dayat* and *dīdāyat* and *dī́dhayan*). No opt. occurs. In impv. we have *dīdihí* (and *didīhí*) and *pīpihí,* and *pipyatam, pipyatām, pipyata.* In impf., *adīdes* and *pīpes, ádīdet* and *ádīdhet* and *apīpet* (with augmentless forms), *apīpema* (with strong form of root), and *adīdhayus* and (irregular) *apīpyan.*

A few forms from all the three show transfer to an *a*-inflection: thus, *dīdhaya* and *pīpaya* (impv.), *ápīpayat,* etc.

Similar forms from √*mī* 'bellow' are *amīmet* and *mīmayat.*

677. The stem *cakās* (sometimes *cakāç*) is also regarded by the grammarians as a root, and supplied as such with tenses outside the present-system — which, however, hardly occur in genuine use. It is not known in the older language.

678. The root *bhas,* 'chew', loses its radical vowel in weak forms, taking the form *baps:* thus, *bábhasti,* but *bápsati* (3 pl.), *bápsat* (pple).

679. The root *bhī,* 'fear', is allowed by the grammarians to shorten its vowel in weak forms: thus, *bibhīmas* or *bibhimas, bibhīyām* or *bibhiyām.*

680. Forms of this class from √*jan*, 'give birth', with added *i* — thus, *jajñiṣe, jajñidhve* — are given by the grammarians, but do not appear to have been found in use.

681. The roots *ci* and *cit* have in the Veda reversion of *c* to *k* in the root-syllable after the reduplication: thus, *cikéṣi, cikéthe* (anomalous, for *cikyā́the*), *cikitām, aciket, cíkyat* (pple); *cikiddhi.*

682. The root *vyac* has *i* in the reduplication (from the *y*), and is contracted to *vic* in weak forms: thus, *viviktás, áviviktām.* So the root *hvar* (if its forms are to be reckoned here) has *u* in reduplication, and contracts to *hur:* thus, *juhūrthās.*

III. Nasal Class (seventh, *rudh*-class).

683. The roots of this class all end in consonants. And their class-sign is a nasal preceding the final consonant: in the weak forms, a nasal simply, adapted in character to the consonant; but in the strong forms expanded to the syllable न *ná*, which has the accent.

In a few of the verbs of the class, the nasal extends also into other tense-systems: they are *añj, bhañj, hiṅs:* see below, **694**.

1. Present Indicative.

684. Examples of inflection: **a.** the root युज् *yuj*, 'join': strong stem-form, युनज् *yunáj;* weak, युञ्ज् *yuñj.*

For the rules of combination of final *j*, see **219**.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	युनज्मि *yunájmi*	युञ्ज्वस् *yuñjvás*	युञ्ज्मस् *yuñjmás*	युञ्जे *yuñjé*	युञ्ज्वहे *yuñjváhe*	युञ्ज्महे *yuñjmáhe*
2	युनक्षि *yunákṣi*	युंक्थस् *yuṅkthás*	युंक्थ *yuṅkthá*	युङ्क्षे *yuṅkṣé*	युञ्जाथे *yuñjā́the*	युंग्ध्वे *yuṅgdhvé*
3	युनक्ति *yunákti*	युंक्तस् *yuṅktás*	युञ्जन्ति *yuñjánti*	युंक्ते *yuṅkté*	युञ्जाते *yuñjā́te*	युञ्जते *yuñjáte*

b. the root रुध् *rudh*, 'obstruct'; bases रुणध् *ruṇadh* and रुन्ध् *rundh.*

For rules of combination of final *dh*, see **153**, **160**.

1	रुणध्मि *ruṇádhmi*	रुन्ध्वस् *rundhvás*	रुन्ध्मस् *rundhmás*	रुन्धे *rundhé*	रुन्ध्वहे *rundhváhe*	रुन्ध्महे *rundhmáhe*

2	रुणत्सि *runátsi*	रुन्द्धस् *runddhás*	रुन्द्ध *runddhá*	रुन्त्से *runtsé*	रुन्धाथे *rundháthe*	रुन्द्ध्वे *runddhvé*
3	रुणद्धि *runáddhi*	रुन्द्धस् *runddhás*	रुन्धन्ति *rundhánti*	रुन्द्धे *runddhé*	रुन्धाते *rundháte*	रुन्धते *rundháte*

Instead of *yuñkthas, yuñgdhve,* and the like (here and in the impv. and impf.), it is allowed and more usual (**231**) to write *yuñthas, yuñdhve,* etc.; and, in like manner, *rundhas, rundhe,* for *runddhas, runddhe;* and so in other like cases.

685. Vedic irregularities of inflection are: **a.** the ordinary use of a 3d sing. mid. like the 1st sing., as *vṛñje;* **b.** the accent on *té* of 3d pl. mid. in *añjaté, indhaté, bhuñjaté.*

2. Present Subjunctive.

686. The stem is made, as usual, by adding *a* to the strong present-stem: thus, *yunája, ruṇádha.* Below are given as if made from √*yuj* all the forms for which examples have been noted as actually occurring in the older language.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*yunájāni*	*yunájāva*	*yunájāma*	*yunajāi*		*yunájāmahāi*
2	*yunájas*					*yunajādhvāi*
3	*yunájat*	*yunájatas*	*yunájan*	*yunájate*		

687. The RV. has once *añjatas,* which is anomalous as being made from the weak tense-stem. Forms with double mode-sign are met with: thus, *tṛṇahān* (AV.), *yunajān* (ÇB.); and the only quotable example of 3d du. act. (besides *añjatas*) is *hinasātas* (ÇB.). ÇB. has also *hinasāvas* as 1st du. act.: an elsewhere unexampled form.

3. Present Optative.

688. The optative is made, as elsewhere, by adding the compounded mode-endings to the weak form of present-stem. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	युञ्ज्याम् *yuñjyā́m* etc.	युञ्ज्याव *yuñjyā́va* etc.	युञ्ज्याम *yuñjyā́ma* etc.	युञ्जीय *yuñjīyá* etc.	युञ्जीवहि *yuñjīváhi* etc.	युञ्जीमहि *yuñjīmáhi* etc.

4. Present Imperative.

689. In this class (as the roots all end in consonants) the ending of the 2d sing. act. is always धि *dhi.*

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	युनजानि *yunájāni*	युनजाव *yunájāva*	युनजाम *yunájāma*	युनजै *yunájāi*	युनजावहै *yunájāvahāi*	युनजामहै *yunájāmahāi*
2	युंग्धि *yuṅgdhí*	युंक्तम् *yuṅktám*	युंक्त *yuṅktá*	युंक्ष्व *yuṅkṣvá*	युञ्जाथाम् *yuñjā́thām*	युंग्ध्वम् *yuṅgdhvám*
3	युनक्तु *yunáktu*	युंक्ताम् *yuṅktā́m*	युञ्जन्तु *yuñjántu*	युंक्ताम् *yuṅktā́m*	युञ्जाताम् *yuñjā́tām*	युञ्जताम् *yuñjátām*

690. There is no occurrence, so far as noted, of the ending *tāt* in verbs of this class. The Veda has, as usual, sometimes strong forms, and sometimes the ending *tana*, in the 2d pl. act.: thus, *unátta, yunákta, anaktana, pinaṣṭana.*

5. Present Participle.

691. The participles are made in this class as in the preceding ones: thus, act. युञ्जन्त् *yuñjánt* (fem. युञ्जती *yuñjatī́*); mid. युञ्जान *yuñjāná* (but RV. has *índhāna*).

6. Imperfect.

692. The example of the regular inflection of this tense needs no introduction:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अयुनजम् *áyunajam*	अयुञ्ज्व *áyuñjva*	अयुञ्ज्म *áyuñjma*	अयुञ्जि *áyuñji*	अयुञ्ज्वहि *áyuñjvahi*	अयुञ्ज्महि *áyuñjmahi*
2	अयुनक् *áyunak*	अयुंक्तम् *áyuṅktam*	अयुंक्त *áyuṅkta*	अयुंक्थास् *áyuṅkthās*	अयुञ्जाथाम् *áyuñjāthām*	अयुंग्ध्वम् *áyuṅgdhvam*
3	अयुनक् *áyunak*	अयुंक्ताम् *áyuṅktām*	अयुञ्जन् *áyuñjan*	अयुंक्त *áyuṅkta*	अयुञ्जाताम् *áyuñjātām*	अयुञ्जत *áyuñjata*

The endings *s* and *t* are necessarily lost in the nasal class throughout in 2d and 3d sing. act., unless saved (**555**) at the expense of the final radical consonant: which is a case of very rare occurrence: in the older language have been noted only *ahinat* (TB.), 3d sing., for *ahinas* (√*hiṅs*), and once in AV. *abhanas,* 2d sing., for *abhanak* (√*bhañj*); this last is a case of the utmost rarity.

693. The Veda shows no irregularities in this tense. Occurrences of augmentless forms are found, especially in 2d and 3d sing. act., showing an accent like that of the present: for example, *bhinát, pṛṇák, vṛṇák, piṇák, riṇak.*

Irregularities of the Nasal Class.

694. The roots which thus expand a penultimate nasal in the strong forms of the present-system into a syllable *ná* are about twenty-five: namely, *tac, pṛc, ric, vic, añj, bhañj, vṛj, bhuj, yuj, kṛt* 'spin', *chṛd, tṛd, chid, bhid, ud, ṛdh, idh, rudh, ubh, aç* (*anaçāmahāi,* once, RV.), *piṣ, çiṣ, hiṅs, tṛh.* Those here written with the nasal — namely *añj, bhañj, hiṅs* — have that addition also in the other tense-systems. Two, *ṛdh* and *ubh,* make present-systems also of other classes with nasal class-signs: thus, *ṛdhnoti* (cl. IV.), *ubhnāti* (cl. V.). Several have *a*-stems with penultimate nasal: thus, *pṛñcá, çiṅṣá, tṛṅhá, umbhá;* and occasional *a*-forms, especially in the later language, are met with from others: thus, *bhuñjet, chindeta, apiṅṣat, arundhat* (compare the nasalized roots of the *á*-class, below, **758**).

695. The root *tṛh* combines *tṛṇah* with *ti, tu,* etc. into *tṛṇeḍhi, tṛṇeḍhu;* and, according to the grammarians, has also such forms as *tṛṇehmi:* see above, **224b.**

696. The root *hiṅs* (by origin apparently a desiderative from √*han*) accents irregularly the root syllable in the weak forms: thus, *híṅsanti, híṅste* (but *hinásat* etc.).

IV. *Nu* and *u*-classes (fifth and eighth, *su* and *tan*-classes).

697. A. The present-stem of the *nu*-class is made by adding to the root the syllable नु *nu,* which then in the strong forms receives the accent, and is strengthened to नो *nó.*

B. The few roots of the *u*-class (about half-a-dozen) end in न् *n,* with the exception of the later irregular कृ *kṛ* (or *kar*) — for which, see below, **714.** The two classes, then, are closely correspondent in form; and they are wholly accordant in inflection.

The *u* of either class-sign is allowed to be dropped before *v* and *m* of the 1st du. and 1st pl. endings, except when the root (*nu*-class) ends in a consonant; and the *u* before a vowel-ending becomes *v* or *uv,* according as it is preceded by one or by two consonants (**129**).

1. Present Indicative.

698. Examples of inflection: A. *nu*-class; root सु *su,* 'press out': strong form of stem, सुनो *sunó;* weak form, सुनु *sunu.*

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	सुनोमि *sunómi*	सुनुवस् *sunuvás*	सुनुमस् *sunumás*	सुन्वे *sunvé*	सुनुवहे *sunuváhe*	सुनुमहे *sunumáhe*
2	सुनोषि *sunóṣi*	सुनुथस् *sunuthás*	सुनुथ *sunuthá*	सुनुषे *sunuṣé*	सुन्वाथे *sunvā́the*	सुनुध्वे *sunudhvé*
3	सुनोति *sunóti*	सुनुतस् *sunutás*	सुन्वन्ति *sunvánti*	सुनुते *sunuté*	सुन्वाते *sunvā́te*	सुन्वते *sunváte*

The forms *sunvás, sunmás, sunváhe, sunmáhe* are alternative with those given here for 1st du. and pl., and in practice are more common (no examples of the fuller forms have been noted from the older language). From √*āp*, however (for example), only the forms with *u* can occur: thus, *āpnuvás, āpnumáhe;* and also only *āpnuvánti, āpnuvé, āpnuváte.*

B. *u*-class; root तन् *tan*, 'stretch': strong form of stem, तनो *tanó;* weak, तनु *tanu.*

1	तनोमि *tanómi*	तन्वस् *tanvás*	तन्मस् *tanmás*	तन्वे *tanvé*	तन्वहे *tanváhe*	तन्महे *tanmáhe*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

The inflection is so precisely like that given above that it is not worth writing out in full. The abbreviated forms in 1st du. and pl. are presented here, instead of the fuller, which rarely occur (as no double consonant ever precedes).

699. In the older language, no strong 2d perss. du. or pl., and no *thana*-endings, chance to occur (but they are numerous in the impv. and impf.: see below). The RV. has several cases of the irregular accent in 3d pl. mid.: thus, *tanvaté, manvaté, spṛṇvaté.*

In RV. occur also several 3d pll. mid. in *ire* from present-stems of this class: thus, *invire, ṛṇvire, pinvire, çṛṇviré, sunviré, hinviré.* Of these, *pinvire* and *hinviré* might be perfects without reduplication from the secondary roots *pinv* and *hinv* (below, **716**). The 2d sing. mid. (with passive value) *çṛṇviṣé* (RV.) is of anomalous and questionable character.

2. Present Subjunctive.

700. The subjunctive mode-stem is made in the usual manner, by adding *a* to the gunated and accented class-sign: thus, *sunáva, tanáva.* In the following scheme are given all the forms of which examples have been met with in actual use in the older language from either division of the class: some of them are quite numerously represented there.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*sunávāni*	*sunávāva*	*sunávāma*	*sunávāi*	*sunávāvahāi*	*sunávāmahāi*
2	*sunávas*		*sunávatha*	*sunávase*	*sunávāithe*	
3	*sunávat*		*sunávan*	{*sunávate* / *sunávātāi*		*sunávanta*

701. Of the briefer 1st sing. act., RV. has *kṛṇavā* and *hinavā*. Forms with double mode-sign occur (not in RV.): thus, *kṛṇávāt* and *karavāt* (AV.); *açnavātha* (K.), *kṛṇavātha* (VS.; but *-vatha* in Kāṇva-text), *karavātha* (ÇB.). On the other hand, *açnavatāi* is found once (in TS.). RV. has in a single passage *kṛṇvāíte* (instead of *kṛṇávāite*): the only form in *āithe* is *açnávāithe*.

3. Present Optative.

702. The combined endings (**566**) are added, as usual, to the weak tense-stem: thus,

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	सुनुयाम् *sunuyā́m* etc.	सुनुयाव *sunuyā́va* etc.	सुनुयाम *sunuyā́ma* etc.	सुन्वीय *sunvīyá* etc.	सुन्वीवहि *sunvīváhi* etc.	सुन्वीमहि *sunvīmáhi* etc.

From $\sqrt{}$*āp*, the middle optative would be *āpnuvīyá* — and so in other like cases.

4. Present Imperative.

703. The inflection of the imperative is in general like that in the preceding classes. As regards the 2d sing. act., the rule of the later language is that the ending हि *hi* is taken whenever the root itself ends in a consonant; otherwise, the tense- (or mode-) stem stands by itself as 2d person (for the earlier usage, see below, **704**). Example of inflection is:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	सुनवानि *sunávāni*	सुनवाव *sunávāva*	सुनवाम *sunávāma*	सुनवै *sunávāi*	सुनवावहै *sunávāvahāi*	सुनवामहै *sunávāmahāi*
2	सुनु *sunú*	सुनुतम् *sunutám*	सुनुत *sunutá*	सुनुष्व *sunuṣvá*	सुन्वाथाम् *sunvā́thām*	सुनुध्वम् *sunudhvám*
3	सुनोतु *sunótu*	सुनुताम् *sunutā́m*	सुन्वन्तु *sunvántu*	सुनुताम् *sunutā́m*	सुन्वाताम् *sunvā́tām*	सुन्वताम् *sunvátām*

From √*āp*, the 2d sing. act. would be *āpnuhí*; from √*aç*, *açnuhí*; from √*dhṛṣ*, *dhṛṣṇuhí*; and so on. From √*āp*, too, would be made *āpnuvántu*, *āpnuváthām*, *āpnuvátām*, *āpnuvátām*.

704. In the earliest language, the rule as to the omission of *hi* after a root with final vowel does not hold good: in RV., such forms as *inuhi*, *kṛṇuhí*, *cinuhí*, *dhūnuhi*, *çṛṇuhí*, *spṛṇuhi*, *hinuhi*, and *tanuhi*, *sanuhi*, are thrice as frequent in use as *inú*, *çṛṇu*, *sunú*, *tanu*, and their like; in AV., however, they are not more than one third as frequent; and in the Brāhmaṇas they appear only sporadically; even *çṛṇudhí* (with *dhi*) occurs several times in RV. The ending *tāt* is found in *kṛṇutāt* and *hinutāt*, and *kurutāt*. The strong stem-form is found in 2d du. act. in *hinotam;* and in 2d pl. act. in *kṛṇóta* and *kṛṇótana*, *çṛṇota* and *çṛṇotana*, *sunóta* and *sunótana*, *hinóta* and *hinotana*, and *tanota*, *karóta*. The ending *tana* occurs only in the forms just quoted.

5. Present Participle.

705. The endings अन्त् *ánt* and आन *āná* are added to the weak form of tense stem: thus, from √सु *su* come act. सुन्वन्त् *sunvánt* (fem. सुन्वती *sunvatī́*), mid. सुन्वान *sunvāná*; from √तन् *tan*, तन्वन्त् *tanvánt* (fem. तन्वती *tanvatī́*), तन्वान *tanvāná*. From √आप् *āp*, they are आप्नुवन्त् *āpnuvánt* and आप्नुवान *āpnuvāná*.

6. Imperfect.

706. The combination of augmented stem and endings is according to the rules already stated: thus,

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	असुनवम् *ásunavam*	असुनुव *ásunuva*	असुनुम *ásunuma*	असुन्वि *ásunvi*	असुनुवहि *ásunuvahi*	असुनुमहि *ásunumahi*
2	असुनोस् *ásunos*	असुनुतम् *ásunutam*	असुनुत *ásunuta*	असुनुथास् *ásunuthās*	असुन्वाथाम् *ásunvāthām*	असुनुध्वम् *ásunudhvam*
3	असुनोत् *ásunot*	असुनुताम् *ásunutām*	असुन्वन् *ásunvan*	असुनुत *ásunuta*	असुन्वाताम् *ásunvātām*	असुन्वत *ásunvata*

Here, as elsewhere, the briefer forms *ásunva*, *ásunma*, *ásunvahi*, *ásunmahi* are allowed, and more usual, except from roots with final consonant, as *dhṛṣ;* which makes, for example, always *ádhṛṣṇuma* etc., and also *ádhṛṣṇuvan*, *ádhṛṣṇuvi*, *ádhṛṣṇuvāthām*, *ádhṛṣṇuvātām*, *ádhṛṣṇuvata*.

707. Strong stem-forms and *tana*-ending are found only in RV., in *akṛṇota*, *akṛṇotana*. Augmentless forms with accent are *minván*, *hinván*, *ṛṇutá*.

Irregularities of the *nu* and *u*-classes.

708. Less than thirty roots form their present-system in the manner set forth above, by the addition of the class-sign *nu* to the root: they are *akṣ*, *aç* 'attain', *takṣ*, *dabh*, *çak*, *sagh*, *āp*, *dāç*, *ṛ*, *kṛ* 'make', *vṛ* (*ūr*), *stṛ*, *spṛ*, *ṛdh*, *tṛp*, *dhṛṣ*, *i* 'send' (or *in:* see below, **716**), *kṣi* 'destroy', *ci*, *dhi*, *mi* 'prop', *hi*, *u*, *du*, *çru*, *su*, *sku*, *pruṣ*, *dhū:* and of these, several (as *takṣ*, *sagh*, *dāç*, *u*, *sku*) have only isolated forms of this class.

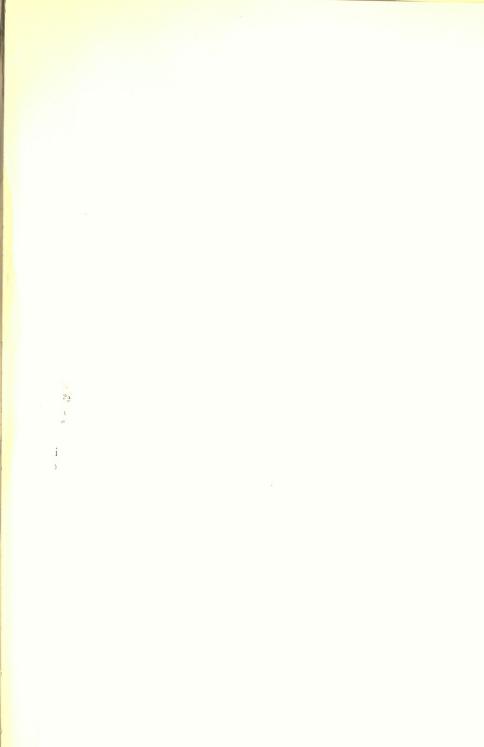
709. The root *tṛp*, 'enjoy', is said by the grammarians to retain the *n* of its class-sign unlingualized in the later language — where, however, forms of conjugation of this class hardly occur; while in the Veda the regular change is made: thus, *tṛpṇu*.

710. The root *çru*, 'hear', is contracted to *çṛ* before the class-sign, forming *çṛṇó* and *çṛṇu* as stem. Its forms *çṛṇviṣé* and *çṛṇviré* have been noted above (**699**).

711. The root *dhū* in the later language shortens its vowel, making the stem-forms *dhunó* and *dhunu* (earlier *dhūnó*, *dhūnu*).

712. The so-called root *ūrṇu*, treated by the native grammarians as dissyllabic and belonging to the root-class (I.), is properly a present-stem of this class, with anomalous contraction, from the root *vṛ* (or *var*). In the Veda, it has no forms which are not regularly made according to the *nu*-class; but in the Brāhmaṇa language are found sometimes such forms as *ūrṇāuti*, as if from an *u*-root of cl. I. (**626**); and the grammarians make for it a perfect, aorist, future, etc. Its 2d sing. impv. act. is *ūrṇu* or *ūrṇuhi;* its impf., *āúrṇos*, *āurṇot;* its opt. mid., *ūrṇuvīta* (K.) or *ūrṇvītá* (TS.).

713. The roots of the other division, or of the *u*-class, are extremely few: they are *tan*, *man*, *van*, *san;* also *kṣan* (not in V.: in ÇB., and very rarely later), and *kṛ* 'make' (in late Vedic and later); and BR. assume *in* of the *u*-class instead of *i* of the *nu*-class.

714. The extremely common root कृ *kṛ* (or *kar*), 'make', is in the later language inflected in the present-system exclusively according to the *u*-class (being the only root of that class not ending in न् *n*). It has the irregularity that in the strong form of stem it (as well as the class-sign) has the *guṇa*-strengthening, and that in the weak form it is changed to *kur*, so that the two forms of stem are करो *karó* and कुरु *kuru*. The class-sign उ *u* is always dropped before व् *v* and म् *m* of the 1st du. and pl., and also before य् *y* of the opt. act. Thus:

such as *bhávanta* (which are very common) are, of course, properly augmentless imperfects. The Brāhmaṇas (especially ÇB.) prefer the 2d sing. act. in *āsi* and the 3d in *āt*. A 3d pl. in *antāi* (*vartantāi*, KB.) has been noted once. RV. has an example, *arcā*, of the briefer 1st sing. act.

3. Present Optative.

738. The scheme of optative endings as combined with the final of an *a*-stem was given in full above (**566**).

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	भवेयम् *bháveyam*	भवेव *bháveva*	भवेम *bhávema*	भवेय *bháveya*	भवेवहि *bhávevahi*	भवेमहि *bhávemahi*
2	भवेस् *bháves*	भवेतम् *bhávetam*	भवेत *bháveta*	भवेथास् *bhávethās*	भवेयाथाम् *bháveyāthām*	भवेध्वम् *bhávedhvam*
3	भवेत् *bhávet*	भवेताम् *bhávetām*	भवेयुस् *bháveyus*	भवेत *bháveta*	भवेयाताम् *bháveyātām*	भवेरन् *bháveran*

The RV. has once the 3d pl. mid. *bhárerata* (for one other example, see **752**).

4. Present Imperative.

739. An example of the imperative inflection is:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	भवानि *bhávāni*	भवाव *bhávāva*	भवाम *bhávāma*	भवै *bhávāi*	भवावहै *bhávāvahāi*	भवामहै *bhávāmahāi*
2	भव *bháva*	भवतम् *bhávatam*	भवत *bhávata*	भवस्व *bhávasva*	भवेथाम् *bhávethām*	भवध्वम् *bhávadhvam*
3	भवतु *bhávatu*	भवताम् *bhávatām*	भवन्तु *bhávantu*	भवताम् *bhávatām*	भवेताम् *bhávetām*	भवन्ताम् *bhávantām*

740. The ending *tana* in 2d pl. act. is as rare in this whole conjugation as is *thana* in the present: the V. affords only *bhajatana* in the *a*-class (and *nahyatana* in the *ya*-class: **760**). The ending *tāt* of 2d sing. act., on the other hand, is not rare; the RV. has *avatāt*, *oṣatāt*, *dahatāt*, *bhavatāt*, *yachatāt*, *yācatāt*, *rákṣatāt*, *vahatāt;* to which AV. adds *jinvatāt*, *dhāvatāt;* and the Brāhmaṇas bring other examples.

5. Present Participle.

741. The endings अन्त् *ant* and मान *māna* are added to the present-stem, with loss, before the former, of the final stem-vowel: thus, act. भवन्त् *bhávant* (fem. भवन्ती *bhávantī*); mid. भवमान *bhávamāna*.

6. Imperfect.

742. An example of the imperfect inflection is:

	active. s.	d.	p.	middle. s.	d.	p.
1	अभवम् *ábhavam*	अभवाव *ábhavāva*	अभवाम *ábhavāma*	अभवे *ábhave*	अभवावहि *ábhavāvahi*	अभवामहि *ábhavāmahi*
2	अभवस् *ábhavas*	अभवतम् *ábhavatam*	अभवत *ábhavata*	अभवथास् *ábhavathās*	अभवेथाम् *ábhavethām*	अभवध्वम् *ábhavadhvam*
3	अभवत् *ábhavat*	अभवताम् *ábhavatām*	अभवन् *ábhavan*	अभवत *ábhavata*	अभवेताम् *ábhavetām*	अभवन्त *ábhavanta*

743. No forms in *tana* are made in this tense from any *a*-class. Examples of augmentless forms (which are not uncommon) are: *cyávam, ávas, dáhas, bódhat, bhárat, cáran, náçan; bádhathās, várdhata, çócanta.* The subjunctively used forms of 2d and 3d sing. act. are more frequent than those of either of the moıe proper subjunctive persons.

Irregularities of the *a*-class.

744. A far larger number of roots form their present-system according to the *a*-class than according to any of the other classes: in the RV., they are about two hundred and forty (nearly two fifths of the whole body of roots); in the AV., about two hundred (nearly the same proportion); to tell precisely, or very nearly, how many they are in the later language is not possible (of the number "about a thousand", as usually stated, the greater part are fictitious: see **108a**). Among them are no roots ending in long *ā* — except a few which make an *a*-stem in some anomalous way: below, **749a.**

745. A few verbs have irregular vowel-changes in forming the present-stem: thus,

a. *ūh* 'notice' has *guṇa*-strengthening (against **240**): thus, *óhate.*

b. *kṛp* (or *krap*), 'lament', on the contrary, remains unchanged: thus, *kṛ́pate.*

c. *guh*, 'hide', has prolongation instead of *guṇa:* thus, *gū́hati.*

d. *kram*, 'stride', lengthens its vowel in the active, but not in the middle: thus, *krā́mati, krámate; klam*, 'tire', is said to form *klāmati* etc., but hardly occurs; *cam* with the preposition *ā*, 'rinse the mouth', forms *ā́cāmati.*

e. In the later language are found occasional forms of this class from *mṛj*, 'wipe'; and they show the same *vṛddhi* (instead of *guṇa*) which belongs to the root in its more proper inflection (**627**): thus, *mārjasva.*

f. The grammarians give a number of roots in *urv*, which they declare to lengthen the *u* in the present-stem. Only three are found in (quite

limited) use, and they show no forms anywhere with short *u*. All appear to be of secondary formation from roots in *ṛ* or *ar*. The root *murch* or *mūrch*, 'coagulate', has likewise only *ū* in quotable forms.

g. The onomatopoetic root *ṣṭhīv*, 'spew', is written by the grammarians as *ṣṭhiv*, and declared to lengthen its vowel in the present-system.

746. The roots *daṅç*, 'bite', *rañj*, 'color', *sañj*, 'hang', *svañj*, 'embrace', of which the nasal is in other parts of the conjugation not constant, lose it in the present-system: thus, *dáçati* etc.; *sañj* forms both *sajati* and *sajjati* (probably for *sajyati*, or for *sasjati* from *sasajati*); *math* or *manth* has *mathati* later. In general, as the present of this class is a strengthening formation, a root that has such a nasal anywhere has it here also.

747. The roots *gam*, 'go', and *yam*, 'furnish', make the present-stems *gácha* and *yácha*: thus, *gáchāmi* etc.: see **608**.

748. The root *sad*, 'sit', forms *sī́da* (conjectured to be contracted from *sisd* for *sisad*): thus, *sī́dāmi* etc.

749. Transfers to this class from other classes are not rare, as has been already pointed out above, both throughout the present-system and in occasional forms. The most noticeable cases are the following:

a. The roots in *ā*, *sthā*, 'stand', *pā*, 'drink', and *ghrā*, 'smell', form the present-stems *tíṣṭha* (*tíṣṭhāmi* etc.), *píba* or (later) *píva* (*píbāmi* etc.), and *jíghra* (*jíghrāmi* etc.); and, in the Veda, *dā*, 'give', and *dhā*, 'place', form sometimes *dáda* and *dádha*, *han*, 'slay', forms sometimes *jíghna*, and *hi*, 'impel', forms *jíghya* — all these by transfer from the reduplicating class: see **671—4**.

b. Secondary root-forms like *inv*, *jinv*, *pinv*, from simpler roots of the *nu*-class, are either found alongside their originals, or have crowded these out of use: see **716**.

750. On the other hand, the root *dham* or *dhmā*, 'blow', forms its present-stem from the more original form of the root: thus, *dhámati* etc.

VII. Accented *á*-class (sixth, *tud*-class).

751. The present-stem of this class has the accent on the class-sign अ *á*, and the root remains unstrengthened. In its whole inflection, it follows so closely the model of the preceding class, that to give the paradigm in full will be unnecessary (only for the subjunctive, all the forms found to occur will be instanced).

752. Example of inflection: root विश् *viç,* 'enter'; stem, विश *viçá:*

1. Present Indicative.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	विशामि *viçā́mi* etc.	विशावस् *viçā́vas* etc.	विशामस् *viçā́mas* etc.	विशे *viçé* etc.	विशावहे *viçā́vahe* etc.	विशामहे *viçā́mahe* etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

1	*viçā́ni*	*viçā́va*	*viçā́ma*	*viçāí*	*viçā́vahāi*	*viçā́mahāi*
2	*viçā́si* *viçā́s*		*viçā́tha*	*viçā́se* *viçā́sāi*	*viçāíthe*	
3	*viçā́ti* *viçā́t*	*viçā́tas*	*viçā́n*	*viçā́te* *viçā́tāi*	*viçāíte*	*viçā́ntāi*

A single example of the briefer 1st sing. act. is *mṛkṣā́.* The only forms in *āithe* and *āite* are *pṛṇāíthe* and *yuvāíte.*

3. Present Optative.

1	विशेयम् *viçéyam* etc.	विशेव *viçéva* etc.	विशेम *viçéma* etc.	विशेय *viçéya* etc.	विशेवहि *viçévahi* etc.	विशेमहि *viçémahi* etc.

The RV. has the ending *tana* once in *tiretana* 2d pl. act., and *rata* in *juṣerata* 3d pl. mid.

4. Present Imperative.

The first persons having been given above as subjunctives, the second are added here:

2	विश *viçá* etc.	विशतम् *viçátam* etc.	विशत *viçáta* etc.	विशस्व *viçásva* etc.	विशेथाम् *viçéthām* etc.	विशध्वम् *viçádhvam* etc.

The ending *tāt* is found in RV. and AV. in *mṛḍatāt, vṛhatāt, suvatāt;* other examples are not infrequent in the Brāhmaṇa language: thus, *khidatāt, sṛjatāt.*

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is विशन्त् *viçánt;* the middle is विशमान *viçámāna.*

The feminine of the active participle is usually made from the strong stem-form: thus, *viçántī;* but sometimes from the weak: thus, *siñcántī* and *siñcatī́* (RV. and AV.), *tudántī* and *tudatī́* (AV.): see above, **449 b.**

6. Imperfect.

1	अविशम्	अविशाव	अविशाम	अविशे	अविशावहि	अविशामहि
	áviçam	*áviçāva*	*áviçāma*	*áviçe*	*áviçāvahi*	*áviçāmahi*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Examples of augmentless forms accented are *sṛjás*, *sṛját*, *tiránta*.

The *a*-aorist (**846** ff.) is in general the equivalent, as regards its form, of an imperfect of this class.

Irregularities of the *á*-class.

753. It is impossible to determine closely the limits of this class, partly because of the occurrence of forms unaccented, or in unaccentuated texts, which might belong either to it or to the preceding class, partly because its modes and imperfect are accordant in form with those of the *a*-aorist (below, chap. XI.), and their separation is not always practicable, and partly for other reasons. With considerable confidence may be reckoned as belonging to it about seventy roots: namely, *kṣi*, *yu* 'join', *ru* 'roar', *su* (or *sū*) 'stir up', *dhū*, *hū*, *kṛ* 'strew', *gṛ* 'swallow', *tṛ*, *rikh* or *likh*, *sic*, *ich*, *vij*, *khid*, *vid* 'find', *vidh*, *kṣip*, *lip*, *riph*, *diç*, *piç*, *riç*, *viç*, *iṣ*, *tviṣ*, *miṣ*, *muc*, *uch*, *ubj*, *tuj*, *ruj*, *khud*, *tud*, *nud*, *rud*, *lup*, *ubh*, *çubh*, *gur*, *jur*, *tur*, *bhur*, *sphur*, *juṣ*, *pruṣ*, *ruṣ*, *çuṣ*, *ukṣ*, *vṛçc* (or *vraçc*), *ṛch*, *pṛch* (or *prach*), *ṛñj*, *sṛj*, *bhṛjj* (or *bhrajj*), *mṛḍ*, *pṛṇ*, *mṛṇ*, *kṛt* 'cut', *cṛt*, *ṛd*, *tṛp*, *mṛç*, *spṛç*, *ṛṣ* 'push', *kṛṣ* 'plough', *mṛkṣ*, *vṛṣ*, *dṛh*, *vṛh* or *bṛh*. Some even of these have either only isolated or very rare occurrences of *á*-forms. The roots *ich*, *uch*, and *ṛch* are reckoned as substitutes in the present-system for *iṣ* 'wish', *vas* 'shine', and *ṛ* 'go to' (**608**). *Pṛṇ* and *mṛṇ* have been noticed above (**731**) as secondary roots from present-stems of the *nā*-class (V.).

754. Certain peculiarities of this body of roots are very noticeable: it contains only one or two roots with long vowels, and none with long interior vowels; very few with final vowels; and none with *a* as radical vowel, except as this forms a combination with *r*, which is then reduced in the present-system, as in the weak forms generally, to *ṛ* or some of the usual substitutes of *ṛ*.

755. The roots in *i* and *u* and *ū* change those vowels into *iy* and *uv* before the class-sign: thus, *kṣiyáti*, *suváti* (*sva* instead of *suva* occurs in AV.; and the Brāhmaṇas have forms in *kṣya* from *kṣi*).

756. The three roots in *ṛ* form the present-stems *kirá*, *girá*, *tirá*, and they are sometimes written as *kir* etc.; and *gur*, *jur*, *tur* are really only varieties of *gṛ*, *jṛ*, *tṛ*; and *bhur* and *sphur* are evidently related with other *ar* or *ṛ* root-forms.

757. Two other roots which are used only in middle forms, and in combination with the preposition *ā* (sometimes further combined), make the present-stems *ā-driyá* and *ā-priyá*, and are reckoned as *ṛ* or *ar* roots: *dṛ*, 'regard', and *pṛ*, 'be busy' (neither is found in V.). It is a question whether they are more properly reckoned to this class or as passives; and the same question arises as to the stems *mriyá* and *dhriyá*, from the roots *mṛ*, 'die', and *dhṛ*, 'hold': see below, **773.**

758. Although the present-stem of this class shows in general a weak form of the root, there are nevertheless a number of roots belonging to it which are strengthened by a penultimate nasal. Thus, the stem *muñcá* is made from √*muc*, 'release'; *siñcá* from √*sic*, 'sprinkle'; *vindá* from √*vid* 'find'; *kṛntá* from √*kṛt* 'cut'; *piñçá* from √*piç*, 'adorn'; *tṛmpá* from √*tṛp*, 'enjoy'; *lumpá* from √*lup*, 'break'; *limpá* from √*lip*, 'smear'; and occasional forms of the same character are met with from a few others, as *tundá* from √*tud*, 'thrust'; *umbhá* from √*ubh*, 'hold'; *bṛṅhá* from √*bṛh* 'strengthen'; *dṛṅhá* (beside *dṛ́ṅha*) from √*dṛh*, 'make firm'; *çumbhá* (beside *çúmbha*) from √*çubh*, 'shine'. TS. has *çṛnthati* from √*çrath* (instead of *çrathnāti*).

VIII. *Ya*-class (fourth, *div*-class).

759. The present stem of this class adds य *ya* to the accented but unstrengthened root. Its inflection is also precisely like that of the *a*-class, and may be presented in the same abbreviated form as that of the *á*-class.

760. Example of inflection: root नह् *nah*, 'bind'; stem नह्य *náhya*.

1. Present Indicative.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	नह्यामि *náhyāmi*	नह्यावस् *náhyāvas*	नह्यामस् *náhyāmas*	नह्ये *náhye*	नह्यावहे *náhyāvahe*	नह्यामहे *náhyāmahe*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*náhyāni*		*náhyāma*	*náhyāi*	*náhyāvahāi*	*náhyāmahāi*
2	*náhyāsi* / *náhyās*			*náhyāsāi*		*náhyādhvāi*
3	*náhyāti* / *náhyāt*	*náhyātas*	*náhyān*	*náhyātāi*		*náhyāntāi*

A 3d pl. mid. in *antāi (jāyantāi)* occurs once in TS.

3. Present Optative.

1	नह्येयम्	नह्येव	नह्येम	नह्येय	नह्येवहि	नह्येमहि
	náhyeyam	*náhyeva*	*náhyema*	*náhyeya*	*náhyevahi*	*náhyemahi*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

4. Present Imperative.

2	नह्य	नह्यतम्	नह्यत	नह्यस्व	नह्येथाम्	नह्यध्वम्
	náhya	*náhyatam*	*náhyata*	*náhyasva*	*náhyethām*	*náhyadhvam*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Of the ending *tana*, RV. has one example, *nahyatana;* the ending *tāt* is found in *asyatāt, chyatāt.*

5. Present Participle.

The active participle is नह्यन्त् *náhyant* (fem. नह्यन्ती *náhyantī*); the middle is नह्यमान *náhyamāna.*

6. Imperfect.

1	अनह्यम्	अनह्याव	अनह्याम	अनह्ये	अनह्यावहि	अनह्यामहि
	ánahyam	*ánahyāva*	*ánahyāma*	*ánahye*	*ánahyāvahi*	*ánahyāmahi*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Examples of augmentless forms showing the accent belonging to the present-system are *gā́yat, pā́çyat, pā́çyan, jā́yathās.*

Irregularities of the *ya*-class.

761. The roots of the *ya*-class are more than a hundred in number. They may be grouped as follows:

a. Roots signifying a state of feeling, or a condition of mind or body. These are nearly half the whole class. They are (alphabetically) as follows: *uc*, 'be pleased'; *kup*, 'be angry'; *kṛç*, 'be lean'; *klam*, 'be weary'; *krudh*, 'be angry'; *kṣam*, 'be patient'; *kṣudh*, 'be hungry'; *kṣubh*, 'be agitated'; *gṛdh*, 'be greedy'; *jas*, 'be worn out'; *tam*, 'be exhausted'; *tuṣ*, 'be satisfied'; *tṛp*, 'be pleased'; *tṛṣ*, 'be thirsty'; *tras*, 'be alarmed'; *dam*, 'be submissive'; *duṣ*, 'be spoiled'; *dṛp*, 'be crazed'; *druh*, 'be hostile'; *puṣ*, 'be in good condition'; *budh*, 'be awake'; *bhram*, 'be unsteady'; *mad*, 'be excited'; *man*, 'be minded'; *muh*, 'be confused'; *mṛṣ*, 'be forgetful'; *mrit*, 'be in ill condition'; *med*, 'be fat'; *yas*, 'be ardent'; *yudh*, 'be hostile'; *raj*, 'be colored'; *radh*, 'be subject'; *ran*, 'be happy'; *rādh*, 'be successful'; *riṣ*, 'be hurt'; *rup*, 'be in pain'; *lubh*, 'be lustful'; *çam*, 'be quiet'; *çuc*, 'be in pain'; *çuṣ*, 'be dry'; *çram*, 'be weary'; *har*, 'be gratified'; *hṛṣ*, 'be excited'; and we may perhaps add *das*, 'be deficient', and *naç*, 'be missing'. Some of these are of only early use, some only of later; and some have only sporadic forms of this class, made perhaps under the influence of the analogy of the others.

b. Roots which have a more or less distinctly passive sense, and which are in part evident and in part presumable transfers from the passive or *yá*-class, with change of accent, and sometimes also with assumption of active endings. It is not possible to draw precisely the limits of the division, or determine in all cases where passive form and meaning pass into intransitive; but there are a number of clear cases, where in the older language the accent wavers and changes, and the others are to be judged by their analogy. Thus, *muc* forms *múcyate* once or twice, beside usual *mucyáte*, in RV. and AV.; and in the Brāhmaṇas the former is the regular accent: and similar changes are found in other verbs: thus, *ji* or *jyā*, *kṣi* 'destroy', *hā* 'leave', *pac*, *dṛ* 'burst', *chid*, *bhid*. Cases closely analogous with these are *mī́yate* etc. from √*mi* or *mī*, 'lessen'; *rícyate* etc. from √*ric*, 'leave'; *vī́yate* etc. from √*vī*, 'impregnate'; *çī́yante* from √*çyā*, 'coagulate'; *çíṣyate* etc. from √*çiṣ*, 'leave'; *dṛ́hyasva* from √*dṛṅh*, 'make firm'; *pū́ryate* etc. from √*pṛ*, 'fill'; and *lúpyate*, *tápyate*, *tīryate*, *klíçyate*, *ṛ́dhyate*, may be ranked along with them. Active forms are early made sporadically from some of these — thus, *dṛ́hya* (RV.), *kṣīyati* and *pūryati* (TA.); and *dīryati*, *kliçyati*, and other like cases, are found later. The AV. has *jīryati*, 'grows old' (later also *jīryate*); and ÇB. has *apruṣyat*, 'was sprinkled'. And from the earliest period *jā́yate* etc., 'is born', is either altered passive or original *ya*-formation from √*jā*, serving as complement to √*jan*, 'give birth'.

c. A small body of roots are either transitive, or not intransitive in a way that clearly connects them with either of the above classes: thus, *as* 'throw'; *iṣ* 'send'; *trā*, 'save'; *nah*, 'bind'; *paç*, 'see'; *vyadh*, 'split'; *sīv*, 'sew'; *dīv*, 'play'; *tur*, 'overcome' (RV., once); *tan*, 'thunder' (RV., once), *ṛj*, 'press on'; *nṛt*, 'dance'; *pad*, 'go'; *vāç*, 'bleat'; *dī*, 'hover'; *rī*, 'flow'; *srīv*, 'fail'; *çliṣ*, 'hang on'; *bhraç*, 'fall'; *sidh*, 'succeed'; *dīp*, 'shine' (and perhaps *das* and *naç* are better classed here than under **a**).

d. A body of roots, of various meaning, and of somewhat questionable character and relations, which are by the native grammarians reckoned as ending with diphthongs: thus,

1. Roots reckoned as ending in *āi* and belonging to the *a*-class: thus, *gā́yati* from √*gāi*. As these show abundantly (and in most cases exclusively) *ā*-forms outside the present-system, there seems no reason why they should not be regarded as *ā*-roots of the *ya*-class. They are: *gā* 'sing'; *glā*, 'be wearied or disgusted'; *dhyā*, 'think'; *pyā*, 'swell'; *mlā*, 'wither'; *rā*, 'bark'; *vā*, 'droop'; *çyā*, 'coagulate'; *çrā*, 'cook'; *styā*, 'be coagulated'; and, in one or two sporadic forms, *kṣā*, 'burn'; *dā* 'cleanse'; *stā*, 'be hidden'; *sphā*, 'be fat'. *Trā*, 'save', was given in the preceding division. Many of these are evident extensions of simpler roots with added *ā*. With them may be mentioned *tāy*, 'extend' (compare pass. *tāyate* from √*tan*: **772**), and *cāy*, 'be shy or anxious' (which connects itself with uses of √*ci*).

2. Roots reckoned as ending in *e* and belonging to the *a*-class: thus, *dháyati* from √*dhe*. These, too, have *ā*-forms, and sometimes *ī*-forms, outside the present-system, and must be regarded as *ā*-roots, either with *ā* weakened to *a* before the class-sign of this class, or with *ā* weakened to *ī* or *i* and

inflected according to the *a*-class. They are: *dhā*, 'suck'; *vā*, 'weave'; *vyā*, 'hide'; *hvā*, 'call' (one of the forms of √*hū*); and a late example or two are found from *mā*, 'exchange'. With them may be mentioned *day*, 'share, sympathize, pity'; *vyay*, 'be wasted' (denom. of *vyaya?*); *cay*, 'visit with retribution' (probably a form of *ci*).

3. Roots artificially marked with a final *o* (**108 c**) and reckoned to this class, the radical vowel being declared dropped before the class-sign: thus, *dyáti* from *do*. They have, as showing an accented *yá*, no real right to be classed here at all, but seem more accordant in formation with the present-stems *sva* and *kṣya*, noticed under the preceding class (**755**). Outside these present-systems, they show *ā* and *i*-forms; and the *ya* in the only RV. occurrence, and in most of the AV. occurrences, is resolved into *ia* — which in the true class-sign *ya* is the case only in very rare and purely sporadic instances. They might, then, perhaps be best viewed as *ā*-roots with *ā* weakened to *i*, and inflected by the *á*-class, but without the usual conversion of *i* to *iy* (**755**). They are: *dā* 'cut', *dā* 'bind'; *çā*, 'sharpen'; *sā*, 'bind'; *chā*, 'cut off'.

762. The *ya*-class is the only one thus far described which shows any tendency toward a restriction to a certain variety of meaning. In this tendency, as well as in the form of its sign, it appears related with the class of distinctly defined meaning which is next to be taken up — the passive, with *yá*-sign. Though very far from being as widely used as the latter beside other present-systems, it is in no very small number of cases an intransitive conjugation by the side of a transitive of some other class.

763. The roots of this class ending in *am* lengthen their vowel in forming the present-stem: they are *tam*, *dam*, *bhram* (but *bhramyāt* also occurs), *çam*, *çram*, *klam* (hardly found in use), and *kṣam* (but *kṣamyate* also): for example, *çā́myati*, *çrā́myati*.

764. The root *mad* has the same lengthening: thus, *mā́dyati*.

765. The roots in *īv* — namely, *dīv*, *sīv*, *srīv* (or *çrīv*) — are written by the grammarians with *iv*, and a similar lengthening in the present-system is prescribed for them.

They appear to be properly *dīū* etc., since their vocalized final in other forms is always *ū*: *dīv* is by this proved to have nothing to do with the assumed root *div*, 'shine', which changes to *dyu* (**361 d**): compare also the desiderative stem *jujyūṣa* from √*jīv* (**1028 h**).

766. From the roots *jṛ* and *tṛ* (also written as *jur* and *tir* or *tur*) come the stems *jī́rya* and *tī́rya*, and *jū́rya* and *tū́rya* (the last two only in RV.); from *pṛ* comes *pū́rya*.

767. The root *vyadh* is abbreviated to *vidh*: thus, *vídhyati*. And any root which in other forms has a penultimate nasal loses it here: thus, *dṛ́hya* from *dṛṅh* or *dṛh*; *bhrā́çya* (also *bhṛ́çya*) from *bhrañç* or *bhraç*; *rajya* from *rañj* or *raj*.

IX. Accented *yá*-class: Passive conjugation.

768. A certain form of present-stem, inflected with middle endings, is used only with a passive meaning, and is formed from all roots for which there is occasion to make a passive conjugation. Its sign is an accented य *yá* added to the root: thus, हन्य *hanyá* from √हन् *han*, आप्य *āpyá* from √आप् *āp*, गृह्य *gṛhyá* from √गृह् *gṛh* (or *grah*): and so on, without any reference to the class according to which the active and middle forms are made.

769. The form of the root to which the passive-sign is added is (since the accent is on the sign) the weak one: thus, a penultimate nasal is dropped, and any abbreviation which is made in the weak forms of the perfect (**794**), in the aorist optative (**922 b**), or before *ta* of the passive participle (**954**), is made also in the passive present-system: thus, *ajyá* from √*añj*, *badhyá* from √*bandh*, *ucyá* from √*vac*, *ijyá* from √*yaj*.

770. On the other hand, a final vowel of a root is in general liable to the same changes as in other parts of the verbal system where it is followed by *y*: thus,

a. *i* and *u* final are lengthened: thus, *mīyá* from √*mi*; *sūyá* from √*su*;

b. *ā* final is usually changed to *ī*: thus, *dīyá* from √*dā*; *hīyá* from √*hā*: but *jñāyá* from √*jñā*, *khyāyá* from √*khyā*;

c. *ṛ* final is in general changed to *ri*: thus, *kriyá* from √*kṛ*; but if preceded by two consonants (and also, it is claimed, in the root *ṛ*), it has instead the *guṇa*-strengthening: thus, *smaryá* from √*smṛ*, *staryá* from √*stṛ*; — and in those roots which show a change of *ṛ* to *ir* and *ur* (so-called *ṝ*-verbs: see **242**), that change is made here also, and the vowel is lengthened: thus, *çīryá* from √*çṝ*; *pūryá* from √*pṝ*.

771. The inflection of the passive-stem is precisely like that of the other *a*-stems; it differs only in accent from that of the class last given. It may be here presented, therefore, in the same abbreviated form:

Example of inflection: root कृ *kṛ*, 'make'; passive-stem क्रिय *kriyá*:

1. Present Indicative.

	s.	d.	p.
1	क्रिये *kriyé* etc.	क्रियावहे *kriyā́vahe* etc.	क्रियामहे *kriyā́mahe* etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

The forms noticed as occurring in the older language are alone here instanced:

	s.	d.	p.
1	*kriyāí*		*kriyā́mahāi*
2			*kriyā́dhvāi*
3	*kriyā́te* / *kriyā́tāi*		*kriyā́ntāi*

The 3d pl. ending *antāi* is found once (*ucyantāi*, K.).

3. Present Optative.

1	क्रियेय *kriyéya* etc.	क्रियेवहि *kriyévahi* etc.	क्रियेमहि *kriyémahi* etc.

No forms of the passive optative chance to occur in RV. or AV.; they are found, however, in the Brāhmaṇas.

4. Present Imperative.

2	क्रियस्व *kriyásva* etc.	क्रियेथाम् *kriyéthām* etc.	क्रियध्वम् *kriyádhvam* etc.

5. Present Participle.

This is made with the suffix मान *māna*: thus, क्रियमाण *kriyámāṇa*.

In use, this participle is well distinguished from the other passive participle by its distinctively present meaning: thus, *kṛtá*, 'done'; but *kriyámāṇa*, 'in process of doing', or 'being done'.

6. Imperfect.

1	अक्रिये *ákriye* etc.	अक्रियावहि *ákriyāvahi* etc.	अक्रियामहि *ákriyāmahi* etc.

The passive-sign is never resolved into *ia* in the Veda.

772. The roots *tan* and *khan* usually form their passives from parallel roots in *ā*: thus, *tāyáte*, *khāyáte* (but also *tanyáte*, *khanyáte*). The corresponding form to √*jan*, namely *jā́yate* (above, **761 b**), is apparently a transfer to the preceding class.

773. By their form, *mriyáte*, 'he dies', and *dhriyáte*, 'he maintains himself, is steadfast', are passives from the roots *mṛ*, 'die', and *dhṛ*, 'hold'; although neither is used in a proper passive sense, and *mṛ* is not transitive except in the derivative form *mṛṇ* (above, **731**). With them are to be compared the stems *ā-driyá* and *ā-priyá* (above, **757**), which may possibly be

peculiar adaptations of meaning of passives from the roots *pṛ*, 'fill', and *dṛ*, 'scatter'.

774. Instances are occasionally found in the later language of an apparent assumption of active instead of middle endings by passive persons of the present-system. Probably, however, these are rather to be regarded as examples of transfer to the *ya*-class, such as were considered above (**761 b**).

775. As was pointed out above (**607**), the formation and inflection of stems in *áya* (the tenth or *cur*-class of the Hindu grammarians) will be treated under the head of secondary conjugation (chap. XIV.), along with the intensive and desiderative formations, because, in all alike, the stem is not a present-stem merely, but has been extended also into other tense-systems.

Uses of the Present and Imperfect.

776. The uses of the mode-forms of the present-system have been already briefly treated in the preceding chapter (**572 ff.**). The tense-uses of the two indicative tenses, present and imperfect, call here for only a word or two of explanation.

777. The present has, besides its strictly present use, the same side-uses which belong in general to the tense: namely, the expression of habitual action, of future action, and of past in lively narration.

a. Examples of future meaning are: *abruvan hṛṣṭā gachāmo vayam api* (MBh.), 'they said with gladness, "we will go too"'; *agnir ātmabhavam prādād yatra vāñchati nāiṣadhaḥ* (MBh.), 'Agni gave his own presence wherever the Nishadhan should desire'.

b. Examples of past meaning are: *úttarā sū́r ádharaḥ putrá āsīd dā́nuḥ çaye sahávatsā ná dhenúḥ* (RV.), 'the mother was over, the son under; there Dānu lies, like a cow with her calf'; *prahasanti ca tāṁ kecid abhyasūyanti cā 'pare akurvata dayāṁ kecit* (MBh.), 'some ridicule her, some revile her, some pitied her'; *tato yasya vacanāt tatrā 'valambitās taṁ sarve tiraskurvanti* (H.), 'thereupon they all fall to reproaching him by whose advice they had alighted there'.

778. In connection with certain particles, the present has rather more definitely the value of a past tense. Thus:

a. With *purā́*, 'formerly': thus, *saptarṣī́n u ha sma vāí purá ṛkshā́ íty ácakṣate* (ÇB.), 'the seven sages, namely, are of old called the bears'; *tanmātram api cen mahyaṁ na dadāti purā bhavān* (MBh.), 'if you have never before given me even an atom'.

b. With the asseverative particle *sma*: thus, *çrámeṇa ha sma vāí tád devā́ jayanti yád eṣā́ṁ jáyyam ā́sa ṛ́ṣayaç ca* (ÇB.), 'for, in truth, both gods and sages were wont to win by penance what was to be won'; *āviṣṭaḥ kalinā dyūte jīyate sma nalas tadā* (MBh.), 'then Nala, being possessed by Kali, was beaten in play'.

No example of this construction is found in either RV. or AV., or elsewhere in the metrical parts of the Veda. In the Brāhmaṇas, only habitual action is expressed by it (Delbrück). In all periods of the language, the use of *sma* with a verb as pure asseverative particle, with no effect on the tense-meaning, is very common; and the examples later are hardly to be distinguished from the present of lively narration — of which the whole construction is doubtless a form.

779. The imperfect has remained unchanged in value through the whole history of the language: it is the tense of narration; it expresses simple past time, without any other implication.

Compare what is said later (end of chap. X. and chap. XI.) as to the value of the other past tenses, the perfect and aorist.

CHAPTER X.

THE PERFECT-SYSTEM.

780. THE perfect-system in the later language, as has been seen above (**535**), consists only of an indicative tense and a participle — both of them in the two voices, active and middle.

In the oldest language, the perfect has also its modes and its augment-preterit, or pluperfect, or is not less full in its apparatus of forms than is the present-system.

781. The formation of the perfect is essentially alike in all verbs, differences among them being of only subordinate consequence, or having the character of irregularities. The characteristics of the formation are these:

a. a stem made by reduplication of the root;

b. a distinction between stronger and weaker forms of stem, the former being used (as in presents of the First conjugation) in the singular active, the latter in all other persons;

c. endings in some respects peculiar, unlike those of the present;

d. the frequent use, especially in the later language, of a union-vowel इ *i* between stem and endings.

782. Reduplication. In roots beginning with a consonant, the reduplication which forms the perfect-stem is of the same character with that which forms the present-stem of the reduplicating conjugation-class (II.: see **643**) — but with this exception, that radical अ *a* and आ *ā* and ऋ *ṛ* (or अर् *ar*) have only अ *a*, and never इ *i*, as vowel of the reduplicating syllable: thus, from √पृ *pṛ*, 'fill', comes the present-stem पिपृ *pipṛ*, but the perfect-stem पपृ *papṛ;* from √मा, 'measure', comes the present-stem मिमा *mimā*, but the perfect-stem ममा *mamā;* and so on.

Irregularities of roots with initial consonants will be given below, **784**.

783. For roots beginning with a vowel, the rules of reduplication are these:

a. A root with initial अ *a* before a single final consonant repeats the अ *a*, which then fuses with the radical vowel to आ *ā* (throughout the whole inflection): thus, आद् *ād* from √अद् *ad;* and in like manner आज् *āj*, आन् *ān*, आस् *ās*, आह् *āh*.

The root ऋ *ṛ* forms likewise throughout आर् *ār* (as if from अर् *ar*).

b. A root with इ *i* or उ *u* before a single final consonant follows the same analogy, except in the strong forms (sing. act.), where the vowel of the radical syllable has *guṇa*, becoming ए *e* or ओ *o;* before this, the reduplicating vowel maintains its independent form, and is separated from the radical syllable by its own semivowel: thus, from √इष् *iṣ* comes ईष् *īṣ* in weak forms, but इयेष् *iyeṣ* in strong; from √उच् *uc*, in like manner, come ऊच् *ūc* and उवोच् *uvoc*.

The root इ *i*, a single vowel, falls under this rule, and forms ईय् *īy* and इये *iye*.

c. Roots which begin with vowels long by nature or by position do not in general make a perfect-system, but use instead a periphrastic formation, in which the perfect tense

of an auxiliary verb is added to the accusative of a verbal noun (see below, chap. XV.: **1070** ff.).

To this rule, however, √*āp* (probably originally *ap*: **1087 f**) constitutes an exception, making the constant perfect-stem *āp* (as if from *ap*: above, **a**).

For the peculiar reduplication *ān*, belonging to certain roots with initial vowels, see below, **788**.

784. A number of roots beginning with *va* and ending with a single consonant, which in various of their verbal forms and derivatives abbreviate the *va* to *u*, do it also in the perfect, and are treated like roots with initial *u* (above, **783 b**), except that they retain the full form of root in the strong persons of the singular active. Thus, from √*vac* come *ūc* and *uvac*; from √*vas* come *ūṣ* and *uvas*; and so on.

The roots showing this abbreviation are *vac*, *vad*, *vap*, *vaç*, *vas*, *vah*; and *vā*, 'weave' (so-called *ve*: **761 d**, 2), is said to follow the same rule.

A single root beginning with *ya*, namely *yaj*, 'offer', has the same contraction, forming the stems *iyaj* and *īj*.

785. A number of roots having *ya* after a first initial consonant take *i* (from the *y*) instead of *a* in the reduplicating syllable: thus, from √*vyac* comes *vivyac*; from √*pyā* comes *pipyā*.

These roots are *vyac*, *vyath*, *vyadh*, *vyā*, *jyā*, *pyā*; and, in the Veda, also *tyaj*, with *cyu* and *dyu*, which have the root-vowel *u*.

A single root with *va* is treated in the same way: namely *svap*, which forms *suṣvap*.

These roots are for the most part abbreviated in the weak forms: see below, **794**.

786. A considerable number of roots have in the Veda a long vowel in their reduplication.

Thus, of roots reduplicating with *ā*: *kan*, *kḷp*, *gṛ* 'wake', *gṛdh*, *tan*, *tṛp*, *tṛṣ*, *dhṛ*, *dhṛṣ*, *nam*, *mah*, *mṛj*, *mṛç*, *ran*, *radh*, *rabh*, *vak*, *van*, *vaç*, *vas* 'attack', *vṛj*, *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, *çad*, *sah*, *skambh*. Some of these occur only in isolated cases; some have also forms with short vowel. Most are Vedic only; but *dādhāra* is common also in the Brāhmaṇa language, and is even found later. For *jāgṛ*, see **1020** below.

Of roots reduplicating with *ī*: the so-called roots (**676**) *dīdhī* and *dīdī*, which make the perfect from the same stem with the present: thus, *dīdétha*, *dīdā́ya*; *dīdhima*, *dīdhyus* (also *dīdhiyus*, *dīdiyus*). But *pīpī* has *pipye*, *pipyus*, etc., with short *i*. In AV. occurs once *jīhīḍa*.

Of roots reduplicating with *ū*: *jū* and *çū* (or *çvā*).

787. A few roots beginning with the (derivative: **42**) palatal mutes and aspiration show a reversion to the more original guttural in the radical

syllable after the reduplication: thus, √*ci* forms *ciki;* √*cit* forms *cikit;* √*ji* forms *jigi;* √*hi* forms *jighi;* √*han* forms *jaghan* (and the same reversions appear in other reduplicated forms of these roots). A root *dā*, 'protect', is said by the grammarians to form *digi:* but neither root nor perfect is quotable.

788. A small number of roots with initial *a* or *ṛ* (*ar*) show the anomalous reduplication *ān* in the perfect.

Thus, in the Veda:

√*añj* or *aj*, which forms the pres. *anákti* (cl. III.), has the perfect *ānajé* etc. (with *anajā* and *anajyāt*);

√*aç*, 'attain' (from which comes once *anaçāmahāi*), has the weak forms *ānaçma* etc. (with opt. *ānaçyām*), and the strong forms *ānáñça* and *ānāça* — along with the regular *āça* etc.;

√*ṛdh* (from which comes once *ṛnádhat*) has *ānṛdhe*;

√*ṛc* or *arc* has *ānṛcús* and *ānṛcé;*

√*arh* has (in TS.) *ānṛhus;*

anāha (RV., once) has been referred to a root *ah*, elsewhere unknown, and explained as of this formation; but with altogether doubtful propriety.

The later grammar, then, sets up the rule that roots beginning with *a* and ending with more than one consonant have *ān* as their regular reduplication; and such perfects are taught from roots like *akṣ*, *arj*, and *añc* or *ac;* but the only other quotable forms appear to be *ānarchat* (MBh.) and *ānarṣat* (TA.); which are accordingly reckoned as "pluperfects".

789. One or two individual cases of irregularity are the following:

a. The extremely common root *bhū*, 'be', has the anomalous reduplication *ba*, forming the stem *babhū;* and, in the Veda, √*sū* forms in like manner *sasū*.

b. The root *bhṛ*, 'bear', has in the Veda the anomalous reduplication *ja* (as also in intensive: **1002 b**): but RV. has once also the regular *babhre.*

c. The root *ṣṭhīv*, 'spew', forms either *tiṣṭhīv* (ÇB. et al.) or *ṭiṣṭhīv.*

d. *Vivakvā́n* (RV., once) is doubtless participle of √*vac*, with irregular redublication (as in the present, **660**).

790. Absence of reduplication is met with in the following cases:

a. The root *vid* 'know' has, from the earliest period to the latest, a perfect without reduplication, but otherwise regularly made and inflected: thus, *véda*, *véttha*, etc., pple *vidvā́ṅs*. It has the meaning of a present. The root *vid* 'find' forms the regular *vivéda.*

b. A few other apparently perfect forms lacking a reduplication are found in RV.: they are *takṣathus*, *yamátus*, *skambhāthús* and *skambhus*, *nindima* (for *ninidima?*), *dhiṣe* and *dhire* (? √*dhā*), and *vidré* and *arhire* (? see **613**). And AV. has *cetatus.* The participial words *dāçvā́ṅs*, *mīḍhvā́ṅs*, *sāhvā́ṅs* are common in the oldest language.

c. One or two sporadic cases have been quoted from the later language: namely, *çan̄sus* and *çan̄sire* (MBh.).

791. For an anomalous case or two of reduplicated preposition, see below, **1087 f.**

792. Strong and weak stem-forms. In the three persons of the singular active, the root-syllable is accented, and exhibits usually a stronger form than in the rest of the tense-inflection. The difference is effected partly by strengthening the root in the three persons referred to, partly by weakening it in the others, partly by doing both.

793. As regards the strengthening:

a. A final vowel takes either the *guṇa* or *vṛddhi* change in 1st sing. act., *guṇa* in 2d, and *vṛddhi* in 3d: thus, from √भी *bhī*, 1st बिभे *bibhé* or बिभै *bibhā́i;* 2d बिभे *bibhé;* 3d बिभै *bibhā́i;* from √कृ *kṛ*, 1st चकर् *cakár* or चकार् *cakā́r*, 2d चकर् *cakár*, 3d चकार् *cakā́r*.

But the *ū* of √*bhū* remains unchanged, and adds *v* before a vowel-ending: thus, *babhū́va* etc.

b. Medial अ *a* before a single final consonant follows the analogy of a final vowel, and is lengthened or vriddhied in the 3d. sing., and optionally in the first: thus, from √तप् *tap*, 1st ततप् *tatáp* or ततात् *tatā́p*, 2d ततप् *tatáp*, 3d ततापु *tatā́p*.

In the Veda, however, the weaker of the two forms allowed by these rules in the first person is almost exclusively in use: thus, 1st only *bibhā́ya, tatā́pa*, 3d *bibhā́ya, tatā́pa*. The only exceptions noticed are *cakā́ra* and *jagrā́ha* (doubtful reading) in AV.

c. A medial short vowel has in all three persons alike the *guṇa*-strengthening (where this is possible: **240**): thus, from √द्रुह् *druh* comes दुद्रोह् *dudróh;* from √विश् *viç* comes विवेश् *vivéç;* from √कृत् *kṛt* comes चकर्त् *cakárt*.

d. These rules are said by the grammarians to apply to the 2d sing. always when it has simple *tha* as ending; if it has *itha* (below, **797**), the accent is allowed to fall on any one of the syllables of the word, and the root-syllable if unaccented has sometimes the weak form (namely, in contracted stems with *e* for medial *a:* below, **794 e**; and in certain other verbs: thus, *vivijithá*).

The earlier language, however, appears to afford no example of a 2d sing., whatever its ending, accented on any other than the radical syllable, or failing to conform to the rules of strengthening as given above (in **a**, **b**, **c**).

e. Sporadic instances of a strengthening in other than the singular persons are found in RV.: thus, *yuyopimá*, *viveçus.* And the roots *çṛ*, *pṛ*, and *dṛ* 'tear' are said by the grammarians to have the strong stem in the weak forms; and *jṛ* 'decay' to be allowed to do the same.

f. The root *mṛj* has (as in the present-system: **627**) *vṛddhi* instead of *guṇa* in strong forms: thus, *mamārja;* and √*guh* (also as in present: **745 c**) has *ū* instead of *o*.

794. As regards the weakening in weak forms:

a. It has been seen above (**783 b**) that roots beginning with *i* or *u* fuse reduplicating and radical syllable together to *ī* or *ū* in the weak forms; and (**784**) that roots contracting *va* and *ya* to *u* or *i* in the reduplication do it also in the root in weak forms, the two elements here also coalescing to *ū* or *ī*.

b. A few roots having *ya* and *va* after a first initial consonant, and reduplicating from the semivowel (**785**), contract the *ya* and *va* to *i* and *u:* thus, *vivic* from √*vyac*, *vividh* from √*vyadh*, *suṣup* from √*svap.* The extended roots *jyā*, *pyā*, *vyā*, *çyā*, *hvā* show a similar apparent contraction, making their weak forms from the simpler roots *ji*, *pī*, *vī*, *çū*, *hū*, while *hvā* must and *çvā* may get their strong forms also from the same (and it is questionable whether from the others strong forms occur).

c. The root *grabh* or *grah* (if it be written thus) contracts to *gṛh*, making the three forms of stem *jagrăh* (1st and 2d sing. act.), *jagráh* (3d), and *jagṛh;* but *prach* (if it be so written) remains unchanged throughout.

d. A number of roots having medial *a* between single consonants drop that vowel. These are, in the later language, *gam*, *khan*, *jan*, *han*, *ghas:* they form the weak stems *jagm*, *jakhn*, *jajñ*, *jaghn* (compare **637**), *jakṣ* (compare **640**): but RV. has once *jajanús.*

In the old language are found in like manner *mamnāthe* and *mamnāte* from √*man;* *vavné* from √*van;* *tatne*, *tatniṣe*, *tatnire* from √*tan* (beside *tatane*, and *tate*, as if from √*tā*); *paptima* and *paptús* and *paptivāṅs* from √*pat* (beside *pet*-forms; below, **e**); *saçcima* and *saçcus*, *saçce* and *saçciré* from √*sac.*

e. Roots in general having medial *a* before a single final consonant, and beginning also with a single consonant that is repeated unchanged in the reduplication — that is, not an aspirate, a guttural mute, or *h* — contract their root and reduplication together into one syllable, having *e* as its vowel: thus, √*sad* forms the weak stem *sed*, √*pac* forms *pec*, √*yam* forms *yem;* and so on.

Certain roots not having the form here defined are declared by the grammarians to undergo the same contraction — most of them optionally;

and examples of them all are of rare occurrence (of one only, *bhaj*, quotable from the older language). They are as follows: *rāj* (occurs in MBh.) and *rādh* (*radh?*), notwithstanding their long vowel; *phaṇ, phal, bhaj* (occurs in RV. etc.), though their initial is changed in reduplication; *trap, tras* (occurs in MBh.), *syam, svan*, though they begin with more than one consonant; *dambh* (forming *debh* from the weaker *dabh*), though it ends with more than one; and *bhram* (occurs in KSS.), *bhrāj, granth, çranth, svañj*, in spite of more reasons than one to the contrary.

This contraction is allowed also in 2d sing. act. when the ending is *ithá*: thus, *tenitha* beside *tatantha* (but no examples are quotable from the older language).

The roots *çaç* and *dad* (from *dā*: **672**) are said to reject the contraction: but no perfect forms of either appear to have been met with in use.

From √*tṛ* (or *tar*) occurs *terus* (R.); and *jerus* from √*jṛ* is authorized by the grammarians — both against the general analogy of roots in *ṛ*.

f. Roots ending in *ā* lose their *ā* before all endings beginning with a vowel, including those that assume the union-vowel *i* (**796**) — unless in the latter case it be preferable to regard the *i* as a weakened form of the *ā*.

795. Endings, and their union with the stem. The general scheme of endings of the perfect indicative has been already given (**553**); and it has also been pointed out (**543**) that roots ending in आ *ā* have औ *āu* in 1st and 3d sing. active.

796. Those of the endings which begin with a consonant — namely थ *tha*, व *va*, म *ma* in active; से *se*, वहे *vahe*, महे *mahe*, ध्वे *dhve*, रे *re* in middle — are very often, and in the later language usually, joined to the base with the help of an interposed union-vowel इ *i*.

The union-vowel *i* is found widely used also in other parts of the general verbal system: namely, in the sibilant aorist, the futures, and the verbal nouns and adjectives (as also in other classes of derivative stems). In the later language, a certain degree of correspondence is seen among the different parts of the same verb, as regards their use or non-use of the connective; but this correspondence is not so close that general rules respecting it can be given with advantage; and it will be best to treat each formation by itself.

The perfect is the tense in which the use of *i* has established itself most widely and firmly in the later language.

797. The most important rules as to the use of इ *i* in the later language are as follows:

a. The रे *re* of 3d pl. mid. has it always.

b. The other consonant-endings, except थ *tha* of 2d sing. act., take it in nearly all verbs.

But it is rejected throughout by eight verbs — namely *kṛ* 'make', *bhṛ* 'bear', *sṛ* 'go', *vṛ* 'choose', *dru* 'run', *çru* 'hear', *stu* 'praise', *sru* 'flow'; and it is allowably (not usually) rejected by some others, in general accordance with their usage in other formations.

c. In 2d sing. act., it is rejected not only by the eight verbs just given, but also by many others, ending in vowels or in consonants, which in other formations have no इ *i;* but it is also taken by many verbs which reject it in other formations; — and it is optional in many verbs, including those in आ *ā* (of which the आ *ā* is lost when the ending is इथ *itha*), and most of those in इ *i*, ई *ī*, and उ *u*.

The rules of the grammarians, especially as regards the use of *tha* or *itha*, run out into infinite detail, and are not wholly consistent with one another; and, as the forms are by no means frequent, it is not possible at present to criticise the statements made, and to tell how far they are founded on the facts of usage.

With this *i*, a final radical *i* or *ī* is not combined, but changed into *y* or *iy*. The *ū* of √*bhū* becomes *ūv* throughout before a vowel.

798. In the older language, the usage is in part quite otherwise. Thus:

a. In the RV., the union-vowel *i* is taken by roots ending in consonants provided the last syllable of the stem is a heavy one, but not otherwise: thus, *ā́sitha*, *uvócitha*, *vivéditha*, but *tatántha* and *vivyáktha; ūcimá*, *paptima*, *sedima*, *yuyopimá*, but *jaganma* and *yuyujma; ūcisé*, *jajñisé*, *sasāhise*, but *vivitse* and *dadṛkṣé; bubhujmáhe* and *çāçadmahe* etc. (no examples of *ivahe* or *imahe* chance to occur, nor any of either *idhve* or *dhve*); *ījiré*, *jajñiré*, *yetiré*, *tataksiré*, but *cāklpré*, *vividré*, *duduhré*, *paspṛdhré*, *tatasré* (and so on: twenty-two forms). The only exception in RV. is *véttha* from √*vid*, without *i* (in Br., also *āttha* from √*ah:* below, **801 a**). The other Vedic texts present nothing inconsistent with this rule, but in the Brāhmaṇas 3d pl. forms in *ire* are made after light syllables also: thus, *sasṛjire*, *bubudhire*.

b. In roots ending with a vowel, the early usage is more nearly like the later. Thus: for roots in *ā* the rule is the same (except that no 2d sing. in *itha* is met with), as *dadhimá*, *dadhisé*, *dadhidhvé*, *dadhiré* (the only persons with *i* quotable from RV. and AV.); — roots in *ṛ* appear also to follow

the later rule: as *cakṛṣé, papṛṣe, vavṛṣé, vavṛmáhe*, but *dadhriṣe* and *jabhriṣe*, and in 3d pl. mid. both *cakriré* and *dadhrire*; — √*bhū* has both *babhū́tha* (usually) and *babhū́vitha*, but only *babhūvimá* (AV.). But there are found against the later rules, *suṣuma, cicyuṣe, juhuré*, and *juhūré*, without *i*: the instances are too few to found a rule upon.

799. The ending *riré* of 3d pl. mid. is found in RV. in six forms: namely, *cikitrire, jagṛbhriré, dadrire, bubhujriré, vividrire, sasṛjrire;* to which SV. adds *duduhrire*.

800. Examples of inflection. By way of illustration of the rules given above, may be given in full the perfect indicative inflection of the following verbs:

a. As example of the normal inflection of a root with final consonant, we take the root बुध् *budh*, 'know': its strong form of perfect-stem is बुबोध् *bubódh;* weak form, बुबुध् *bubudh*.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	बुबोध *bubódha*	बुबुधिव *bubudhivá*	बुबुधिम *bubudhimá*	बुबुधे *bubudhé*	बुबुधिवहे *bubudhiváhe*	बुबुधिमहे *bubudhimáhe*
2	बुबोधिथ *bubódhitha*	बुबुधथुस् *bubudháthus*	बुबुध *bubudhá*	बुबुधिषे *bubudhiṣé*	बुबुधाथे *bubudhā́the*	बुबुधिध्वे *bubudhidhvé*
3	बुबोध *bubódha*	बुबुधतुस् *bubudhátus*	बुबुधुस् *bubudhús*	बुबुधे *bubudhé*	बुबुधाते *bubudhā́te*	बुबुधिरे *bubudhiré*

The asserted variety of possible accent in 2d sing. act. (above, **793 d**) needs to be noted both in this and in the remaining paradigms.

b. As example of the normal inflection of a root with final *i* or *u*-vowel, we may take the root नी *nī*, 'lead': its forms of stem are निनय् *ninày* or निनाय् *ninā́y*, and निनी *ninī*.

	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	निनय, निनाय *nináya, ninā́ya*	निन्यिव *ninyivá*	निन्यिम *ninyimá*	निन्ये *ninyé*	निन्यिवहे *ninyiváhe*	निन्यिमहे *ninyimáhe*
2	निनेथ, निनयिथ *ninétha, nináyitha*	निन्यथुस् *ninyáthus*	निन्य *ninyá*	निन्यिषे *ninyiṣé*	निन्याथे *ninyā́the*	निन्यिध्वे *ninyidhvé*
3	निनाय *ninā́ya*	निन्यतुस् *ninyátus*	निन्युस् *ninyús*	निन्ये *ninyé*	निन्याते *ninyā́te*	निन्यिरे *ninyiré*

The root *krī* would make in weak forms *cikriyivá, cikriyátus, cikriyús*, etc.; √*bhū* makes *babhū́va, babhū́tha* (V.) or *babhū́vitha*,

babhūvivá, babhūvús; babhūvé, babhūviré, etc.; other roots in *ū* or *u* change this to *uv* before the initial vowel of an ending.

c. As example of the inflection of a root ending in आ *ā*, we may take दा *dā*, 'give': its forms of stem are ददा *dadā́* and दद् *dad* (or ददि *dadi*): see above, **794 f.**

1	ददौ *dadāú*	ददिव *dadivá*	ददिम *dadimá*	ददे *dadé*	ददिवहे *dadiváhe*	ददिमहे *dadimáhe*
2	ददाथ, ददिथ *dadā́tha, dadithá*	ददथुस् *dadáthus*	दद *dadá*	ददिषे *dadiṣé*	ददाथे *dadā́the*	ददिध्वे *dadidhvé*
3	ददौ *dadāú*	ददतुस् *dadátus*	ददुस् *dadús*	ददे *dadé*	ददाते *dadā́te*	ददिरे *dadiré*

The RV. has once *paprā́* for *paprāú* (and *jahā́* for *jahāú?*).

d. As example of a root with medial अ *a* showing fusion of root and reduplication, resulting in medial ए *e*, in the weak forms (**794 e**), we may take तन् *tan*, 'stretch': its forms of stem are ततन् *tatán* or ततान् *tatā́n*, and तेन् *ten*.

1	ततन, ततान *tatána, tatā́na*	तेनिव *tenivá*	तेनिम *tenimá*	तेने *tené*	तेनिवहे *teniváhe*	तेनिमहे *tenimáhe*
2	ततन्थ, तेनिथ *tatántha, tenithá*	तेनथुस् *tenáthus*	तेन *tená*	तेनिषे *teniṣé*	तेनाथे *tenā́the*	तेनिध्वे *tenidhvé*
3	ततान *tatā́na*	तेनतुस् *tenátus*	तेनुस् *tenús*	तेने *tené*	तेनाते *tenā́te*	तेनिरे *teniré*

The root *jan*, with the others which expel medial *a* in weak forms (**794 d**), makes *jajántha* or *jajñithá, jajñivá, jajñús; jajñé, jajñimáhe, jajñiré;* and so on.

e. As example of a root with initial व *va* contracted to उ *u* in the reduplication, and contracted with the reduplication to ऊ *ū* in weak forms (**784**), we may take वच् *vac*, 'speak': its forms of stem are उवच् *uvác* or उवाच् *uvā́c*, and ऊच् *ūc*.

1	उवच, उवाच *uváca, uvā́ca*	ऊचिव *ūcivá*	ऊचिम *ūcimá*	ऊचे *ūcé*	ऊचिवहे *ūciváhe*	ऊचिमहे *ūcimáhe*
2	उवक्थ, उवचिथ *uváktha, uvácitha*	ऊचथुस् *ūcáthus*	ऊच *ūcá*	ऊचिषे *ūciṣé*	ऊचाथे *ūcā́the*	ऊचिध्वे *ūcidhvé*

3 उवाच	ऊचतुस्	ऊचुस्	ऊचे	ऊचाते	ऊचिरे
uvā́ca	*ūcátus*	*ūcús*	*ūcé*	*ūcā́te*	*ūciré*

In like manner, √*yaj* forms *iyája* or *iyā́ja*, *iyáṣṭha* or *iyájitha*; *ījé*, *ījiṣé*, and so on; √*uc* has *uvóca* and *uvócitha* in the strong forms, and all the rest like *vac*.

f. Of the four roots in ऋ *ṛ* mentioned at **797b**, the first persons are made as follows:

1 चकर्, चकार्	चकृव	चकृम	चक्रे	चकृवहे	चकृमहे
cakára, *cakā́ra*	*cakṛvá*	*cakṛmá*	*cakré*	*cakṛváhe*	*cakṛmáhe*

The 2d sing. act. is *cakártha*; the 3d pl. mid. is *cakriré*.

Of the roots in ऋ *ṛ* in general, the first persons are made as follows:

1 दधर्, दधार्	दध्रिव	दध्रिम	दध्रे	दध्रिवहे	दध्रिमहे
dadhára, *dadhā́ra*	*dadhrivá*	*dadhrimá*	*dadhré*	*dadhriváhe*	*dadhrimáhe*

801. A few miscellaneous irregularities call still for notice:

a. The root *ah*, 'speak', occurs only in the perfect indicative, and only in the 3d persons of all numbers and in the 2d sing. and du., in active (and in 2d sing. the *h* is irregularly changed to *t* before the ending): thus, *āttha*, *ā́ha*; *āhathus*, *āhatus*; *āhús* (in V., only *ā́ha* and *āhús* are met with).

b. From √*vā* 'weave', the 3d pl. act. *ūvus* occurs in RV., and no other perfect form appears to have been met with in use. It is allowed by the grammarians to be inflected regularly as *vā*; and also as *vay* (the present-stem is *váya*: **761d**, 2), with contraction of *va* to *u* in weak forms; and further, in the weak forms, as simple *u*.

c. The root *vyā*, 'hide', has in RV. the perfect-forms *vivyathus* and *vivyé*, and no others appear to have been met with in use; the grammarians require the strong forms to be made from *vyay*, and the weak from *vī*.

d. The root *i*, 'go', forms in RV. and AV. the 2d sing. act. *iyátha* beside the regular *iyétha*.

e. The AV. has once *vāvṛdhéte* (for *-dhā́te*), and once *jaharus* (for *jahrus*): both are perhaps false readings.

f. Persons of the perfect from the *ir*-forms of roots in changeable *ṛ* (**242**) are *titirus* and *tistire* (both RV.); and they have corresponding participles.

g. The bastard root *ūrṇu* (**712**) is said by the grammarians to make the perfect-stem *ūrṇunu*.

h. The roots *majj* and *naç* are said to insert a nasal in the 2d sing.

active, when the ending is simple *tha:* thus, *mamanktha*, *nanaṅṣtha* (also *mamajjitha* and *neçitha*).

i. The anomalous *ajagrabhāiṣaṁ* (AB. vi. 35) seems a formation on the perfect-stem (but perhaps for *ajigrabhiṣan*, desid.?).

Perfect Participle.

802. The ending of the active participle is वांस् *vā́ṅs* (that is to say, in the strong forms: it is contracted to उष् *úṣ* in the weakest, and replaced by वत् *vát* in the middle forms: see above, **458** ff.). It is added to the weak form of the perfect stem — as shown, for example, in the dual and plural of the active inflection of the given verb; and, mechanically, the weakest participle-stem is identical with the 3d pl. active. Thus, बुबुध्वांस् *bubudhvā́ṅs*, निनीवांस् *ninīvā́ṅs*, चकृवांस् *cakṛvā́ṅs*.

803. If the weak form of the perfect stem is monosyllabic, the ending takes the union-vowel इ *i* (which, however, disappears in the weakest cases): thus, तेनिवांस् *tenivā́ṅs*, ऊचिवांस् *ūcivā́ṅs*, जज्ञिवांस् *jajñivā́ṅs*, आदिवांस् *ādivā́ṅs* (from √अद् *ad:* **783** a), and so on; ददिवांस् *dadivā́ṅs* and its like, from roots in आ *ā*, is to be reckoned in the one class or the other according as we view its इ *i* as weakened root-vowel or as union-vowel (**794** f).

But participles of which the perfect-stem is monosyllabic by absence of the reduplication do not take the union-vowel: thus, *vidvā́ṅs*, and, in V., *dāçvā́ṅs*, *mīḍhvā́ṅs*, *sāhvā́ṅs;* and RV. has also *dadvā́ṅs* (AV. *dadivā́ṅs* and once *dadāvā́ṅs*) from √*dā* (or *dad:* **672**) and AV. has *viçivā́ṅs* and *varjivā́ṅs* (in negative fem. *ávarjuṣī*).

804. Other Vedic irregularities calling for notice are few. The long vowel of the reduplication (**786**) appears in the participle as in the indicative: thus, *vāvṛdhvā́ṅs*, *sāsahvā́ṅs*, *jūjuvā́ṅs*. RV. and AV. have *sasavā́ṅs* from √*san* or *sā*. RV. makes the participial forms of √*tṛ* or *tar* from different modifications of the root: thus, *titirvā́ṅs*, but *tatarúṣas*. Respecting the occasional exchanges of strong and weak stem in inflection, see above, **462** c.

805. From roots *gam* and *han* the Veda makes the strong stems *jaganvā́ṅs* (as to the *n*, see **212**) and *jaghanvā́ṅs;* the later language allows either these or the more regular *jagmivā́ṅs* and *jaghnivā́ṅs* (the weakest stem-forms being everywhere *jagmúṣ* and *jaghnúṣ*).

806. From three roots, *vid* 'find', *viç*, and *dṛç*, the later language allows strong participle-stems to be made with the union-vowel, as well as in the regular manner without it: thus, *viviçivāṅs* or *viviçvāṅs*. PB. has once *cichidivāṅs*.

807. The ending of the middle participle is *āná*. It is added to the weak form of perfect-stem, as this appears in the middle inflection: thus, बुबुधान *bubudhāná*, निन्यान *ninyāná*, ददान *dadāná*, तेनान *tenāná*, जज्ञान *jajñāná*, ऊचान *ūcāná*.

In the Veda, the long reduplicating vowel is shown by many middle participles: thus, *vāvṛdhāná*, *vāvasāṇá*, *dādṛhāná*, *çūçuvāná*, etc. RV. has *çaçayāná* from √*çī* (with irregular *guṇa*, as in the present-system: **629**); *tiṣtirāṇá* from √*stṛ*; and once, with *māna*, *sasṛmāṇá* from √*sṛ*.

Modes of the Perfect.

808. Modes of the perfect belong only to the Vedic language, and are even rarely found outside of the Rig-Veda.

To draw the line surely and distinctly between these and the mode-forms from other reduplicated tense-stems — the present-stem of class II., the reduplicated aorist, and the intensive — is not possible, since no criterion of form exists which does not in some cases fail, and since the general equivalence of modal forms from all stems (**582**), and the common use of the perfect as a present in the Veda (**823**), deprive us of a criterion of meaning. There can be no reasonable doubt, however, that a considerable body of forms are to be reckoned here: optatives like *ānaçyām* and *babhūyās* and *babhūyát*, imperatives like *babhūtu*, subjunctives like *jabhárat*, show such distinctive characteristics of the perfect formation that by their analogy other similar words are confidently classed as belonging to the perfect.

809. The normal method of making such forms would appear to be as follows: from a reduplicated perfect-stem, as (for example) *mumuc*, an imperative would be made by simply appending, as usual, the imperative endings; the derived subjunctive mode-stem would be *mumóca* (accented after the analogy of the strong forms of the perfect indicative), and would take either primary or secondary endings; and the optative mode-stems would be *mumucyá* in the active, and *mumucī* (accent on personal endings) in the middle.

And the great majority of the forms in question (about three quarters) are made in these ways. Thus:

810. Examples of the regular subjunctive formation are:

a. with secondary endings, active: 2d sing., *papráthas*, *māmáhas*, *pipráyas*, *bubodhas*; 3d sing., *jabhárat*, *sāsáhat*, *paspárçat*, *pipráyat*, *cikétat*;

1st pl., *tatánāma, çūçávāma;* 3d pl., *tatánan, paprátham* (other persons do not occur). This is the largest class of cases.

b. with primary endings, active: here seem to belong only *dadhárshati* and *vavártati:* compare the formation with different accent below, **811 a.**

c. of middle forms occur only the 3d sing. *tatápate, çaçámate, yuyójate, jujóṣate* (SV.; RV. has *jújoṣate*); and the 3d pl. *tatánanta* (and perhaps two or three others: below, **811 b**, end).

811. But not a few subjunctives of other formation occur; thus:

a. with strengthened root-syllable, as above, but with accent on the reduplication (as in the majority of present-forms of the reduplicating class: above, **645**). Here the forms with primary endings, active, preponderate, and are not very rare: for example, *jújoṣasi, jújoṣati, jújoṣathas, jújoṣatha* (other persons do not occur). With secondary endings, *jújoṣas, jújoṣat,* and *jújoṣan* are the forms that belong most distinctly here (since *dádāças* and *sú̆ṣūdas* etc. are perhaps rather aorists). And there is no middle form but *jújoṣate* (RV.: see above, **810 c**).

b. with unstrengthened root-syllable occur a small body of forms, which are apparently also accented on the reduplication (accented examples are found only in 3d pl. mid.): thus, active, for example, *mumucas; vavṛtat, vividat, çūçuvat;* the only middle forms are *dadhṛṣate, vāvṛdhate,* 3d sing.; and *cákramanta, dádhṛṣanta, rúrucanta* (with *dadabhanta, paprathanta, māmahanta, juhuranta,* which might also belong elsewhere: **810 c**).

c. accented on the ending are *vāvṛdhánta* and *cakṛpánta* (which are rather to be called augmentless pluperfects).

As to forms with double mode-sign, or transfers to an *a*-conjugation, see below, **815.**

812. Examples of the regular optative formation are:

a. in active: 1st sing., *ānaçyām, jagamyām, paprcyām, riricyām;* 2d sing., *vavṛtyās, viviçyās, çuçrūyā́s, babhūyās;* 3d sing., *jagamyāt, vavṛtyāt, tutujyā́t, babhūyā́t;* 2d du., *jagamyātam, çuçrūyā́tam;* 1st pl., *sāsahyāma, vavṛtyāma, çūçuyāma;* 3d pl., *tatanyus, vavṛtyus.* The forms are quite numerous.

b. in middle, the forms are few: namely, 1st sing., *vavṛtīya;* 2d sing., *vāvṛdhīthā́s, cakṣamīthās;* 3d sing., *jagrasīta, vavṛtīta, māmṛjīta, çuçucīta;* 1st pl., *vavṛtīmahi.* And *sāsahīṣṭhās* and *ririṣīṣṭa* appear to furnish examples of precative optative forms.

There is no irregular mode of formation of perfect optatives. Individual irregularities are shown by certain forms: thus, *cakriyās, papīyāt, çuçrūyā́s* and *çuçrūyā́tam,* with treatment of the final as before the passive-sign *yá* (**770**); *anajyāt* with short initial; *jakṣīyāt* is anomalous; *ririṣes* is the only form that shows a union-vowel *a.*

813. Of regular imperative forms, only a very small number are to be quoted: namely, active, *cikiddhi, mumugdhí, çuçugdhí,* and *piprīhí; mumoktu* and *babhūtu; mumuktam* and *vavṛktam; jujuṣṭana* and *vavṛttana* (unless we

are to add *mamaddhí*, *mamattu*, *mamáttana*); — middle, *vavṛtsva* and *vavṛddhvam*.

814. As irregular imperatives may be reckoned several which show a union-vowel *a*, or have been transferred to an *a*-conjugation. Such are, in the active, *mumócatam* and *jujoṣatam* (2d du.), and *mumócata* (2d pl.); in the middle, *pipráyasva* (only one found with accent), and *māmahasva*, *vāvṛdhasva*, *vāvṛṣasva* (2d sing.), and *māmahantām* (3d pl.: probably to be accented *-ásva* and *-ántām*).

815. Such imperatives as these, taken in connection with some of the subjunctives given above (and a few of the "pluperfect" forms: below, **820**), suggest as plausible the assumption of a double present-stem, with reduplication and added *a* (with which the desiderative stems would be comparable: below, chap. XIV.): for example, *jujoṣa* from √*juṣ*, from which would come *jújoṣasi* etc. and *jújoṣate* (**811 a**) as indicative, *jújoṣas* etc. as subjunctively used augmentless imperfect, and *jujoṣatam* as imperative. Most of the forms given above as subjunctives with primary ending lack a marked and constant subjunctive character, and would pass fairly well as indicatives. And it appears tolerably certain that from one root at least, *vṛdh*, such a double stem is to be recognized; from *vāvṛdha* come readily *vāvṛdhate*, *vāvṛdhánta*, and from it alone can come regularly *vāvṛdhasva*, *vāvṛdhéte* (above, **801 e**), and *vāvṛdhāti* (once, RV.) — and, yet more, the participle *vavṛdhánt* (once, RV.: an isolated case): yet even here we have also *vāvṛdhīthā́s*, not *vāvṛdhéthās*. To assume double present-stems, however, in all the cases would be highly implausible; it is better to recognize the formation as one begun, but not carried out.

Only one other subjunctive with double mode-sign — namely, *papṛcāsi* — is found to set beside *vāvṛdhāti*.

816. Forms of different model are not very seldom made from the same root: for example, from √*muc*, the subjunctives *mumócas*, *múmocati*, and *mumucas*; from √*dhṛṣ*, *dadhárṣati* and *dadhṛṣate*; from √*prī*, the imperatives *piprīhí* and *pipráyasva*.

Pluperfect.

817. Of an augment-preterit from the perfect-stem, to which the name of pluperfect is given on the ground of its formation (though not of its meaning), the Veda presents a few examples; and one or two forms of the later language (mentioned above, **788**, end) have also been referred to it.

There is something of the same difficulty in distinguishing the pluperfect as the perfect-modes from kindred reduplicated formations. Between it and the aorist, however, a difference of meaning helps to make a separation.

818. The normal pluperfect should show a strong stem in the singular active, and a weak one elsewhere — thus, *mumoc* and *mumuc* — with augment prefixed and secondary endings added (*us* in 3d pl. act., *ata* in 3d pl. mid.).

Of forms made according to this model, we have, in the active: 1st sing., *ajagrabham* and *acacakṣam* (which, by its form, might be aorist: **860**); 2d sing. *ájagan;* 3d sing., *ajagan* and *aciket;* 2d du., *amumuktam;* 2d pl. *ajaganta*, and *ajagantana* and *ajabhartana* (a strong form, as so often in this person: **556**); 3d pl. (perhaps), *amamandus* and *amamadus.* To these may be added the augmentless *cikétam* and *cakaram.* In the middle, the 3d pl. *acakriran* and *ajagmiran* (with *iran* instead of *ata*), and the augmentless 2d sing. *jugūrthās* and *suṣupthās*, are the most regular forms to be found.

819. Several forms from roots ending in consonants save the endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. by inserting an *ī* (**555** b): thus, *ábubhojīs, aviveçīs; arirecīt, ájagrabhīt* (*avāvarīt* and *avāvaçītām* are rather intensives); and the augmentless *jíhiṅsīs* (accent?) and *dadharṣīt* belong with them.

820. A few forms show a stem ending in *a:* they are, in the active: 3d sing., *asasvajat, acakrat;* in the middle: 3d sing., *ápiprata;* 2d du., *ápaspṛdhethām;* 3d pl., *atitviṣanta* (which by its form might be aorist), *ádadṛhanta;* and *cakradat, cakṛpánta, vāvṛdhánta, juhuranta*, would perhaps be best classified here as augmentless forms (compare **811**, above).

Uses of the Perfect.

821. In the later language, the perfect is simply a preterit or past tense, equivalent to the imperfect, and interchangeable with it. Except as coming from a few often used verbs (especially *āha* and *uvāca*), it is much more rarely employed than the imperfect.

822. In the Brāhmaṇa language, very nearly the same thing is true. In most Brāhmaṇas, the imperfect is the usual tense of narration, and the perfect only occasional; in the Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa, the perfect is much more widely used.

823. In the Veda, the case is very different. The perfect is used as past tense in narration, but only rarely; sometimes also it has a true "perfect" sense, or signifies a completed past; but oftenest it has a value not distinguishable in point of time from the present. It is thus the equivalent of imperfect, aorist, and present; and it occurs coördinated with them all.

Examples are: of perfect with present, *ná çrāmyanti ná ví muñcanty éte váyo ná paptuḥ* (RV.), 'they weary not nor stop, they fly like birds'; *sé 'd u rā́jā kṣayati carṣaṇīnā́m arā́n ná nemíḥ pári tā́ babhūva* (RV.), 'he in truth rules king of men; he embraces them all, as the wheel the spokes'; — of perfect with aorist, *úpo ruruce yuvatír ná yóṣā . . . ábhūd agníḥ samídhe mā́nuṣāṇām ákar jyótir bā́dhamānā támāṅsi* (RV.), 'she is come beaming like a young maiden; Agni has appeared for the kindling of mortals; she hath made light, driving away the darkness'; — of perfect with imperfect, *áhann áhim ánv apás tatarda* (RV.), 'he slew the dragon, and penetrated to the waters'. This last combination is of constant occurrence in the later language.

CHAPTER XI.

THE AORIST SYSTEMS.

824. Under the name of aorist are included (as was pointed out above, **532**) three quite distinct formations, each of which has its sub-varieties: namely,

I. A simple-aorist (equivalent to the Greek "second aorist"), analogous in all respects as to form and inflection with the imperfect. It has two varieties: 1. the root-aorist, with a tense-stem identical with the root (corresponding to an imperfect of the root-class, I.); 2. the *a*-aorist, with a tense-stem ending in अ *á*, or with union-vowel अ *a* before the endings (corresponding to an imperfect of the *á*-class, VII.).

II. 3. A reduplicated aorist, perhaps in origin identical with an imperfect of the reduplicating class (II.), but having come to be separated from it by marked peculiarities of form. It usually has a union-vowel अ *a* before the endings, or is inflected like an imperfect of one of the *a*-classes; but a few forms occur in the Veda without such vowel.

III. A sibilant-aorist (corresponding to the Greek "first aorist"), having for its tense-sign a स् *s* added to the root, either directly or with a preceding auxiliary इ *i;* its endings are usually added immediately to the tense-sign, but in a small number of roots with a union-vowel अ *a;* a very few roots also are increased by स् *s* for its formation; and according to these differences it falls into four varieties: namely, A. without union-vowel अ *a* before endings: 4. *s*-aorist, with स् *s* alone added to the root; 5. *iṣ*-aorist, the same with interposed इ *i;* 6. *siṣ*-aorist, the same as the preceding with स् *s* added at the end of the root; B. with union-vowel अ *a*, 7. *sa*-aorist.

825. All these varieties are bound together and made into a single complex system by certain correspondences of form and meaning. Thus, in regard to form, they are all alike, in the indicative, augment-preterits to which there does not exist any corresponding present; in regard to meaning, although in the later or classical language they are simply preterits, exchangeable with imperfects and perfects, they all alike have in the older language the general value of a completed past or "perfect", translatable by 'have done' and the like.

826. The aorist-system is a formation of very infrequent occurrence in the classical Sanskrit (its forms are found, for example, only twenty-one times in the Nala, eight in the Hitopadeça, seven in Manu, six each in the Bhagavad-Gītā and Çakuntalā), and it possesses no participle, nor any modes (excepting in the prohibitive use of its augmentless forms: see **580**; and the so-called precative: see **921** ff.); in the older language, on the other hand, it is quite common, and has the whole variety of modes belonging to the present, and sometimes participles. Its description, accordingly, must be given mainly as that of a part of the older language, with due notice of its restriction in later use.

827. In the RV., nearly half the roots occurring show aorist forms, of one or another class; in the AV., rather less than one third; and in the other texts of the older language comparatively few aorists occur which are not found in these two.

More than fifty roots, in RV. and AV. together, make aorist forms of more than one class (not taking into account the reduplicated or "causative" aorist); but no law appears to underlie this variety; of any relation such as is taught by the grammarians, between active of one class and middle of another as correlative, there is no trace discoverable.

Examples are: of classes 1 and 4, *adhām* and *dhāsus* from √*dhā*, *ayuji* and *ayukṣata* from √*yuj*; — of 1 and 5, *agrabham* and *agrabhīṣma* from √*grabh*, *mṛṣṭhās* and *marṣiṣṭhās* from √*mṛṣ*; — of 1 and 2, *ārta* and *ārat* from √*ṛ*; — of 2 and 4, *avidam* and *avitsi* from √*vid* 'find', *anijam* and *anāikṣīt* from √*nij*; — of 2 and 5, *sanéma* and *asāniṣam* from √*san*; — of 2 and 7, *aruham* and *arukṣat* from √*ruh*; — of 4 and 5, *amatsus* and *amādiṣus* from √*mad*; — of 4 and 6, *hāsmahi* and *hāsiṣus* from √*hā*; — of 1 and 2 and 4, *atnata* and *atanat* and *atān* from √*tan*; — of 1 and 4 and 5, *abudhran* and *abhutsi* and *bodhiṣat* from √*budh*, *astar* and *stṛṣīya* and *astarīs* from √*stṛ*. Often the second, or second and third, class is represented by only an isolated form or two.

I. Simple Aorist.

828. This is, of the three principal divisions of aorist, the one least removed from the analogy of forms already explained; it is like an imperfect, of the root-class or of the *á*-class, without a corresponding present indicative, but with (more or less fragmentarily) all the other parts which go to make up a complete present-system.

1. Root-aorist.

829. This formation is in the later language limited to a few roots in आ *ā* and the root भू *bhū*, and is allowed to be made in the active only, the middle using instead the *s*-aorist (4), or the *iṣ*-aorist (5).

The roots in आ *ā* take उस् *us* as 3d pl. ending, and, as usual, lose their आ *ā* before it; भू *bhū* (as in the perfect: **793 a**) retains its vowel unchanged throughout, inserting व् *v* after it before the endings अम् *am* and अन् *an* of 1st sing. and 3d pl. Thus:

	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अदाम् *ádām*	अदाव *ádāva*	अदाम *ádāma*	अभूवम् *ábhūvam*	अभूव *ábhūva*	अभूम *ábhūma*
2	अदास् *ádās*	अदातम् *ádātam*	अदात *ádāta*	अभूस् *ábhūs*	अभूतम् *ábhūtam*	अभूत *ábhūta*
3	अदात् *ádāt*	अदाताम् *ádātām*	अदुस् *ádus*	अभूत् *ábhūt*	अभूताम् *ábhūtām*	अभूवन् *ábhūvan*

For the classical Sanskrit, this is the whole story.

830. In the Veda, these same roots are decidedly the most frequent and conspicuous representatives of the formation: especially the roots *gā*, *dā*, *dhā*, *pā* 'drink', *sthā*, *bhū*; while sporadic forms are made from *jñā*, *prā*, *sā*, *hā*. As to their middle forms, see below, **834 a**.

Instead of *abhūvam*, RV. has twice *abhuvam*.

831. But aorists of the same class are also made from a number of roots in *ṛ*, and a few in *i* and *u* (short or long) — with, as required by the analogy of the tense with an imperfect of the root-class, *guṇa*-strengthening in the three persons of the singular.

Thus (in the active), from √*çru*, *açravam* and *açrot;* from √*çri*, *açres* and *açret;* from √*kṛ* 'make', *akaram* and *akar* (for *akars* and *akar-t*); from

vṛ 'enclose', *āvar* (**585**); and so *adar*, *astar*, *aspar*. Dual and plural forms are much less frequent than singular; but for the most part they also show an irregular strengthening of the root-vowel: thus (including augmentless forms); *akarma* and *akarta*, *vartam*, *spartam*, *ahema* and *ahetana*, *bhema*, *homa*, *açravan;* regular are only *avran*, *akran*, *ahyan*, *açriyan*, and *anītām*.

832. Further, from a few roots with medial (or initial) vowel capable of *guṇa*-strengthening, and having in general that strengthening only in the singular.

Thus, *abhet* (2d and 3d sing.) from √*bhid; amok* (3d sing.) from √*muc; avart* from √*vṛt; vark* from √*vṛj* (AV. has once *avṛk*); *adarçam* from √*dṛç;* and *adṛçan*, *avṛjan*, *açvitan*. But *chedma*, with *guṇa*, from √*chid*.

833. Again, from a larger number of roots with *a* as radical vowel:

Of these, *gam* (with *n* for *m* when final or followed by *m:* **143**, **212**) is of decidedly most frequent occurrence, and shows the greatest variety of forms: thus, *agamam*, *agan* (2d and 3d sing.), *aganma*, *aganta* (strong form), *agman*. The other cases are *akran* from √*kram; atan* from √*tan; askan* from √*skand; ásrat* from √*srańs* (? VS.); *dhak* und *daghma* from √*dagh; ānaṭ* (**585**) and *anaṣṭām* from √*naç* (?); *akṣan* (for *agh-san*, like *agman*) from √*ghas;* and the 3d pll. in *us*, *ákramus*, *kramus*, *ayamus*, *yamus*, *abādhus*, *dabhús*, *nṛtus* (impf.?): *mandús* and *takṣus* are perhaps rather to be reckoned as perfect forms without reduplication (**790** b).

834. So far only active forms have been considered. In the middle, a considerable part of the forms are such as are held by the grammarians (**881**) to belong to the *s*-aorist, with omission of the *s:* they doubtless belong, however, mostly or altogether, here. Thus:

a. From roots ending in vowels, we have *adhithās* and *adhita; adita* and *adimahi* (and *adīmahi* from √*dā* 'cut'); *asthithās* and *ásthita* and *ásthiran*, forms of *ā*-roots (*arādhvam* is doubtless for *arāsdhvam*); — of *ṛ*-roots, *akri*, *akṛthās*, *akṛta*, *akrātām*, *akrata; avri*, *avṛthās*, *avṛta; ārta* (with augmentless *arta*), *ārata; mṛthās*, *amṛta; dhṛthās; dṛthās; astṛta; aspṛta; gūrta;* — of *i* and *u* roots, the only examples are *ahvi* (? AV., once) and *acidhvam*. The absence of any analogies whatever for the omission of a *s* in such forms, and the occurrence of *avri* and *akri* and *akrata*, show that their reference to the *s*-aorist is without sufficient reason.

b. As regards roots ending in consonants, the case is more questionable, since loss of *s* after a final consonant before *thās* and *ta* (and, of course, *dhvam*) would be in many cases required by euphonic rule (**233**). We find, however, such unmistakable middle inflection of the root-aorist as *ayuji*, *ayukthās*, *ayukta*, *ayujmahi*, *ayugdhvam*, *áyujran; āṣṭa* and *āçata; apadi* (1st sing.) and *apadmahi* and *apadran; amanmahi; aganmahi* and *agmata; atnata; ajani* (1st sing.) and *ajñata* (3d pl.); from √*gam* are made *agathās* and *agata*, and from √*man*, *amata*, with treatment of the final like that of *han* in present inflection (**637**). The ending *ran* is especially frequent in

3d pl., being taken by a number of verbs which have no other person of this aorist: thus, *agṛbhran*, *ásṛgran*, *adṛçran*, *abudhran*, *ávṛtran*, *ajuṣran*, *akṛpran*, *aspṛdhran*, *avasran*, *áviçran;* and *ram* is found beside *ran* in *ádṛçram*, *ábudhram*, *ásṛgram*.

c. From roots of which the final would combine with *s* to *kṣ*, it seems more probable that aorist-forms showing *k* (instead of *ṣ*) before the ending belong to the root-aorist: such are *amukthās* (and *amugdhvam*), *apṛkthās* and *apṛkta*, *abhakta*, *avṛkta*, *asakthās* and *asakta*, *rikthās*, *vikthās* and *vikta;* *áspaṣṭa*, *asṛṣṭa*, *mṛṣṭhās* would be the same in either case.

d. There remain, as cases of doubtful belonging: *amatta*, *arabdha*, *asṛpta*, *atapthās*, *chitthās*, *patthās*, and *nutthās*.

Modes of the Root-aorist.

835. In subjunctive use, forms identical with the augmentless indicative of this aorist are much more frequent than the more proper subjunctives. Those to which no corresponding form with augment occurs have been given above; the others it is unnecessary to report in detail.

836. Of true subjunctives, the forms with primary endings are quite few. In the active, *gāni* is the only example of 1st sing. (as to *bhuvāni*, see below); of 3d sing. occur *sthāti*, and *dā́ti* and *dhā́ti*, which are almost indicative in use; of dual persons, *sthā́thas*, *darçathas*, *çravathas* and *çrávatas*. In the middle, 3d sing. *idhaté* (? anomalous accent), 2d du. *dhéthe* and *dhāithe*, and 1st pl. *dhāmahe*.

Forms with secondary endings are, in the active, *dárçam; tárdas*, *párcas*, *yámas; karat*, *garat*, *daghat*, *yamat*, *yodhat*, *çrávat*, *spárat*, *sághat; dárçan*, *garan*, *yaman*. No middle forms are classifiable with confidence here.

The series *bhuvam*, *bhúvas*, *bhúvat*, *bhúvan*, and *bhuvāni* (compare *abhuvam:* **830**, end), and the isolated *çrúvat*, are of doubtful belongings; with a different accent, they would seem to be of the next class; here, a *guṇa*-strengthening would be more regular (but note the absence of *guṇa* in the aorist indicative and the perfect of √*bhū*).

837. As regards the optative, we have to distinguish between pure optatives and optatives with *s* inserted before the endings, or precatives.

Pure optative forms, both active and middle, are made from a number of roots. From roots in *ā* occur in the active, with change of *ā* to *e* before the *y*, *deyām*, *dheyām* and *dheyus*, *stheyāma*, and *jñeyās* (which might also be precative); in the middle, only *sīmahi* and *dhīmahi* (which might be augmentless preterit, as *adhīmahi* also occurs once, and *adhītām* once: but √*dhā* shows nowhere else conversion of its *ā* to long *ī*). From *bhū*, *bhūyā́s* and *bhūyāt* (possible precatives), and *bhūyāma*. From roots in *ṛ*, the middle forms *arīta*, *murīya*, *vurīta*. From roots ending in consonants, *açyā́m* and *açyā́ma* and *açyus* act., and *açīya* and *açīmáhi* mid. (this optative is especially common in the older texts); *vṛjyām; mṛdhyās*, *sahyās*, *gamyās* and *gamyāt* (possible precatives), and *sāhyāma; indhīya*, *gmīya*, *rucīya*, *vasīya;* *idhīmahi*, *naçīmahi*, *nasīmahi*, *pṛcīmahi*, *mudīmahi*, *yamīmahi*. And *ṛdhyām* etc. and *ṛdhīmáhi* belong perhaps here, instead of to a present-system (cl. I.).

838. Precative optative forms of this aorist active are in the later language allowed to be made from every verb (**922**). In RV., however, they do not occur from a single root which does not show also other aorist forms of the same class. They are, indeed, of very limited use: thus, in 3d sing. act. (ending in *-yās* for *-yāst*), we find *avyās*, *açyās*, *daghyās*, *bhūyā́s*, *yamyās*, *yūyās*, *vṛjyās*, *çrūyās*, *sahyās* (RV. has no 3d sing. in *-yāt*); and besides these and the 2d sing. in *yās* (given in the preceding paragraph), which might be of either formation, occur in the active only *bhūyāsam* (beside *bhūyāma*) and *kriyāsma*, each once. In the middle, RV. furnishes the three forms *grabhīṣṭa*, *padīṣṭá*, *mucīṣṭa;* nothing additional is found in any other text. From the AV. on, the active precative forms are more frequent than the pure optative (which are not wholly unknown, however); they are nowhere common, excepting as made from √*bhū;* and from no other root is anything like a complete series of persons quotable (only *bhūyāsva* and *bhūyāstām* being wanting; and these persons having no representative from any root). Including the cases already given, they have been noticed as made from about twenty roots, as follows: *çrūyāsam* etc., *kriyāsam* etc., *priyāsam*, *bhriyāsam*, *saghyāsam*, *bhrājyāsam*, *udyāsam* etc. (√*vad*), *ṛdhyāsam* etc., *rādhyāsam* etc., *badhyāsam* etc., *tṛpyāsma*, *jīvyā́sam*, *puṣyāsam* etc. AV. has once *bhūyāstha*, with primary ending, but it is doubtless a false reading (TB. has *-sta* in the corresponding passage). TS. has *dīdyāsam*, from the quasi-root *dīdī* (**676**).

839. Imperative forms of the root-aorist are not rare in the early language. In the middle, indeed, almost only the 2d sing. occurs: it is accented either regularly, on the ending, as *kṛṣvá*, *dhiṣvá*, *yukṣvá*, or on the root, as *mátsva*, *yákṣva*, *váṅsva*, *rā́sva*, *sákṣva;* *māsva* is not found with accent; the 2d pl. is represented by *kṛdhvam*, *voḍhvam*. In the active, all the persons (2d and 3d) are found in use; examples are: 2d sing., *kṛdhí*, *çrudhí*, *gadhi*, *yandhí*, *gahi*, *māhi*, *mogdhi;* 3d sing., *dātu*, *aṣṭu*, *sótu;* 2d du., *dātam*, *jitam*, *çrutam*, *bhūtám*, *spṛtám*, *gatam*, *riktám;* 3d du., only *gantām*, *voḍhā́m;* 2d pl., *gātá*, *bhūtá*, *çruta*, *kṛta*, *gata*, *dhātana;* 3d pl., only *dhāntu*, *çruvantu.* These are the most regular forms; but irregularities both as to accent and strengthening are not infrequent. Thus, strong forms in 2d du. and pl. are *varktam*, *vartam;* *kárta*, *gánta*, *yanta*, *vartta*, *heta*, *çróta*, *sóta;* and, with *tana*, *kártana*, *gantana*, *yantana*, *sotana.* Much more irregular are *yódhi* (instead of *yuddhí*) from √*yudh*, and *bodhí* from both √*budh* and √*bhū* (instead of *buddhí* and *bhūdhí*). A single form (3d sing.) in *tāt* is found, namely *çastāt.*

As to 2d persons singular in *si* from the simple root used in an imperative sense, see above, **624.**

Participles of the Root-aorist.

840. In the oldest language, of the RV., are found a number of participles which must be reckoned as belonging to this formation.

In the active, they are extremely few: namely *kránt*, *sthā́nt*, and *bhidánt*, and probably *ṛdhánt.*

In the middle, they are much more numerous: examples are *aráṇá*, *idhāná*, *krāṇá*, *juṣāṇá*, *dṛçāná*, *pṛcāná*, *bhiyāná*, *vrāṇá*, *spṛdhāná*, *hiyāná*.

Such formations are extremely rare in the later Veda and in the Brāhmaṇa.

841. All together, the roots exhibiting in the older language forms which are with fair probability to be reckoned to the root-aorist-system are very nearly a hundred (more than ninety); about eighty of them make such forms in the RV.

Passive Aorist third person singular.

842. A middle third person singular, of peculiar formation and prevailingly passive meaning, is made from many verbs in the older language, and has become a recognized part of the passive conjugation, being, according to the grammarians, to be substituted always for the regular third person of any aorist middle that is used in a passive sense.

843. This person is formed by adding इ *i* to the root, which takes also the augment, and is usually strengthened.

The ending *i* belongs elsewhere only to the first person; and this third person apparently stands in the same relation to a first in *i* as do, in the middle voice, the regular 3d sing. perfect, and the frequent Vedic 3d sing. present, which are identical in form with their respective first persons. That a fuller ending has been lost off is extremely improbable; and hence, as an aorist formation from the simple root, this is most properly treated here, in connection with the ordinary root-aorist.

844. Before the ending इ *i*, a final vowel, and usually also a medial अ *a* before a single consonant, have the *vṛddhi*-strengthening; other medial vowels have the *guṇa*-strengthening if capable of it (**240**); after final आ *ā* is added य् *y*.

Examples (all of them quotable from the older language) are: from roots ending in *ā*, *ájñāyi*, *ádhāyi*, *ápāyi;* in other vowels, *áçrāyi*, *ástāvi*, *áhāvi*, *ákāri*, *ástāri;* — from roots with medial *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *aceti*, *áchedi*, *açeṣi*, *ábodhi*, *ámoçi*, *áyoji*, *ádarçi*, *asarji*, *varhi;* from roots with medial *a* strengthened, *agāmi*, *ápādi*, *ayāmi*, *avāci*, *vāpi*, *ásādi* (these are all the earlier cases): with *a* unchanged, only *ájani* (and RV. has once *jáni*), and, in heavy syllables, *ámyakṣi*, *vandi*, *çaṅsi;* with medial *ā*, *ábhrāji*, *árādhi;* — from roots with initial vowel, *ārdhi* (only case).

According to the grammarians, certain roots in *am*, and √*badh*, retain the *a* unchanged: thus, *adami*, *abadhi;* and there are noted besides, from roots sometimes showing a nasal, *arambhi*, *arandhi*, *ajambhi*, *abhañji* or *abhāji*, *alambhi* (always, with prepositions) or *alābhi:* ÇB. has *asañji*.

Augmentless forms, as in all other like cases, are met with, with either indicative or subjunctive value: examples (besides the two or three already

given) are: *dhā́yi, çrā́vi, bhā́ri, reci, védi, roci, jā́ni, pā́di, sā́di, ardhi.* The accent, when present, is always on the root-syllable.

845. These forms are made in RV. from forty roots, and all the other earlier texts combined add only about fifteen to the number; in the later language they are (like all the kinds of aorist) very rare. When they come from roots of neuter meaning, like *gam, pad, sad, bhrāj, sañj*, etc., they have (like the so-called passive participle in *ta*: **952**) a value equivalent to that of other middle forms; in a case or two (RV. vii. 73. 3 [?]; VS. xxviii. 15) they appear even to be used transitively.

2. The *a*-aorist.

846. This aorist is in the later language allowed to be made from a large number of roots (near a hundred). It is made in both voices, but is rare in the middle, most of the roots forming their middle according to the *s*-class (4) or the *iṣ*-class (5).

Its closest analogy is with the imperfect of the *á*-class (VII.); its inflection is the same with that in all particulars; and it takes in general a weak form of root — save the roots in ऋ *ṛ* (three or four only), which have the *guṇa*-strengthening.

As example of inflection may be taken the root सिच् *sic*, 'pour': thus,

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	असिचम् *ásicam*	असिचाव *ásicāva*	असिचाम *ásicāma*	असिचे *ásice*	असिचावहि *ásicāvahi*	असिचामहि *ásicāmahi*
2	असिचस् *ásicas*	असिचतम् *ásicatam*	असिचत *ásicata*	असिचथास् *ásicathās*	असिचेथाम् *ásicethām*	असिचध्वम् *ásicadhvam*
3	असिचत् *ásicat*	असिचताम् *ásicatām*	असिचन् *ásican*	असिचत *ásicata*	असिचेताम् *ásicetām*	असिचन्त *ásicanta*

847. The *a*-aorist makes in the RV. a small figure beside the root-aorist, being represented by less than half the latter's number of roots. It becomes, however, more common later (it is the only form of aorist which is made from more verbs in AV. than in RV.); and in Veda and Brāhmaṇa together about seventy roots exhibit the formation more or less fully. Of these a large number (fully half) are of the type of the roots which make their present-system according to the *á*-class (VII.), having a vowel capable of *guṇa*-strengthening before a final consonant (**753**): thus, with *i, chid, bhid, nij, piṣ,*

riṣ, *vid*, 1*çiṣ* (*çās*), 2*çiṣ*, *çvit*, *sic*, *sridh*; — with *u*, *krudh*, *kṣudh*, *duṣ*, *dyut*, *druh*, *puṣ*, *budh*, *bhuj*, *muc*, *muṣ*, *yuj*, *rudh*, *muh*, *ruh*, *çuc*; — with *ṛ*, *ṛdh*, *kṛt*, *gṛdh*, *tṛp*, *tṛṣ*, *tṛh*, *dṛp*, *dṛç*, *mṛṣ*, *vṛj*, *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, *sṛp*. A small number end in vowels: thus, *ṛ*, *kṛ*, *gṛ*, *sṛ* (which have the *guṇa*-strengthening throughout), *hi* (? *ahyat* once in AV.), *stu* (? *stuvatām*, 3d sing. impv. mid., once in AV.); and several in *ā*, apparent transfers from the root-class by the weakening of their *ā* to *a*: thus, *khyā*, *hvā*, *vyā*, *çvā*, and (in RV. only) *dā* and *dhā*. A few have a penultimate nasal in the present and elsewhere, which in this aorist is lost: thus, *bhraṅç*, *sraṅs*, *krand*, *manth*, *randh*. Of less classifiable character are *kram*, *gam*, *tam*, *çam*, *çram*, *tan*, *van*, *san*, *sad*, *rādh*, *dabh*, *sap*, *āp*, *īr*, *das*, *çak*. The anomalous *āstham* is the aorist of *as* 'throw'. The roots *pat*, *naç*, *vac* form the tense-stems *papta*, *neça*, *voca*, of which the first is palpably and the other two are probably the result of reduplication; but the language has lost the sense of their being such, and makes other reduplicated aorists (3) from the same roots (see below, **854**).

848. The inflection of this aorist is in general so regular that it will be sufficient to give only examples of its Vedic forms. We may take as model *avidam*, from √*vid* 'find', of which the various persons and modes are more frequent and in fuller variety than those of any other verb. Only the forms actually quotable are instanced; those of which the examples found are from other verbs than *vid* are bracketed. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	*ávidam*	*ávidāva*	*ávidāma*	*ávide*	[*ávidāvahi*]	*ávidāmahi*
2	*ávidas*		[*avidata*]	[*ávidathās*]		
3	*ávidat*		*ávidan*	[*avidata*]	[*avidetām*]	*ávidanta*

The middle forms are rare in the earlier language, as in the later: we have *áhve* etc., *ákhye* etc., *ávide* (?) and *avidanta*, *avocathās* and *avocāvahi* (and *avidāmahe* GB. and *asicāmahe* KB. are doubtless to be amended to *mahi*).

Augmentless forms, with indicative or subjunctive value, are not infrequent. Examples, showing accent on the tense-sign, according to the general analogies of the formation, are *ruhám*, *sṛpas*, *bhuját*, *vidát*, *aratām*, *vocata*, *çakan*; *vidata* (3d sing.), *arāmahi*, *çiṣāmahi*, *vidánta*, *budhánta*, *mṛṣanta* (for exceptions as regards accent, see below, **853**).

Modes of the *a*-aorist.

849. The subjunctive forms of this aorist are few; those which occur are instanced below, in the method which was followed for the indicative:

1		[*vidā́va*]	*vidā́ma*			[*vidā́mahe*]
2	*vidā́si* *vidā́s*	*vidā́thas*	*vidā́tha*			
3	*vidā́t*			[*vidā́tāi* ?]		

The ending *thana* is found once, in *riṣāthana*. Of middle forms occur only *çī́ṣātāi* (AV.: but doubtless misreading for *çī́ṣyātāi*) and *çiṣāmahe* (AV., for RV. *çiṣāmahi*).

850. The optatives are few in the oldest language, but become more frequent, and in the Brāhmaṇas are not rare. Examples are: in active, *vidéyam, sanéyam; vidés, games; gamet, vocet; gametam; çakéma, sanéma; vareta;* in middle, (only) *videya; gamemahi, vanemahi.*

A single middle precative form occurs, namely *videṣṭa* (AV., once); it is so isolated that how much may be inferred from it is very questionable.

851. A complete series of active imperative forms are made from √*sad* (including *sadatana,* 2d pl.), and the middle *sadantām.* Other imperatives are very rare: namely, *sára, ruha; ruhátam, vidátam; khyáta;* and, in middle, *stuvatām* (?).

Participles of the *a*-aorist.

852. The active participles *tṛpánt, rudhánt, vṛdhánt, çiṣánt, çucánt, huvánt, sávant,* and (in participial compounds, **1309**) *kṛ́tant-, guhant-, vidant-* (all RV.) are to be assigned with plausibility to this aorist.

Likewise the middle participles *vṛdhāná, sridhāná, huvāná;* and perhaps also *vipāná* and *çubhāná,* although no personal forms corresponding to them occur.

Irregularities of the *a*-aorist.

853. A few irregularities and peculiarities may be noticed here.

The roots in *ṛ,* which (**847**) show a strengthening like that of the present of the sixth or unaccented *a*-class, have also the accent on the radical syllable, like that class: thus, from √*ṛ, áranta* (augmentless 3d pl.), *sárat* and *sára.* The root *sad* follows the same rule: thus, *sádatam;* and from √*san* are found *sánas* and *sánat* and *sánema,* beside *sanéyam* and *sanéma.* It is questionable whether these are not true analogues of the sixth-class (unaccented *a*-class) present-system. On the other hand, *rúhat* (beside *ruhám, ruhā́va, ruhátam*) and *ríṣat* (only accented form) are anomalies. From √*vac,* the optative is accented *vocéyam, vocéma, vocéyus;* elsewhere the accent is on the root-syllable: thus, *vóce, vócat, vócati, vócanta.*

854. The stem *voc* has in Vedic use well-nigh assumed the value of a root; its forms are very various and of frequent use, in RV. especially far outnumbering in occurrences all other forms from √*vac.* Besides those already given, we find *vocā* (1st sing. impv.) and *vocāti, vocāvahāi; voces, voceya, vocemahi; vocatāt* (2d sing.), *vocatu, vocatam, vocata.*

Of the stem *neça* from √*naç* only *neçat* occurs.

The root *çās* (as in some of its present forms: **639**) is weakened to *çiṣ,* and makes *açiṣam.*

855. Isolated forms which have more or less completely the aspect of indicative presents are made from some roots beside the aorist-systems of the first two classes. It must be left for maturer research to determine how far they may be relics of original presents, and how far recent productions, made in the way of conversion of the aorist-stem to a root in value.

II. (3) Reduplicated Aorist.

856. The reduplicated aorist is different from the other forms of aorist in that it has come to be attached in almost all cases to the derivative (causative etc.) conjugation in अय *áya*, as the aorist of that conjugation, and is therefore liable to be made from all roots which have such a conjugation, beside the aorist or aorists which belong to their primary conjugation. Since, however, the connection of the two is no formal one (the aorist being made directly from the root, and not from the causative stem), but rather a matter of established association, owing to kinship of meaning, the formation and inflection of this kind of aorist is best treated here, along with the others.

857. Its characteristic is a reduplication of the radical syllable, by which it is assimilated, on the one hand, to the imperfect of the reduplicating class (II.), and, on the other hand, to the so-called pluperfect. But the aorist reduplication has taken on a quite peculiar character, with few traces left even in the Veda of a different condition which may have preceded this.

858. As regards, indeed, the consonant of the reduplication, it follows the general rules already given (**590**). And the quality of the reduplicated vowel is in general as in the formations already treated: it needs only to be noted that an *a*-vowel and *ṛ* (or *ar*) are usually (for exceptions, see below, **860**) repeated by an *i*-vowel — as they are, to a considerable extent, in the reduplicated present also (**660**).

But in regard to quantity, this aorist aims always at establishing a diversity between the reduplicating and radical syllables, making the one heavy and the other light. And the preference is very markedly for a heavy reduplication and a light root-syllable — which relation is brought about wherever the conditions allow. Thus:

859. If the root is a light syllable (having a short vowel followed by a single consonant), the reduplication is made heavy.

And this, usually by lengthening the reduplicating vowel, with ī for radical *a* or *ṛ* or *ḷ* (in the single root containing that vowel): thus, *arīriṣam, adūduṣam, ajījanam, avīvṛdham, acīklpam.* The great majority of aorists are of this form.

If, however, the root begins with two consonants, so that the reduplicating syllable will be heavy whatever the quantity of its vowel, the vowel remains short: thus, *acikṣipam, acukrudham, atitrasam, apispṛçam.*

860. If the root is a heavy syllable (having a long vowel, or a short before two consonants), the vowel of the reduplication is short: and, in this case अ *a* or आ *ā*, and ऋ *ṛ* (if it occurs), are reduplicated by अ *a*.

Thus *adidīkṣam, abubhūṣam, adadakṣam, adadhāvam, atataṅsam.* And, in the rare cases in which a root both begins and ends with two consonants, both syllables are necessarily heavy, notwithstanding the short vowel in the former: thus, *apapraccham, acaskandam* (neither, apparently, found in use).

These aorists are not distinguishable in form from the so-called pluperfects (**817** ff.).

861. In order, however, to bring about the favored relation of heavy reduplication and light radical syllable, a heavy root is sometimes made light: either by shortening its vowel, as in *avīvaçam* from √*vāç*, *asīṣadham* from √*sādh*, *adīdipam* (K. and later: RV. has *didīpas*) from √*dīp*, *abībhiṣam* from √*bhīṣ*, *asūsucam* from √*sūc;* or by dropping a penultimate nasal, as in *acikradam* from √*krand*, *asiṣyadam* from √*syand.*

In those cases in which (**1047**) an aorist is formed directly from a causal stem in *āp*, the *ā* is abbreviated to *i*: thus, *atiṣṭhipam* etc., *ajījñipat, jīhipas, ajījipata* (but VS. *ajījapata*); but from *çrap* comes *açiçrapāma* (ÇB.).

862. Examples of this aorist from roots with initial vowel are very rare; the older language has only *āmamat* (or *amamat*) from √*am*, and *arpipam* (augmentless) from the causative stem *arp* of √*ṛ* — in which latter the root is excessively abbreviated. The grammarians give other similar formations, as *ārcicam* from √*arc*, *āubjijam* from √*ubj*, *ārjiham* from √*arh*, *āicikṣam* from √*īkṣ*, *ārdidham* from √*ṛdh*. Compare the similar reduplication in desiderative stems: **1029 b.**

863. Of special irregularities may be mentioned:

From √*dyut* is made *adidyutam* (taking its reduplicating vowel from the *y* instead of the *u*); √*plu* makes *apiplavam* (ÇB. etc.).

Some verbs with radical *a* or *ṛ* are by the grammarians allowed to reduplicate with either *i* (*ī*) or *a*, or even with *a* only. Others are allowed either to retain or shorten a long root-vowel. Details are unnecessary, the whole formation being so rare, and the forms instanced having never been met with in use.

As to *apaptam*, *avocam*, and *aneçam*, see above, **847**.

864. The inflection of the reduplicated aorist is like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation: that is to say, it has the union-vowel अ *a* before the endings, with all the peculiarities which the presence of that vowel conditions. Thus, from √जन् *jan*, 'give birth':

	active. s.	active. d.	active. p.	middle. s.	middle. d.	middle. p.
1	अजीजनम् *ájījanam*	अजीजनाव *ájījanāva*	अजीजनाम *ájījanāma*	अजीजने *ájījane*	अजीजनावहि *ájījanāvahi*	अजीजनामहि *ájījanāmahi*
2	अजीजनस् *ájījanas*	अजीजनतम् *ájījanatam*	अजीजनत *ájījanata*	अजीजनथास् *ájījanathās*	अजीजनेथाम् *ájījanethām*	अजीजनध्वम् *ájījanadhvam*
3	अजीजनत् *ájījanat*	अजीजनताम् *ájījanatām*	अजीजनन् *ájījanan*	अजीजनत *ájījanata*	अजीजनेताम् *ájījanetām*	अजीजनन्त *ájījananta*

865. The middle forms are quite rare in the older language (the 3d pl. is decidedly the most common of them, being made from eleven roots; the 3d s. from seven); but all are quotable except 1st and 2d du. — and of the 1st du. no active example occurs.

Atītape appears to be once used (RV.) as 3d sing., with passive sense.

866. A final *ṛ* has the *guṇa*-strengthening before the endings: thus, *apīparam*, *atītaras*, *adīdharat*, *avīvaran*. Of similar strengthened forms from *ī* and *u*-roots are found *apiprayan* (TS.), *abībhayanta* (RV.), *apiplavam* (ÇB.), *acucyavat* (K.); of unstrengthened, *açuçruvat* (GB.). Few roots ending in other vowels than *ṛ* make this aorist: see below, **868**.

867. Forms of the inflection without union-vowel are occasionally met with: namely, from roots ending in consonants, *síṣvap* (2d sing., augmentless) from √*svap*, and *açiçnat* from √*çnath;* from roots in *ṛ* or *ar*, *dīdhar* (2d sing.), and *ajīgar* (2d and 3d sing.). Of 3d pl. in *us* are found almost only a form or two from *i* and *u*-roots, with *guṇa* before the ending: thus, *açiçrayus*, *acucyavus*, *açuçravus*, *asuṣavus* (? AB.); but also *abībhajus* (ÇB.). And the 3d pl. mid. *avavṛtran* and *avavṛtranta* and *asasṛgram* seem to belong here rather than to the pluperfect.

868. In the later language, a few roots are said by the grammarians to make this aorist as a part of their primary conjugation: they are *çri* and *çvi*, *dru* and *sru*, *kam*, and *dhā* 'suck' (*çvi* and *dhā* optionally).

In the older language are found from √*çri açiçret* and *açiçrayuṣ* (noticed in the preceding paragraph); from √*dru*, *adudrot* and *adudruvat* (TB.: not used as aorist); from √*sru*, *asusrot* and (augmentless) *susros* and *susrot*. Of forms analogous with these occur a number from roots in *u* or *ū*: thus, *anūnot* and *nūnot* from √*nu*; *yūyot* from √*yu* 'repel'; *dūdhot* from √*dhū*; *apupot* from √*pū*; *tūtos* and *tūtot* from √*tu*; and one or two from roots in *i* or *ī*: thus, *siṣet* from √*si* (or *sā*) 'bind'; *apipres* (with *apiprayan*, noticed above) from √*prī* (and the "imperfects" from *dīdhī* etc., **676**, are of corresponding form). And from √*cyu* are made, with union-vowel *ī*, *acucyavīt* and *acucyavītana*. None of these forms possess a necessarily causative or a decidedly aoristic value, and it is very doubtful whether they should not all be assigned to the perfect-system.

Modes of the Reduplicated Aorist.

869. As in other preterit formations, the augmentless indicative persons of this aorist are used subjunctively, and they are very much more frequent than true subjunctives.

Of the latter are found only *rīradhā* (1st sing.); *tītapāsi*; *cīkḷpāti* and *sīṣadhāti*, and *pispṛçati* (as if corresponding to an indicative *apispṛk*, like *açiçnat*); and perhaps the 1st sing. mid. *çaçvacāi*.

The augmentless indicative forms are accented in general on the reduplication: thus, *dī́dharas*, *nī́naças*; *jī́janat*, *pī́parat*; *jī́janan*; also *síṣvap*; but, on the other hand, we have *çiçráthas* and *çiçnáthat*; and *dudrávat*, *çuçrávat*, *tuṣṭávat* (which perhaps belong rather to the perfect: compare **810**). According to the native grammarians, the accent rests either on the radical syllable or on the one that follows it.

870. Optative forms are even rarer. The least questionable case is the middle "precative" *rīriṣīṣṭa* (*ririṣīṣṭa* has been ranked above with *sāsahīṣṭa*, as a perfect: **812** b). *Cucyuvīmahi* and *cucyavīrata* belong either here or to the perfect-system.

871. Of imperatives, we have the indubitable forms *pūpurantu* and *çiçrathantu*. And *jigṛtám* and *jigṛtá*, and *didhṛtam* and *didhṛtá* (all RV. only), are doubtless to be referred hither, as corresponding to the indicatives (without union-vowel) *ajīgar* and *adīdhar*: their short reduplicating vowel and their accent assimilate them closely to the reduplicated imperfects (cl. II.), with which we are probably to regard this aorist as ultimately related.

872. No participle is found belonging to the reduplicated aorist.

873. The number of roots from which this aorist is met with in the earlier language is about ninety. In the classical Sanskrit it is very unusual; in the whole series of later texts mentioned above (**826**) it occurs only once.

III. Sibilant-Aorist.

874. The common tense-sign of all the varieties of this aorist is a स् *s* (convertible to ष् *ṣ*) which is added to the root in forming the tense-stem.

This sibilant has no analogues among the class-signs of the present-system; but it is to be compared with that which appears (and likewise with or without the same union-vowel *i*) in the stems of the future tense-system (chap. XII.) and of the desiderative conjugation (chap. XIV.).

To the root thus increased the augment is prefixed and the secondary endings are added.

875. In the case of a few roots, the sibilant tense-stem (always ending in क्ष् *kṣ*) is further increased by an अ *a*, and the inflection is nearly like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation.

876. In the vast majority of cases, the sibilant is the final of the tense-stem, and the inflection is like that of an imperfect of the first general conjugation.

And these, again, fall into two nearly equal and strongly marked classes, according as the sibilant is added immediately to the final of the root, or with an auxiliary vowel इ *i*, making the tense-sign इष् *iṣ*. Finally, before this इष् *iṣ* the root is in a very small number of cases increased by a स् *s*, making the whole addition सिष् *siṣ*.

877. We have, then, the following classification for the varieties of sibilant-aorist:

A. With endings added directly to the sibilant:

4. with स *s* simply after the root: *s*-aorist;

5. with इ *i* before the स् *s*: *iṣ*-aorist;

6. the same, with स् *s* at end of root: *siṣ*-aorist.

B. With अ *a* added to the sibilant before the endings:

7. with sibilant and अ *a*: *sa*-aorist.

As regards the distinction between the fourth and fifth forms, it may be said in a general way that those roots incline to take the auxiliary *i* in the aorist which take it also in other formations; but it is impossible to lay

down any strict rules as to this accordance, and also, considering the rarity of aorist-forms in the later language, practically quite useless to attempt the task. See below, **903**.

4. The *s*-aorist.

878. The tense-stem of this aorist is made by adding स् *s* to the augmented root, of which also the vowel is usually strengthened.

879. The general rules as to the strengthening of the root-vowel are these:

a. A final vowel (including ऋ *ṛ*) has the *vṛddhi*-change in the active, and (excepting ऋ *ṛ*) *guṇa* in the middle: thus, from √नी, active stem अनैष् *anāiṣ*, middle stem अनेष् *aneṣ;* from √श्रु *çru*, अश्रौष् *açrāuṣ* and अश्रोष् *açroṣ;* from √कृ *kṛ*, अकार्ष् *akārṣ* and अकृष् *akṛṣ*.

b. A medial vowel has the *vṛddhi*-change in the active, and remains unaltered in the middle: thus, from √छन्द् *chand*, active stem अछान्त्स् *achānts*, middle stem अछन्त्स् *achants*; from √रिच् *ric*, अरैक्ष् *arāikṣ* and अरिक्ष् *arikṣ;* from √रुध् *rudh*, अरौत्स् *arāuts*, and अरुत्स् *aruts;* from √सृज् *sṛj*, अस्राक्ष् *asrākṣ* and असृक्ष् *asṛkṣ*.

880. The endings are the usual secondary ones, with उस् *us* (not अन् *an*) in 3d pl. act., and अत *ata* (not अन्त *anta*) in 3d pl. mid.

But before स् *s* and त् *t* of 2d and 3d sing. act. is in the later language always inserted an ई *ī*, making the endings ईस् *īs* and ईत् *īt*.

This insertion is unknown in the earliest language (of the RV.): see below, **888**.

881. Before endings beginning with *t* or *th*, the tense-sign *s* is (**233b**) omitted after the final consonant of a root — unless this be *r*, or *n* or *m* (converted to *anusvāra*).

The same omission is of course made before *dhvam*, after either vowel or consonant; and the ending becomes *ḍhvam*, provided the sibilant, if retained, would have been *ṣ:* thus, *astoḍhvam* and *avṛḍhvam* (beside *astoṣata* and *avṛṣata*), but *arādhvam* (beside *arāsata*). These three are the only test-cases for the form of the ending which have been noted in the older language,

except *dṛḍhvam* (√*dṛ* 'regard': ÇB., once), which is to *dṛthās* (2d sing.) as *avṛḍhvam* and *avṛṣata* to *avri* and *avṛthās*.

According to the grammarians, the omission of *s* before *t* and *th* takes place also after a short vowel (the case can occur only in the 2d and 3d sing. mid.); but we have seen above (**834 a**) that this is to be viewed rather as a substitution in those persons of the forms of the root-aorist. Neither in the earlier nor in the later language, however, does any example occur of an aorist-form with *s* retained after a short vowel before these endings.

882. As examples of the inflection of this variety of sibilant aorist we may take the roots रुध् *rudh*, 'obstruct', and नी *nī*, 'lead'. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अरौत्सम्	अरौत्स्व	अरौत्स्म	अरुत्सि	अरुत्स्वहि	अरुत्स्महि
	árāutsam	*árāutsva*	*árāutsma*	*árutsi*	*árutsvahi*	*árutsmahi*
2	अरौत्सीस्	अरौत्तम्	अरौत्त	अरुत्थास्	अरुत्साथाम्	अरुद्ध्वम्
	árāutsīs	*árāuttam*	*árāutta*	*árutthās*	*árutsāthām*	*áruddhvam*
3	अरौत्सीत्	अरौत्ताम्	अरौत्सुस्	अरुत्त	अरुत्साताम्	अरुत्सत
	árāutsīt	*árāuttām*	*árāutsus*	*árutta*	*árutsātām*	*árutsata*
1	अनैषम्	अनैष्व	अनैष्म	अनेषि	अनेष्वहि	अनेष्महि
	ánāiṣam	*ánāiṣva*	*ánāiṣma*	*áneṣi*	*áneṣvahi*	*áneṣmahi*
2	अनैषीस्	अनैष्टम्	अनैष्ट	अनेष्ठास्	अनेषाथाम्	अनेढ्वम्
	ánāiṣīs	*ánāiṣṭam*	*ánāiṣṭa*	*áneṣṭhās*	*áneṣāthām*	*áneḍhvam*
3	अनैषीत्	अनैष्टाम्	अनैषुस्	अनेष्ट	अनेषाताम्	अनेषत
	ánāiṣīt	*ánāiṣṭām*	*ánāiṣus*	*áneṣṭa*	*áneṣātām*	*áneṣata*

883. The omission of *s* in the active forms is a case of very rare occurrence. In the older language have been noted only *achāntta* (RV.; written *achānta*, by **231**), *abhākta* (AB.), and the augmentless *tāptam* and *çāpta* (repeatedly in the Brāhmaṇas). The middle forms with omission are indistinguishable from the corresponding ones of the root-aorist; and whether, in the older language, a given form is to be assigned to the one aorist or to the other is a question difficult to settle. Above (**834 b—d**) were given all the older forms of belongings thus questionable.

884. Certain roots in *ā* weaken the *ā* in middle inflection to *i* (as also in the root-aorist: above, **834 a**): these are said to be *sthā*, *dā* (*dā* 'give', and *dā* 'cut' and 'share'), and *dhā* (*dhā* 'put', and *dhā* 'suck'); in the older language have been noted only *ádiṣi* and *adiṣata* (from *dā* 'give') and *asthiṣata*. TA. has *agīṣata* from √*gā* 'sing'.

The middle inflection of the aorist of √*dā* would be, then,

according to the grammarians; *ádiṣi, ádithās, ádita; ádiṣvahi, ádiṣāthām, ádiṣātām; ádiṣmahi, ádiḍhvam, ádiṣata.*

885. Roots ending in changeable *ṛ* (so-called roots in *ṝ*: **242**) are said by the grammarians to convert this vowel to *īr* in middle forms: thus, *astīrṣi, astīrṣthās,* etc. (from √*stṛ*): hardly any such forms, however, have been found in the older language (only *akīrṣata*, PB.; and, on the contrary, *astṛṣi* occurs once, AB.).

886. The *s*-aorist is made in the older language from somewhat over a hundred roots (in RV., from about seventy; in AV., from about fifty, of which fifteen are additional to those in RV.; and the other texts add about twenty more — not counting in any case those of which the forms may be from the root-aorist). It has there certain peculiarities of stem-formation and inflection, and also the full series of modes — of which the optative middle is retained also in the later language as "precative".

887. Irregularities of stem-formation are:

a. The roots *hū, dhū,* and *nū* have *ū* instead of *o* in the middle: thus, *ahūṣata, adhūṣata, anūṣi* and *anūṣātām* and *anūṣata*; √*dhur* (or *dhūrv*) makes *adhūrṣata.*

b. From √*mad* occurs *amatsus* (RV., once), with unstrengthened vowel.

c. From √*gam* occurs *agasmahi*, apparently for *agaṅsmahi* (compare *masīya*, below, **895**).

888. The principal peculiarity of the older language in regard to inflection is the frequent absence of *ī* in the endings of 2d and 3d sing. act., and the consequent loss of the consonant-ending, and sometimes of root-finals (**150**). The forms without *ī* are the only ones found in RV. and K., and they outnumber the others in AV. and TS.; in the Brāhmaṇas they grow rarer (only one, *adrāk*, occurs in GB. and ÇB.; PB. has none).

889. If the root ends in a vowel, only the consonant of the ending is necessarily lost: thus, *aprās* (for both *aprās-s* and *aprās-t*) from √*prā*: and in like manner *ahās* from √*hā*; — *ajāis* (for *ajāiṣ-t*) from √*ji*; and in like manner *acāis* from √*ci*, and *nāis* (augmentless) from √*nī*; — and *yāus* (for *ayāuṣ-t*) from √*yu*.

But (as in other like cases: **555**) in 3d sing. the ending *t* is sometimes preserved at the expense of the tense-sign; and we have *ajāit* (beside *ajāis* and *ajāiṣīt*) from √*ji*; and in like manner *acāit, açrāit, ahāit, nāit*: no examples have been noted except from roots in *i* and *ī*.

890. If the root (in either its simple or strengthened form) ends in a consonant, the tense-sign is lost with the ending. Thus, *abhār* (for *abhārṣ-t*: beside *abhārṣam, abhārṣṭām*) from √*bhṛ*; other like cases are *ahār*, and (from roots in *ar*) *akṣār, atsār, asvār, hvār.* Further, *ārāik* (**585**, end: for *arāikṣ-t*) from √*ric*; like cases are *açvāit* from √*çvit*, and (from roots with medial *u*) *adyāut* from √*dyut*, *arāut* from √*rudh*, and *māuk* from √*muc*. Further, from roots ending in the palatals and *h*, *aprāk* from √*pṛc*, *asrāk* from √*sṛj*,

abhāk from √*bhaj*, *adrāk* from √*dṛç*, *adhāk* from √*dah;* but, with a different change of the final, *ayāṭ* from √*yaj*, *aprāṭ* from √*pṛch*, and *avāṭ* from √*vah;* and (above, **146**) *srās* appears to stand twice in AV. for *srāṣ-t* from √*sṛj:* RV. has also twice *ayās* from √*yaj*. Further, from roots ending in a nasal, *atān* from √*tan*, *khān* from √*khan*, *ayān* and *anān* from √√*yam* and *nam* (**143**).

If, again, the root ends in a double consonant, the latter of the two is lost along with tense-sign and ending: thus, *achān* (for *achānts-t;* beside *achāntta* and *achāntsus*) from √*chand;* and other like cases are *akrān*, *askān*, and *asyān*.

A relic of this peculiarity of the older inflection has been preserved to the later language in the 2d sing. *bhāis*, from √*bhī*.

891. Irregularities of inflection do not occur further: *aveṣam* from √*vī* is too great an anomaly to be accepted.

Modes of the *s*-aorist.

892. The indicative forms without augment are used in a subjunctive sense, especially after *mā́* prohibitive, and are not uncommon. Examples with accent, however, are extremely rare; there has been noted only *váṅsi*, middle; judging from this, the tone would be found on the radical syllable. According to the Hindu grammarians, it may be laid on either root or ending.

893. Proper subjunctive forms are not rare in RV., but are markedly less common in the later Vedic texts, and very seldom met with in the Brāhmaṇas. They are regularly made with *guṇa*-strengthening of the radical vowel, in both active and middle, and with accent on the root.

The forms with primary endings are: in active, *stoṣāṇi; darṣasi; neṣati, parṣati, pāsati, matsati, yoṣati, vakṣati, sakṣati; dā́sathas, dhāsathas, pā́rṣathas, vakṣathas, varṣathas; pāsatas, yaṅsatas, yakṣatas, vakṣatas; dhāsatha, neṣatha, pā́rṣatha, mā́tsatha;* — in middle, *naṅsāi, maṅsāi; mā́ṅsase; kraṅsate, trāsate, darṣate, mā́ṅsate, yakṣate, rāsate, vaṅsate, sā́kṣate, hāsate; trāsāthe* (not *trāsāithe*, as we should rather expect); *nā́ṅsante, mā́ṅsante:* and, with the fuller ending in 3d sing., *mā́sātāi*.

The forms with secondary endings are (active only): *jéṣas, vā́kṣas; dā́rṣat, néṣat, pā́kṣat, yā́kṣat, yóṣat, vā́ṅsat, vā́kṣat, véṣat, sā́tsat, chantsat*, etc. (14 others); *yakṣatām; stoṣāma; parṣan, yaṅsan, yoṣan, rā́san, vakṣan, çéṣan, çróṣan*. Of these, *yakṣat* and *vakṣat* are found not rarely in the Brāhmaṇas; any others, hardly more than sporadically.

894. Of irregularities are to be noted the following:

a. The forms *dṛ́kṣase* and *pṛkṣase* (2d sing. mid.) lack the *guṇa*-strengthening.

b. *Jeṣam*, *stoṣam*, and *yoṣam* (AV. *yūṣam*, with *ū* for *o* as in *anūṣata*

etc.) appear to be first persons formed under government of the analogy of the second and third — unless they are relics of a state of things anterior to the *vṛddhi*-strengthening: in which case *jeṣma* is to be compared with them (we should expect *jāiṣma* or *jeṣāma*).

c. From roots in *ā* are made a few forms of problematic character: namely, *yeṣam* (only case in RV.), *khyeṣam*, *jñeṣam*, *geṣam* and *geṣma*, *deṣma*, *stheṣam* and *stheṣus*. Their value is optative. The analogy of *jeṣam* and *jeṣma* suggests the possibility of their derivation from *i*-forms of the *ā*-roots; or the sibilant might be of a precative character (thus, *yā-ī-s-am*). That they are to be reckoned to the *iṣ*-aorist appears highly improbable.

d. The RV. has a few difficult first persons middle in *se*, which are perhaps best noted here. They are: 1. from the simple root, *kṛse*, *hiṣe* (and *ohiṣe?*), *stuṣé*; 2. from present-stems, *arcase*, *ṛñjase*, *yajase*, *gāyiṣe*, *gṛṇīṣé* and *punīṣé*. They have the value of indicative present. Compare below, **897**.

895. Optative forms of this aorist are made in the middle only, and they have in 2d and 3d sing. always the precative *s* before the endings. Those found to occur in the older language are: *diṣīya*, *dhiṣīya*, *bhakṣīyá*, *masīya* (for *mansīya*), *mukṣīya*, *rāsīya*, *sākṣīya*, *striṣīya*; *mansīsthās*; *darṣīṣṭa*, *bhakṣīṣṭa*, *mansīṣṭa*, *mṛkṣīṣṭa*; *bhakṣīmahi*, *dhukṣīmáhi*, *mansīmáhi*, *vansīmáhi*, *sakṣīmáhi*; *mansīrata*. PB. has *bhukṣiṣīya*, which should belong to a *siṣ*-aorist. The RV. form *trā́sīthām* (for *trāsīyāthām* or *trāsāthām*) is an isolated anomaly.

This optative makes a part of the accepted "precative" of the later language: see below, **921** ff.

896. Imperative persons from this aorist are extremely rare: we find only the 2d sing. act. *neṣa* and *parṣa* (both from *a*-stems, and showing rather, therefore, a treatment of the aorist-stem as a root), and the 3d sing. mid. *rāsatām* and pl. *rāsantām* (of which the same may be said).

Participles of the *s*-Aorist.

897. Active participles are *dákṣat* or *dhákṣat*, and *sákṣat* (both RV.).

If *ṛñjase* (above, **894 d**) is to be reckoned as an *s*-aorist form, *ṛñjasāná* is an *s*-aorist participle; and of a kindred character, apparently, are *arçasāná*, *óhasāna*, *jrayasāná*, *dhiyasāná*, *mandasāná*, *yamasāná*, *rabhasāná*, *vṛdhasāná*, *sahasāná*, *çavasāná*, all in RV.; with *namasāná*, *bhiyásāna*, in AV.

5. The *iṣ*-aorist.

898. The tense-stem of this aorist adds the general tense-sign स् *s* by help of a prefixed auxiliary vowel इ *i*, making इष् *iṣ*, to the root, which is usually strengthened, and which has the augment.

899. The rules as to the strengthening of the root are as follows:

a. A final vowel has *vṛddhi* in the active, and *guṇa* in the middle: thus, अपाविष् *apāviṣ* and अपविष् *apaviṣ* from √पू *pū;* अतारिष् *atāriṣ*, act., from √तृ *tṛ;* अशयिष् *açayiṣ*, mid., from √शी *çī*.

b. An interior vowel has *guṇa*, if capable of it, in both voices: thus, अलेशिष् *aleçis*, act. and mid., from √लिश् *liç;* अरोचिष् *arociṣ* from √रुच् *ruc;* अवर्षिष् *avarṣiṣ* from √वृष् *vṛṣ;* but अजीविष् *ajīviṣ* from √जीव् *jīv*.

c. Medial अ *a* is sometimes lengthened in the active; but it more usually remains unchanged in both voices.

The roots in the older language which show the lengthening are *kan, san, ran, stan, taṅs, vraj, vad, mad, car, tsar, hvar, jval, das.* From *svan* and *sah* occur forms of both kinds.

900. Of exceptions may be noted: √*mṛj* has (as elsewhere: **627**) *vṛddhi* instead of *guṇa:* thus, *amārjiṣam;* √*stṛ* has *astarīs*, and √*çṛ* has *açarīt* (also *açarāit* in AV.), with *guṇa* in active.

The root *grabh* or *grah* has (as in future etc., below, **935 d**, **956**) long *ī* instead of *i* before the sibilant: thus, *agrabhīṣma, agrahīṣṭa, agrabhīṣata.* The roots in changeable *ṛ* (so-called roots in *ṝ:* **242**), and √*vṛ* are said by the grammarians to do the same optionally; but no forms with long *ī* from such roots are found in the older language.

901. The endings are as in the preceding formation (उस् *us* and अत *ata* in 3d pl.). But in 2d and 3d sing., the combination *iṣ-s* and *iṣ-t* are from the earliest period of the language contracted into ईस् *īs* and ईत् *īt*.

The 2d pl. mid. should end always in *iḍhvam* (or *iḍḍhvam*, from *iṣ-dhvam:* **232**); and this is in fact the form in the only examples quotable from the older language, namely *ajaniḍhvam* and *artiḍhvam* and *āindhiḍhvam;* but the grammarians give rules by which the lingual *ḍh* is optional only, and that after *i* preceded by *g, r, l, v, h*.

902. As examples of the inflection of the *iṣ*-aorist may be taken the roots पू *pū*, 'purify', and बुध् *budh*, 'awake'. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अपाविषम् *ápāviṣam*	अपाविष्व *ápāviṣva*	अपाविष्म *ápāviṣma*	अपविषि *ápaviṣi*	अपविष्वहि *ápaviṣvahi*	अपविष्महि *ápaviṣmahi*

2	अपावीस् *ápāvīs*	अपाविष्टम् *ápāviṣṭam*	अपाविष्ट *ápāviṣṭa*	अपविष्ठास् *ápaviṣṭhās*	अपविषाथाम् *ápaviṣāthām*	अपविढ्वम् *ápaviḍhvam*
3	अपावीत् *ápāvīt*	अपाविष्टाम् *ápāviṣṭām*	अपाविषुस् *ápāviṣus*	अपविष्ट *ápaviṣṭa*	अपविषाताम् *ápaviṣātām*	अपविषत *ápaviṣata*
1	अबोधिषम् *ábodhiṣam* etc.	अबोधिष्व *ábodhiṣva* etc.	अबोधिष्म *ábodhiṣma* etc.	अबोधिषि *ábodhiṣi* etc.	अबोधिष्वहि *ábodhiṣvahi* etc.	अबोधिष्महि *ábodhiṣmahi* etc.

903. The number of roots from which forms of this aorist have been noted in the older language is about a hundred and twenty (in RV., about eighty; in AV. more than thirty, of which a dozen are additional to those in RV.; in the other texts, nearly thirty more). Among these are no roots in *ā*; but otherwise they are of every variety of form (rarest in final *i* and *ī*). Active and middle persons are freely made; but very sparingly from the same root (only about fifteen roots have both active and middle forms, and of these a part only exceptionally in the one voice or the other).

No rule appears to govern the choice of usage between the *iṣ* and the *s*-aorist; and in no small number of cases (more than a fifth of all), the same root shows forms of both classes.

904. Irregularities of the older language are to be noticed as follows:

a. The contracted forms *akramīm*, *agrabhīm*, and *avadhīm* (with augmentless *vádhīm*) are found in 1st sing. act.

b. For *áçarīt* occurs in AV. *áçarāit;* also (in a part of the MSS.) *çarāis* for *çarīs: agrahāiṣam* is found in AB. (also the monstrous form *ajagrabhāiṣaṁ:* see **801 i**).

c. From √*vad* is found *vadiṣma* (once, AB.), with short root-vowel. AV. has *nudiṣṭhās,* without *guṇa.*

d. The forms *atārima* (RV.) and *avādiran* (AV.), though they lack the sibilant, are perhaps to be referred to this aorist.

e. *Ajayit,* with short *i* in the ending, occurs in TS.

Modes of the *iṣ*-aorist.

905. As usual, augmentless indicative forms of this aorist are more common than proper subjunctives. Examples, of all the persons found to occur (and including all the accented words), are, in the active: *çáṅsiṣam, vádhīm; máthīs, vádhīs, yā́vīs, sā́vīs; ávīt, jū́rvīt, máthīt, vádhīt, veçīt; mardhiṣṭam, doṣiṣṭam, hiṅsiṣṭam; aviṣṭām, jániṣṭām, bādhiṣṭām; çramiṣma, vādiṣma; vadhiṣṭa* and *vadhiṣṭana, mathiṣṭana, hiṅsiṣṭa; hvāriṣus, grahīṣus;* — in the middle: *rādhiṣi; jániṣṭhās, marṣiṣṭhās, vyathiṣṭhās; krámiṣṭa, jániṣṭa, paviṣṭa, práthiṣṭa, mándiṣṭa; vyathiṣmahi.* The accent is on the root-syllable (*tāriṣús*, AV. once, is probably an error).

906. Of subjunctive forms with primary endings occur only the 1st sing. act. *daviṣāṇi,* and the 1st pl. mid. (with unstrengthened *e*) *yāciṣāmahe* and *saniṣāmahe.*

Forms with secondary endings are almost limited to 2d and 3d sing. act. There are found: *aviṣas, kā́niṣas, tāriṣas, rakṣiṣas, vádhiṣas, vā́diṣas, véṣiṣas, çansiṣas; kā́riṣat, jambhiṣat, jóṣiṣat, tāriṣat, níndiṣat, pā́riṣat, bódhiṣat, márdhiṣat, yāciṣat, yodhiṣat, rakṣiṣat, vaniṣat, vyathiṣat, çansiṣat, saniṣat, sāviṣat.* They are made, it will be noticed, with entire regularity, by adding *a* to the tense-stem in *iṣ* before the endings. The only other persons found to occur are the 3d pl. act. *saniṣan* and mid. *sániṣanta,* which are also regular. *Bhaviṣāt* (AB. once) is a solitary example of a form with double mode-sign. The radical syllable always has the accent, and its vowel usually accords with that of the indicative: but we have *san-* in the subjunctive against *asāniṣam* (as to *cay-* and *ran-*, see below, **908**).

907. The middle optative of this aorist also forms a part of the accepted "precative" of the later language. It is very rare at all periods, being made in RV. from only five roots, and in AV. from two of the same and from three additional ones (six of the eight have other *iṣ*-forms); and the remaining texts add, so far as noticed, only four other roots. All the forms found to occur are as follows: *janiṣīya, indhiṣīya, edhiṣīyá, ruciṣīya* and *rociṣīya, gmiṣīya; modiṣīṣṭhās; janiṣīṣṭa, vaniṣīṣṭa; sahiṣīvahi; edhiṣīmáhi, janiṣīmahi, tāriṣīmahi, mandiṣīmahi, vandiṣīmáhi, vardhiṣīmáhi, sahiṣīmahi* and *sāhiṣīmáhi.* The accent is on the ending, and this would lead us to expect a weak form of root throughout; but the usage in this respect appears to be various, and the cases are too few to allow of setting up any rule.

908. Of imperative forms, we have from √*av* a series: namely, *aviḍḍhí, aviṣṭu, aviṣṭám, avitá* (if this, as seems probable, stands anomalously for *aviṣṭá*) and *aviṣṭána:* two of these are of unmistakably imperative form. Other forms occur only in 2d du. and 2d pl., and are accordingly such as might also be subjunctives used imperatively (which is further made probable for two of them by their accentuation on the root-syllable): they are *kramiṣṭam, gamiṣṭam, cayiṣṭam* (against *acāyiṣam*), *tā́riṣṭam, yodhiṣṭam, vadhiṣṭam, çnathiṣṭam; rā́ṇiṣṭana* (against *arāṇiṣus*), *çnathiṣṭana.*

909. No words having a participial ending after *iṣ* are found anywhere to occur.

910. This is the only aorist of which forms are made in the secondary and denominative conjugations: see below, chap. XIV. (**1019**, **1035**, **1048**, **1068**).

6. The *siṣ*-aorist.

911. According to the grammarians, this aorist is made from roots in आ *ā* (including मि *mi* 'establish', मि *mi* 'diminish', and ली *lī* 'cling', which substitute forms in *ā*), and

from नम् *nam*, यम् *yam*, and रम् *ram*, and is used only in the active; the corresponding middle being of the *s*-form (4). Its inflection is precisely like that of the *iṣ*-aorist; it is unnecessary, then, to give more than its first persons, which we may form from the roots या *yā*, 'go', and नम् *nam*, 'bend'. Thus:

	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अयासिषम्	अयासिष्व	अयासिष्म	अनंसिषम्	अनंसिष्व	अनंसिष्म
	áyāsiṣam	*áyāsiṣva*	*áyāsiṣma*	*ánaṁsiṣam*	*ánaṁsiṣva*	*ánaṁsiṣma*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

912. The *siṣ*-aorist is properly only a sub-form of the *iṣ*-aorist, having the tense-sign and endings of the latter added to a form of root increased by an added *s*. It is of extreme rarity in the older language, being made in RV. only from the roots *gā* and *yā*, and in AV. only from *hā*, and probably from *pyā* and *van* (see below, **914**): the remaining texts add *jñā* (TB.) and *dhā* (ÇB.); the forms *adrāsīt* (K.) and *ahvāsīt* (GB.) might be either from this or from the *s*-aorist.

The participle *hā́samāna* and causative *hāsayanti* (RV.) show that *hās* had assumed, even at a very early period, the value of a secondary root beside *hā* for other forms than the aorist.

913. The whole series of quotable indicative forms is as follows: *ayāsiṣam, adhāsiṣam; agāsīs; agāsīt, ayāsīt* (and *adrāsīt* and *ahvāsīt?*); *ayāsiṣṭām; ajñāsiṣma; ajñāsiṣṭa, ayāsiṣṭa; agāsiṣus, ayāsiṣus* (*ākṣiṣus* is from √*akṣ*).

Forms without augment are these: *hāsiṣam; hāsīs; hāsīt, yāsīt; hāsiṣṭam; hāsiṣṭām; hāsiṣṭa; hāsiṣus, gāsiṣus*. The accent would doubtless be upon the root-syllable.

914. Of proper subjunctives are found two, *gāsiṣat* and *yāsiṣat* (both RV.).

Optatives are not less rare: namely, *yāsiṣīṣṭhās* and *pyāsiṣīmahi* (for which the AV. manuscripts read *pyāçiṣīmahi*, altered in the edition to *pyāyiṣ-*); and doubtless *vaṅçiṣīya* (AV., twice) is to be corrected to *vaṅsiṣīya*, and belongs here.

The accent of *yāsiṣṭám* (like *aviṣṭám*, **908**) shows it to be a true imperative form; and *yāsīṣṭa* (RV., once) is doubtless the same, with anomalous *ī* for *i*.

915. Middle forms of this aorist, it will be noticed, occur from the optative only; but, considering the great rarity of the whole formation, we are hardly justified in concluding that in the ancient language the middle persons in *-siṣi, -siṣṭhās*, etc., were not allowable, like those in *-iṣi, -iṣṭhās*, and the others of the *iṣ*-aorist.

7. The *sa*-aorist.

916. In the later language, the roots allowed to form

this aorist end in श् *ç*, ष् *ṣ*, or ह् *h* — all of them sounds which in combination with the tense-sign make क्ष् *kṣ;* and they have इ *i*, उ *u*, or ऋ *ṛ* as radical vowel.

They are: *diç, riç, liç, viç, kliç, kruç, ruç, mṛç, spṛç; tviṣ, dviṣ, çliṣ, viṣ, kṛṣ; dih, mih, lih, guh, duh, ruh, tṛh, vṛh, stṛh* (Kielhorn). Some of them may, or with certain meanings must, take aorists of other forms. And a few are allowed to drop both tense-sign and union-vowel *a* in certain persons of the middle: that is, they may make instead forms of the root-aorist (1).

917. As the tense-stem ends in अ *a*, the inflection is in the main like that of an imperfect of the second general conjugation. But (according to the grammarians: the forms unfortunately have not been found in the older language) the 1st sing. mid. ends in इ *i* instead of ए *e*, and the 2d and 3d du. mid. in आथाम् *āthām* and आताम् *ātām*, as in imperfects of the other conjugation. Both active and middle inflection is admitted. The root is throughout unstrengthened.

918. As example of inflection we may take the root दिश् *diç*, 'point out'. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अदिक्षम् *ádikṣam*	अदिक्षाव *ádikṣāva*	अदिक्षाम *ádikṣāma*	अदिक्षि *ádikṣi*	अदिक्षावहि *ádikṣāvahi*	अदिक्षामहि *ádikṣāmahi*
2	अदिक्षस् *ádikṣas*	अदिक्षतम् *ádikṣatam*	अदिक्षत *ádikṣata*	अदिक्षथास् *ádikṣathās*	अदिक्षाथाम् *ádikṣāthām*	अदिक्षध्वम् *ádikṣadhvam*
3	अदिक्षत् *ádikṣat*	अदिक्षताम् *ádikṣatām*	अदिक्षन् *ádikṣan*	अदिक्षत *ádikṣata*	अदिक्षाताम् *ádikṣātām*	अदिक्षन्त *ádikṣanta*

919. In the earlier language, the forms of the *sa*-aorist are hardly more than sporadic, and are with much probability to be regarded as transfers of the *s*-aorist to an inflection after the manner of an *a*-stem. They are made in RV. from eight roots; in AV., from two of these and from two others; and the remaining texts add six more, making sixteen in all. As later, all have *i* or *u* or *ṛ* as root-vowel, and a final consonant which combines with *s* to *kṣ;* but there are in the list also two ending in *j* (unless the forms ascribed to *mṛj* and *vṛj* be forced under *mṛç* and *vṛh*). All the examples noted are given below.

920. In the indicative, we find, in the active: *avṛkṣam; adrukṣas, arukṣas, aspṛkṣas; adikṣat, amikṣat, avikṣat, ákrukṣat, aghukṣat, adukṣat* and

ádhukṣat, árukṣat, akṛkṣat, ámṛkṣat, áspṛkṣat; aghukṣatām; arukṣāma, amṛkṣāma, avṛkṣāma; ádhukṣan, apikṣan (√*piṣ*), *arukṣan;* — in the middle, only *akṛkṣathās* (√*kṛṣ*), *ádhukṣata,* and *amṛkṣanta.*

Forms without augment (no true subjunctives occur) are, in the active: *dṛkṣam, mṛkṣam; dukṣas, rukṣas, mṛkṣas; dvikṣat; mṛkṣata; dhukṣán* and *dukṣán;* — in the middle, *dvikṣata, dukṣata* and *dhúkṣata, dhukṣánta.*

There are no optative forms.

Imperative are: in the active, *mṛkṣatam;* in the middle, *dhukṣásva.*

The few accented forms without augment which occur have the tone on the tense-sign *sá,* in analogy with the *a*-aorist (2) and the imperfect of the *á*-class (VII.): a single exception is *dhúkṣata,* which probably needs emendation to *dhukṣáta.*

The aspiration of initial *d* and *g*, after loss of the aspirated quality of the root-final (**155**), is seen in forms from the roots *duh* and *guh,* but not from *druh* (only a single case, AB.); RV., however, has also *adukṣat* and *dukṣas, dukṣán, dukṣata.*

Precative.

921. As the so-called precative is allowed by the grammarians to be made in the later language from every root, and in an independent way, without reference to the mode of formation of the aorist from the same root, it is desirable to put together here a brief statement of the rules given for it.

922. The precative active is made by adding the active precative endings (above, **568**) directly to the root. But:

a. Of final root-vowels (as before the passive-sign *yá*: **770**), *i* and *u* are lengthened; *ṛ* is usually changed to *ri,* but to *īr* and *ūr* in those roots which elsewhere show *ir* and *ur* forms (so-called *ṝ*-roots: **242**), and to *ar* in *ṛ* and *smṛ; ā* is changed to *e* in the roots *dā, dhā, sthā, pā* 'drink', *gā* 'sing', and a few others, in part optionally.

b. The root in general assumes its weakest form: a penultimate nasal is lost, as in *badhyāsam* from √*bandh;* the roots which are abbreviated in the weak persons of the perfect (**794**) have the same abbreviation here, as in *ucyāsam, ijyāsam, vidhyāsam, supyāsam, gṛhyāsam;* √*çās* forms *çiṣyāsam* (compare **639, 854**): and so on.

In the older language also, as has been seen above (**838**), precative optative forms are made in the active only for the root-aorist, and in a manner accordant with that here described.

923. The precative middle is made by adding the middle precative endings (above, **568**) to the root increased by स् *s*

or इष् *iṣ* — that is, to the tense-stem of an *s*-aorist or of an *iṣ*-aorist (but without augment).

The root is strengthened according to the rules that apply in forming the middle-stem of the *s* and of the *iṣ*-aorists respectively: in general, namely, a final vowel is gunated in both formations; but a medial vowel, only before इष् *iṣ*.

Other minor rules it is unnecessary to repeat here.

In the older language, as has been pointed out in detail above, precative optative forms of the middle voice are oftenest made from the *s*-aorist (**895**) and the *iṣ*-aorist (**907**); but also from the root-aorist (**838**), the *a*-aorist (**850**), the reduplicated aorist (**870**), and the *siṣ*-aorist (**914**); and even from the perfect (**812 b**).

924. As example of inflection, we may take the root भू *bhū*, 'be', which is said (no middle aorist or precative is made from it in the older language) to form its middle on the *iṣ*-stem. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	भूयासम् *bhūyā́sam*	भूयास्व *bhūyā́sva*	भूयास्म *bhūyā́sma*	भविषीय *bhaviṣīyá*	भविषीवह्दि *bhaviṣīváhi*	भविषीमह्दि *bhaviṣīmáhi*
2	भूयास् *bhūyā́s*	भूयास्तम् *bhūyā́stam*	भूयास्त *bhūyā́sta*	भविषीष्ठास् *bhaviṣīṣṭhā́s*	भविषीयास्थाम् *bhaviṣīyā́sthām*	भविषीढ्वम् *bhaviṣīḍhvám*
3	भूयात् *bhūyā́t*	भूयास्ताम् *bhūyā́stām*	भूयासुस् *bhūyā́sus*	भविषीष्ट *bhaviṣīṣṭá*	भविषीयास्ताम् *bhaviṣīyā́stām*	भविषीरन् *bhaviṣīrán*

According to the grammarians, the dental or lingual character of the initial of the middle ending *dhvam* depends upon how the aorist tense-sign is preceded: in the *s*-form, it is *ḍhvam* if the *sī* is preceded by any other vowel than *a* or *ā*; in the *iṣ*-form, it may be optionally *ḍhvam* if the *iṣ* is preceded by *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, or *h*. This seems wholly irrational: the true question is, whether the precative *s* is to be regarded as really present in 2d pl. mid., as in all other 2d persons of both voices: if so — which is altogether probable, but in the absence of quotable forms from the older language cannot be pronounced certain — the ending is necessarily and always *ḍhvam*.

925. The precative is a form of rare occurrence in the classical language. In each of the texts already more than once referred to (Manu, Nala, Bhagavad-Gītā, Çakuntalā, Hitopadeça)

it occurs once and no more. Its value, as already stated (**573**), is purely optative: thus, *sarvarāṣṭreṣv idaṁ vaco brūyāsta* (Nala), '[I beg that you] speak these words in all kingdoms'.

Uses of the Aorist.

926. The uses of the aorist mode-forms (as has been already pointed out: **582**) appear to accord in general with those of the mode-forms of the present-system. The predilection of the earlier language, continued sparingly in the later, for the augmentless forms in prohibitive expression after *mā́* was sufficiently stated and illustrated above (**579**).

The tense-value of the aorist indicative has also been more than once referred to, and calls only for somewhat more of detail and for illustration here.

927. The aorist of the later language is simply a preterit, equivalent to the imperfect and perfect, and frequently coördinated with them.

Thus, *tataḥ sa gardabhaṁ laguḍena tāḍayāmāsa; tenā 'sāu pañcatvam agamat* (H.), 'thereupon he beat the donkey with a stick; and hereof the latter died'; *tataḥ sā vidarbhān agamat punaḥ; tāṁ tu bandhujanaḥ samapūjayat* (MBh.), 'thereupon she went back to Vidarbha; and her kindred paid her reverence'; *prītimān abhūt: uvāca cai 'nam* (MBh.), 'he was filled with affection, and said to him'.

928. The aorist of the older language has the value of a proper "perfect": that is, it signifies something past which is viewed as completed with reference to the present; and it requires accordingly to be rendered by our tense made with the auxiliary *have*. In general, it indicates what has just taken place; and oftenest something which the speaker has experienced.

Examples from the Veda are: *pári 'mé gā́m aneṣata páry agním ahṛṣata, devéṣv akrata çrávaḥ ká imā́n ā́ dadharṣati* (RV.), 'these here have led about a cow, they have carried around the fire, they have done honor to the gods — who shall venture anything against them?' *yám āíchāma mánasā sò 'yám ā́ 'gāt* (RV.), 'he whom we (formerly, impf.) sought with our mind has (now, aor.) come'; *yéné 'ndro havíṣā kṛtvy ábhavad dyumny ùttamáḥ, idáṁ tád akri devā asapatnā́ḥ kílā 'bhuvam* (RV.), 'that libation by which Indra, making it, became (impf.) of highest glory, I have now made, ye gods; I have become free from enemies'.

Examples from the Brāhmaṇa language are: *sā́ hā 'smiṅ jyóg uvāsa ... táto ha gandharvā́ḥ sám ūdire: jyóg vā́ iyám urváçī manuṣyèṣv avātsīt* (ÇB.), 'she lived with him a long time. Then the Gandharvas said to one another, "this Urvaçi, forsooth, hath dwelt a long time among mortals"'; *tasya ha dantāḥ pedire: taṁ ho 'vāca: apatsata vā asya dantāḥ* (AB.), 'his teeth fell

out. He said to him: "his teeth truly have fallen out"'; *índrasya vṛtráṁ jaghnúṣa indriyáṁ vīryàm pṛthivī́m ánu vy ā̀rchat tád óshadhayo vīrúdho 'bhavan sá prajā́patim úpā 'dhāvad vṛtrám me jaghnúṣa indriyáṁ vīryàm pṛthivī́m ánu vy ā̀rat tád óshadhayo vīrúdho 'bhūvann íti* (TS.), 'of Indra, when he had slain Vritra, the force and might went away into the earth, and became the herbs and plants: he ran to Prajāpati, saying: "my force and might, after slaying Vritra, have gone away into the earth, and have become the herbs and plants"'; *svayám enam abhyudétya brūyād vrā́tya kvà 'vātsīḥ* (AV., in prose passage), 'going up to him in person, let him say: "Vrātya, where hast thou abode"?' *yád idā́nīṁ dvāú vivádamānāv eyā́tām ahám adarçam ahám açrāuṣam íti yá evá brūyā́d ahám adarçam íti tásmā evá çráddadhyāma* (ÇB.), 'if now two should come disputing with one another, [the one] saying "I have seen", [the other] "I have heard", we should believe the one who said "I have seen"'.

929. This distinction of the aorist from the imperfect and perfect as tenses of narration is very common in the Brāhmaṇas, and is closely observed: neglect of it is very rare, and is to be regarded as either due to corruption of text or indicative of a late origin.

In the Vedic hymns, the same distinction is prevalent, but is both less clear and less strictly maintained: many passages would admit an interpretation implying either sense; and evident aorist-forms (especially of the simple aorist: Delbrück) are sometimes used narratively, while imperfect-forms are also occasionally employed in the aorist sense.

930. The boundary between that which has just been and that which now is is occasionally overstepped, and the aorist becomes nearly the equivalent of a present. Not very rarely, in the Veda, it is convenient to render the former as if it were the latter; and in the Brāhmaṇa the same is true especially of the aorist *akar*.

CHAPTER XII.

THE FUTURE-SYSTEMS.

931. THE verb has two futures, of very different age and character. The one has for tense-sign a sibilant followed by य *ya*, and is an inheritance from the time of Indo-European unity. The other is a periphrastic formation, made by appending an auxiliary verb to a derivative noun of

agency, and it is a recent addition to the verb-system; its beginnings only are met with in the earliest language. The former may be called the *s*-future (or the old future, or simply the future); the latter may be distinguished as the periphrastic future.

I. The *s*-future.

932. The tense-sign of this future is the syllable स्य *syá*, added to the root either directly or by an auxiliary vowel इ *i* (in the latter case becoming इष्य *iṣyá*). The root has the *guṇa*-strengthening. Thus, from √दा *dā* is formed the future tense-stem दास्य *dāsyá;* from √इ *i*, the stem एष्य *eṣyá;* from √दुह् *duh*, the stem धोक्ष्य *dhokṣyá;* from √भू *bhū*, the stem भविष्य *bhaviṣyá;* from √ऋध् *ṛdh*, the stem अर्धिष्य *ardhiṣyá;* and so on.

But from √*jīv* the stem is *jīviṣyá*, from √*ukṣ* it is *ukṣiṣyá*, and so on (**240**).

933. This tense-stem is then inflected precisely like a present-stem ending in अ *a* (second general conjugation). We may take as models of inflection the future of √दा *dā*, 'give', and that of √कृ *kṛ*, 'make'. Thus:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	दास्यामि *dāsyā́mi*	दास्यावस् *dāsyā́vas*	दास्यामस् *dāsyā́mas*	दास्ये *dāsyé*	दास्यावहे *dāsyā́vahe*	दास्यामहे *dāsyā́mahe*
2	दास्यसि *dāsyási*	दास्यथस् *dāsyáthas*	दास्यथ *dāsyátha*	दास्यसे *dāsyáse*	दास्येथे *dāsyéthe*	दास्यध्वे *dāsyádhve*
3	दास्यति *dāsyáti*	दास्यतस् *dāsyátas*	दास्यन्ति *dāsyánti*	दास्यते *dāsyáte*	दास्येते *dāsyéte*	दास्यन्ते *dāsyánte*
1	करिष्यामि *kariṣyā́mi*	करिष्यावस् *kariṣyā́vas*	करिष्यामस् *kariṣyā́mas*	करिष्ये *kariṣyé*	करिष्यावहे *kariṣyā́vahe*	करिष्यामहे *kariṣyā́mahe*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

934. With regard to the use or non-use of the auxiliary vowel *i* before the sibilant, there is a degree of general accordance between this tense and the other future and the desidera-

tive; but it is by no means absolute, nor are any definite rules to be laid down with regard to it (and so much the less, because of the infrequency of the two latter formations in actual use): between this and the aorist (*s*-aorist on the one side, or *iṣ*-aorist on the other), any correspondence is still less traceable. Practically, it is necessary to learn, as a matter of usage, how any given root makes these various parts of its conjugational system.

935. Below is added a statement of the usage, as regards the auxiliary vowel, of the roots observed to form the *s*-future in the older language (more than a hundred and fifty: the collection is believed to be tolerably complete) — for the most part, in the form of a specification of the roots which add the tense-sign directly to the root; in brackets are further mentioned the other roots which according to the grammarians also refuse the auxiliary vowel.

a. Of roots ending in vowels, the great majority (excepting those in *ṛ*) take no *i*. Thus, all in *ā* (numerous, and unnecessary to specify); all in *i* — *i*, *kṣi*, *ci*, *ji* — except *çri* [and *çvi*]; all in *ī* — *krī*, *nī*, *bhī*, *mī*, *vlī* — except *çī* [and *ḍī*]; all in *u* — *cyu*, *dru*, *plu*, *çru*, *dru* — except *su* 'press', and *stu*, which follow either method, as *stoṣyāmi* and *staviṣyāmi* [and except *kṣu*, *kṣṇu*, *nu*, *yu*, *ru*, *snu*]. But all in *ṛ* (numerous, and unnecessary to specify) take *i* [and those in changeable *ṛ*, or so-called *ṝ*-roots (**242**) are said to take either *i* or *ī*; no *ī*-forms, however, are found in the older language]; and likewise those in *ū* — namely *bhū*, *dhū*.

b. Of roots ending in mutes, two thirds add *sya* directly. Thus, of roots in *k*, *çak*; — in *c* (all but *yāc*: namely), *muc*, *ric*, *vac*, *vraçc*, *sic* [and *pac*, *vic*]; — in *ch*, *prach* (only case); — in *j* (all but *vraj*: namely), *bhaj*, *majj* (*maṅkṣya*), *mṛj* (*mārkṣya*), *yaj*, *yuj*, *vṛj*, *sṛj* [also *tyaj*, *bhrajj*, *bhañj*, *rañj*, *sañj*, *svañj*, *nij*, *vij*, *ruj*, *bhuj*]; in *t*, *kṛt* and *vṛt* [*kṛt*, *cṛt*, *nṛt* optionally]; — in *d*, *ad*, *pad*, *çad*, *sad*, *skand*, *syand*, *chid*, *bhid*, *vid* 'find', *nud* [also *had*, *khid*, *svid*, *kṣud*, *tud*, and *chṛd* and *tṛd* optionally]: only observed exceptions, *vad*, and *vid* 'know'; — in *dh*, *bandh*, *rādh*, *budh*, *yudh*, *rudh* [also *vyadh*, *sādh*, *sidh*, *krudh*, *kṣudh*, *çudh*, *vṛdh*]: only observed exceptions, *ṛdh* and *gṛdh*; — in *n*, *tan* and *man* (but *man* forms sometimes *maniṣya*); — in *p*, *tap*, *vap*, *āp*, *gup*, *dṛp*, *sṛp*, *kḷp* [also *çap*, *kṣip*, *lip*, *lup*]: *svap* forms both *svapsya* and *svapiṣya*; — in *bh*, *yabh* and *labh* [also *rabh*]: no exceptions observed; — in *m*, *nam*, *yam*, *ram*: *kram* follows either method.

c. Of roots ending in semivowels, all (they are very few) take the auxiliary *i*. The roots *vā* or *vi* ("*ve*") 'weave' and *hvā* or *hū* ("*hve*") 'call' take the forms *vay* and *hvay*, as before the *a* of their present-stem: thus, *vayiṣya*, *hvayiṣya*.

d. Of roots ending in spirants, the minority (about a third) are without the auxiliary vowel. They are: roots in *ç*, *viç*, *dṛç* (*drakṣya*), *mṛç* (*mrakṣya*) [also *daṅç*, *diç*, *riç*, *liç*, *kruç*, *ruç*, *spṛç*]; — in *ṣ*, *çiṣ*, *kṛṣ* (*krakṣya*) [also *tviṣ*, *dviṣ*, *piṣ*, *viṣ*, *çliṣ*, *tuṣ*, *duṣ*, *puṣ*, *çuṣ*]; — in *s*, *vas* 'dwell' (*vatsya*:

167) [also *ghas*]; — in *h, dah, vah, mih, duh, ruh* [also *nah, dih, lih*]: exceptions are *grah (grahīṣya)* and *muh.*

In the older language, a decided, though not a large, majority of simple roots add the *sya* without auxiliary *i;* in the classical Sanskrit, doubtless the contrary is the case, as *i* is generally taken by any root of late origin and derivative character — as it is also uniformly in secondary conjugation (chap. XIV.).

936. As the root is strengthened in forming the stem of this future, so, of a root that has a strong and a weak form, the strong form is used: thus, from √*naç* or *nañç* is made *nañkṣya;* from √*sras* or *srañs, srañsisya,* and the like.

Special irregularities in forming stems from certain roots have been noted in connection with those roots above (see *majj, mṛj, vay* and *hvay, grah*).

The ÇB. has once the monstrous form *açnuviṣyāmahe,* made upon the present-stem *açnu* (cl. IV.) of √*aç.*

937. This future is comparatively rare in the oldest language — in part, apparently, because the uses of a future are to a large extent answered by subjunctive forms — but becomes more and more common later. Thus, the RV. has only seventeen occurrences of personal forms, from nine different roots (with participles from six additional roots); the AV. has fifty occurrences, from twenty-five roots (with participles from seven more); the TS. has occurrences (personal forms and participles together) from over sixty roots; and (as has been noticed above) forms from more than a hundred and fifty roots are quotable from the older texts.

Modes of the *s*-future.

938. Mode-forms of the future occur only sporadically. The sole Vedic example is *kariṣyā́s,* 2d sing. subj. act. (in RV., once or twice); GB. has *eṣyāmahāi, tañsyāmahāi, sthāsyāmahāi,* all 1st pl. subj. mid.; and *bhaviṣyadhvam, vetsyadhvam, saviṣyadhvam,* 2d pl. impv. mid., are quoted (Bopp) from MBh.

Participles of the *s*-future.

939. Participles are made from the future-stem precisely as from a present-stem in अ *a:* namely, by adding in the active the ending न्त् *nt,* in the middle the ending मान *māna;* the accent remains upon the stem. Thus, from the verbs instanced above, दास्यन्त् *dāsyánt* and दास्यमान *dāsyámāna,* करिष्यन्त् *kariṣyánt* and करिष्यमाण *kariṣyámāṇa.*

According to the grammarians, the feminine of the active participle is made either in *ántī* or in *atī́;* but only the former has been noted as occur-

ring in the older language, and the latter, if met with at all, is very rare: see above, **449**.

In RV. occurs once *sū́ṣyantī*, from √*sū*, with anomalous accentuation.

Preterit of the *s*-future: Conditional.

940. From the future-stem is made an augment-preterit, by prefixing the augment and adding the secondary endings, in precisely the same manner as an imperfect from a present-stem in अ *a*. This preterit is called the conditional.

It stands related to the future, in form and meaning, as the French conditional *aurais* to the future *aurai*, or as the English *would have* to *will have* — nearly as the German *würde haben* to *werde haben*.

Thus, from the roots already instanced:

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	अदास्यम् *ádāsyam*	अदास्याव *ádāsyāva*	अदास्याम *ádāsyāma*	अदास्ये *ádāsye*	अदास्यावहि *ádāsyāvahi*	अदास्यामहि *ádāsyāmahi*
2	अदास्यस् *ádāsyas*	अदास्यतम् *ádāsyatam*	अदास्यत *ádāsyata*	अदास्यथास् *ádāsyathās*	अदास्येथाम् *ádāsyethām*	अदास्यध्वम् *ádāsyadhvam*
3	अदास्यत् *ádāsyat*	अदास्यताम् *ádāsyatām*	अदास्यन् *ádāsyan*	अदास्यत *ádāsyata*	अदास्येताम् *ádāsyetām*	अदास्यन्त *ádāsyanta*
1	अकरिष्यम् *ákariṣyam*	अकरिष्याव *ákariṣyāva*	अकरिष्याम *ákariṣyāma*	अकरिष्ये *ákariṣye*	अकरिष्यावहि *ákariṣyāvahi*	अकरिष्यामहि *ákariṣyāmahi*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

941. The conditional is the rarest of all the forms of the Sanskrit verb. The RV. has but a single example, *ábhariṣyat*, 'was going to carry off', and none of the Vedic texts furnishes another. In the Brāhmaṇas it is hardly more common (fifteen occurrences, of which several are in repetitions of the same passage) — except in ÇB., where it is met with more than fifty times. Nor does it, like the future, become more frequent later: not an example occurs in Nala, Bhagavad-Gītā, or Hitopadeça; only one in Manu; and two in Çakuntalā.

II. The Periphrastic Future.

942. This formation contains only a single indicative tense, active and middle, without modes, or participle, or preterit.

Its consists in a derivative *nomen agentis*, having the

value of a future active participle, and used, either with or without an accompanying auxiliary, in the office of a verbal tense with future meaning.

943. The noun is formed by the suffix तृ *tṛ* (or तर् *tar*); and this (as in its other than verbal uses: see chap. XVII.) is added to the root either directly or with a preceding auxiliary vowel इ *i*, the root itself being strengthened by *guṇa*, but the accent resting on the suffix: thus, दातृ *dātṛ́* from √दा *dā;* कर्तृ *kartṛ́* from √कृ *kṛ;* भवितृ *bhavitṛ́* from √भू *bhū.*

As regards the presence or absence of the vowel *i*, the usage is said by the grammarians to be generally the same as in the *s*-future from the same root (above, **935**). The most important exception is that the roots in *ṛ* take no *i:* thus, *kartṛ* (against *kariṣya*); roots *han* and *gam* show the same difference; while *vṛt*, *vṛdh*, and *syand* have *i* here, though not in the *s*-future. The few forms which occur in the older language agree with these statements.

944. In the third persons of both voices, the nom. masc. of the noun, in the three numbers respectively (**373**), is used without auxiliary: thus, भविता *bhavitā́*, 'he or she or it will be'; भवितारौ *bhavitā́rau*, 'both will be'; भवितारस् *bhavitā́ras*, 'they will be'. In the other persons, the first and second persons present of √अस् *as* 'be' (**636**) are used as auxiliary; and they are combined, in all numbers, with the singular nom. masc. of the noun. As an independent verb, अस् *as* has no middle forms; but for this auxiliary use middle persons have been made by analogy, हे *he* being used in 1st sing.

Thus, from √दा *dā*, 'give':

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	दातास्मि *dātā́smi*	दातास्वस् *dātā́svas*	दातास्मस् *dātā́smas*	दाताहे *dātā́he*	दातास्वहे *dātā́svahe*	दातास्महे *dātā́smahe*
2	दातासि *dātā́si*	दातास्थस् *dātā́sthas*	दातास्थ *dātā́stha*	दातासे *dātā́se*	दातासाथे *dātā́sāthe*	दाताध्वे *dātā́dhve*
3	दाता *dātā́*	दातारौ *dātā́rau*	दातारस् *dātā́ras*	दाता *dātā́*	दातारौ *dātā́rau*	दातारस् *dātā́ras*

Very rarely, other persons than the third are used without the auxiliary verb: thus, *aham draṣṭā*, 'I shall see' (MBh.); *tvam bhavitā* (MBh. Megh.), 'thou shalt be'; and examples are not unknown of the auxiliary in the 3d person: thus, *vaktā 'sti* (MBh.), 'he will speak'; and of the use in dual and plural of the proper number-form with the auxiliary: thus, *kartārāu svaḥ* (MBh.), 'we two shall do'.

945. The accent in these combinations, as in all the ordinary cases of collocation of a verb with a preceding predicate noun or adjective (**592**), is on the noun itself; and, unlike all the true verbal forms, the combination retains its accent everywhere even in an independent clause: thus, *tárhi vā́ atināṣṭró bhavitā́smi* (ÇB.), 'then I shall be out of danger' (where *bhaviṣyāmi,* if used, would be accentless). Whether in a dependent clause the auxiliary verb would take an accent (**595**), and whether, if so, at the expense of the accent of the noun (as in the case of a preposition compounded with a verb-form: **1083**), we are without the means of determining.

946. In the Veda, the *nómina agentis* in *tṛ* or *tar*, like various other derivative nouns (**271**), but with especial frequency, are used in participial construction, governing the accusative if they come from roots whose verbal forms do so. Often, also, they are used predicatively, with or without accompanying copula; yet without any implication of time; they are not the beginnings, but only the forerunners, of a new tense-formation. The tense-use begins, but rather sparingly, in the Brāhmaṇas (from which over thirty occurrences are quotable), and grows more common later, though the periphrastic future is nowhere so frequent as the *s*-future.

947. Middle forms are extremely few in the older language. TS. has once *prayoktā́se*, which seems to be 1st sing. (the usual ending *e* added to the abbreviated root *'s*); but TA. (i. 11) has once the later form *yaṣṭā́he;* *çayitā́se* in ÇB. is clearly 2d sing.; TB. has once *yaṣṭā́smahe*, 1st pl.

Uses of the Futures and Conditional.

948. As the *s*-future is the commoner, so also it is the one more indefinitely used. It expresses in general what is going to take place at some time to come — but often, as in other languages, adding on the one hand an implication of will or intention, or on the other hand that of promise or threatening.

A few examples are: *varṣiṣyáty āiṣámaḥ parjányo vṛ́ṣṭimān bhaviṣyati* (ÇB.), 'it is going to rain; Parjanya is going to be rich in rain this year'; *yás tán ná véda kím ṛcā́ kariṣyati* (RV.), 'whoever does not know that, what will he do with verse?' *ā́ vāí vayám agnī́ dhāsyāmaha átha yūyáṁ kíṁ kariṣyatha* (ÇB.), 'we are going to build the two fires; then what will you do?' *tám índro 'bhyā́dudrāva haniṣyán* (ÇB.), 'him Indra ran at, intending to slay'; *yády evā́ kariṣyátha sākáṁ devāír yajñíyāso bhaviṣyatha* (RV.), 'if

ye will do thus, ye shall be worthy of the sacrifice along with the gods'; *dántās te çatsyanti* (AV.), 'thy teeth will fall out'; *ná mariṣyasi mā́ bibheḥ* (AV.), 'thou shalt not die; be not afraid'; *brūhi kva yāsyasi* (MBh.), 'tell us; where are you going to go?' *yadi mām pratyākhyāsyasi viṣam āsthāsye* (MBh.), 'if you shall reject me, I will resort to poison'. As in other languages, the tense is also sometimes used for the expression of a conjecture: thus: *ko 'yaṁ devo gandharvo vā bhaviṣyati* (MBh.), 'who is this? he is doubtless a god, or a Gandharva'.

949. The periphrastic future is defined by the grammarians as expressing something to be done at a definite time to come. And this, though but faintly traceable in later use, is a distinct characteristic of the formation in the language where it first makes its appearance (Delbrück). It is especially often used along with *çvás*, 'tomorrow'.

A few examples are: *yatarān vā ime çvaḥ kamitāras te jetāras* (K.), 'whichever of the two parties these shall choose tomorrow, they will conquer'; *prātar yaṣṭāsmahe* (TB.), 'we shall sacrifice tomorrow morning'; *ityahé vaḥ paktā́smi* (ÇB.), 'on such and such a day I will cook for you'; *tā́n ma ékāṁ rā́trim ánte çayitā́se jātá u te 'yáṁ tárhi putró bhavitā́* (ÇB.), 'then you shall lie with me one night, and at that time this son of yours will be born'. In other cases, this definiteness of time is wanting, but an emphasis, as of special certainty, seems perhaps to belong to the form; thus, *bibhṛhí mā pārayiṣyā́mi tvé 'ti: kásmān mā pārayiṣyasī́ 'ty āughá imā́ḥ sárvāḥ prajā́ nirvoḍhā́, tátas tvā pārayitā́smī́ 'ti* (ÇB.), 'support me and I will save you, said it. From what will you save me? said he. A flood is going to carry off all these creatures; from that I will save you, said it'; *paridevayāṁ cakrire mahac chokabhayam prāptāsmas* (GB.), 'they set up a lamentation: "we are going to meet with great pain and dread"'; *yaje 'yakṣi yaṣṭāhe ca* (TA.), 'I sacrifice, I have sacrificed, and I shall sacrifice'. In yet other cases, in the older language even, and yet more in the later, this future appears to be equivalent to the other: thus, *prajāyām enaṁ vijñātāsmo yadi vidvān vā juhoty avidvān vā* (AB.), 'we shall know him in his children whether he is one that sacrifices with knowledge or without knowledge'; *vaktāsmo vā idaṁ devebhyaḥ* (AB.), 'we shall tell this to the gods'; *yadi svārtho mamā 'pi bhavitā tata evaṁ svārthaṁ kariṣyāmi* (MBh.), 'if later my own affair shall come up, then I will attend to my own affair'; *kathaṁ tu bhavitāsy eka iti tvāṁ nṛpa çocimi* (MBh.), 'but how will you get along alone? that, O king, is the cause of my grief about you'.

950. The conditional would seem to be most originally and properly used to signify that something 'was going to' be done. And this value it has in its only Vedic ocurrence, and occasionally elsewhere. But usually it has the sense ordinarily called "conditional"; and in the great majority of its occurrences it is found (like the subjunctive and the optative, when used with the same value) in both clauses of a conditional sentence.

Thus, *yó vṛtrā́ya sínam átrā́ 'bhariṣyat prá tám jánitrī vidúṣa uvāca* (RV.), 'him, who was going here to carry off Vritra's wealth, his mother proclaimed to the knowing one'; *çatāyum gām akariṣyam* (AB.), 'I was going to make (should have made) the cow live a hundred years' (in other versions of the same story is added the other clause, in which the conditional has a value more removed from its original: thus, in GB., 'if you, villain, had not stopped *[prā́grahīṣyaḥ]* my mouth'); *táta evā́ 'sya bhayám ví 'yāya kásmād dhy ábheṣyad dvitī́yād vā́í bhayám bhavati* (ÇB.), 'thereupon his fear departed; for of whom was he to be afraid? occasion of fear arises from a second person'; *útpapāta cirám tán mene yád vā́saḥ paryádhāsyata* (ÇB.), 'he leaped up; he thought it long that he should put on a garment'; *sá tád evá nā́ 'vindat prajā́patir yátrā́ 'hoṣyat* (MS.), 'Prajāpati, verily, did not then find where he was to (should) sacrifice'; *evam cen nā 'vakṣyo mūrdhā te vyapatiṣyat* (GB.), 'if you should not speak thus, your head would fly off'; *sá yád dhāi 'tā́vad evā́ 'bhaviṣyad yā́vatyo hai 'vā́ 'gre prajā́ḥ sṛṣṭā́s tā́vatyo hāi 'vā́ 'bhaviṣyan ná prā́ 'janiṣyanta* (ÇB.), 'if he had been only so much, there would have been only so many living creatures as were created at first; they would have had no progeny'; *kim vā 'bhaviṣyad aruṇas tamasām vibhettā tam cet sahasrakiraṇo dhuri nā 'kariṣyat* (Çak.), 'would the Dawn, forsooth, be the scatterer of the darkness, if the thousand-rayed one did not set her on the front of his chariot?'

CHAPTER XIII.

VERBAL ADJECTIVES AND NOUNS: PARTICIPLES, INFINITIVES, GERUNDS.

951. THOSE verbal adjectives, or participles, which are made from tense-stems, and so constitute a part of the various tense-systems, have been already treated. It remains to describe certain others, which, being made directly from the root itself, belong to the verbal system as a whole, and not to any particular part of it.

The infinitive (with a few sporadic exceptions in the older language) also comes in all cases from the root directly, and not from any of the derived tense-stems.

The same is true of the so-called gerunds, or indeclinable participles.

Passive Participle in *tá* or *ná*.

952. By the accented suffix त *tá* — or, in a comparatively small number of verbs, न *ná* — is formed a verbal

adjective which, when coming from transitive verbs, qualifies anything as having endured the action expressed by the verb: thus, दत्त *dattá*, 'given'; उक्त *uktá*, 'spoken'. Hence it is usually called the passive participle; or, to distinguish it from the participle belonging to the passive present-system (**771**), the past passive participle.

When made from an intransitive or neuter verb, the same participle, as in other languages, has no passive but only an indefinite past sense: thus, गत *gatá*, 'gone'; भूत *bhūtá*, 'been'; पतित *patitá*, 'fallen'.

953. In general, this participle is made by adding त *tá* to the bare verbal root, with observation of the ordinary rules of euphonic combination.

Some roots, however, require the prefixion of the auxiliary vowel *i* to the suffix. For these, and for the verbs that add *ná* instead of *tá*, see below, **956**, **957**.

As to the accent when the root is preceded by a preposition, see **1085 a**.

954. The root before त *tá* has usually its weakest form, if there is anywhere in the verbal system a distinction of weak and strong forms. Thus:

a. A penultimate nasal is dropped: e. g. *aktá* from √*añj*, *baddhá* from √*bandh*, *srastá* from √*srañs* or *sras*.

b. Roots which in the weak forms of the perfect are abbreviated (**794**) suffer the same abbreviation here: thus, *uktá* from √*vac*, *ūḍhá* from √*vah*, *iṣṭá* from √*yaj*, *suptá* from √*svap*, *viddhá* from √*vyadh*, *pṛṣṭá* from √*prach*.

c. Final *ā* is weakened to *ī* in *gītá* from √*gā* 'sing', *pītá* from √*pā* 'drink', *dhītá* from √*dhā* 'suck', *sphītá*, *vītá* from √*vyā*, *jītá* from √*jyā*, *çītá* from √*çyā*; — and it is weakened to *i* in *sthitá*, *hitá* from √*dhā* 'put' (with *dh* also changed to *h*: but *dhitá* is found also in compounds in V.), *ditá* from √*dā* 'cut' and √*dā* 'bind'; *sitá*, *mitá* from √*mā* 'measure', *çitá* (or *çātá*), *chitá* (or *chātá*).

d. A final *m* or *n* is lost after *a* in *gatá*, *natá*, *yatá*, *ratá* (from √*gam* etc.); *hatá*, *matá*, *kṣatá*, *tatá*, *vatá* (from √*han* etc.).

e. More isolated cases are: *ūtá* from √*av*, *utá* from √*vā* 'weave', *çiṣṭá* from √*çās*, *mūrtá* referred to √*mūrch*, *syūtá* from √*sīv*, *dyūtá* from √*dīv* 'play', *mūtá* from √*mīv*, *dhāutá* from √*dhāv* 'cleanse' (RV. has also *dhūtá*).

955. Of more irregular character are the following:

a. A number of roots ending in *am* retain the nasal and lengthen the radical vowel (as in others of their verbal forms): thus, *kāntá*, *krāntá*, *tāntá*, *çāntá*, *çrāntá*, from √*kram* etc.; √*dhvan* 'be covered' forms in like manner *dhvāntá*.

b. Three roots in *an* make the participle from parallel roots in *ā*: thus, *jātá*, *khātá*, *sātá*, from √*jan* etc.

c. The root *dā* 'give' forms *dattá* (from the derivative form *dad*), but *dāta* also is found in composition in V. The contracted *tta* (as if for *dāta*, with the radical vowel lost) is widely found in composition, especially with prepositions (**1087 e**), but also with other elements: thus, *devátta* (RV.); *punartta* (PB. vi. 5. 12); and, according to the grammarians, *sūtta*. The root *jakṣ* (derivative of *ghas*: **675**) forms *jagdhá*, as if from *jagh* (once apparently abbreviated in composition to *gdha* in TS.: thus, *agdhád*); √*svad* makes in Veda *svāttá* (beside *svaditá*).

956. The suffix with इ *i*, or in the form इत *itá*, is regularly used with the derivative verb-stems in secondary conjugation (chap. XIV.), also often with roots of a derivative character (as जिन्व् *jinv*, हिंस् *hins*), and not infrequently with original roots (as पत् *pat*, चर् *car*, मन्थ् *manth*, शी *çī*).

In RV. and AV., the participles in *ita* from simple roots are more than a sixth of the whole number. Among them, *uditá* (√*vad*) is the only case of abbreviation of *va* to *u*. From *çrath* comes *çṛthita* (once). *Jahitá* from √*hā* (by substitution of the present-stem as shown in *jahāmi*) is an isolated irregularity. *Çayita* shows the same strengthening which appears in the present-system (**629**).

A few roots form the participle either with or without the auxiliary *i*: thus, *guptá* and *gupitá*, *dṛptá* and *dṛpitá*, *dhṛṣṭá* and *dhṛṣitá*, *mattá* and *maditá*, *vittá* (also *vinná*) and *viditá*.

The root *grabh* or *grah* has, as elsewhere, long *ī*: thus, *gṛbhītá*, *gṛhītá*.

957. The suffix न *ná* (always without auxiliary इ *i*) is taken instead of त *tá* by a number of roots. Thus:

a. Certain roots in *ā*, and in *i* and *u*-vowels: namely, *çyāná* or *çīná* from √*çyā*, *çrāṇá* from √*çrā*, *jīná* (beside *jītá*) from √*jyā* or *jī*, *çūná* from √*çvā* or *çvi*, *hāná* and *hīná* from √*hā*, *diná* from √*dā* 'bind' and 'cut', *kṣīṇá* (beside *kṣitá*) from √*kṣi* 'destroy', *pīná* from √*pyā* or *pī*, *vlīná* from √*vlī*, *līná* from √*lī*, *dūná* from √*du*, *dyūná* from √*dīv* or *dev* 'lament', *lūná* from √*lū* — and some others.

b. The roots in variable *ṛ* (so-called *ṝ*-roots: **242**), which before the suffix becomes *īr* or *ūr*: thus, *kīrṇá*, *gīrṇá*, *jīrṇá*, *tīrṇá*, *dīrṇá*, *çīrṇá*, *stīrṇá* (beside *stṛtá*); *pūrṇá*, *mūrṇá*; and *jūrṇá*.

A few participial forms in *tá* from such roots are met with in the older language: thus, *gūrtá*, *pūrtá*, *çīrtá*.

c. A few roots ending in *j* (which becomes *g* before the suffix: **216.** 4): thus, *bhagná* from √*bhaj*, *bhugná* from √*bhuj*, *magná* from √*majj*, *rugṇá* from √*ruj*. Also, one or two others that show a guttural before the *na*: thus, *lagná* from √*lag*, *vṛkṇá* from √*vraçc*, *akná* from √*ac*.

d. A number of roots, some of them very common ones, in *d* (which becomes *n* before the suffix: **161**, end): thus, *channá*, *chinná*, *bhinná*, *vinná* (beside *vittá* and *viditá*), *skanná*, *syanná*, *svinná*, *tunná*, *panná*, *sanná* (beside *sattá*, which alone is found in V.); and *hlanná* (according to the grammarians) from √*hlād*; also *tṛṇṇá* from √*tṛd* and *chṛṇṇá* from √*chṛd*, which show an irregular lingualization of the nasal; and others.

958. The grammarians reckon as participles of this formation a few miscellaneous derivative adjectives, coming from roots which do not make a regular participle: such are *kṣāma*, 'burnt', *kṛçá*, 'emaciated', *pakvá*, 'ripe', *phullá*, 'expanded', *çúṣka*, 'dry'.

Past Active Participle in *tavant*.

959. From the past passive participle is made, by adding the possessive suffix वत् *vant*, a secondary derivative having the meaning and construction of a perfect active participle: for example, तत् कृतवान् *tát kṛtávān*, 'having done that'. Its inflection is like that of other derivatives made with this suffix (**452** ff.); its feminine ends in वती *vatī*; its accent remains on the participle.

960. Derivative words of this formation are found in RV., but without anything like a participial value. The AV. has a single example, with participial meaning: *açitā́vaty ā́tithāu*, 'one's guest having eaten' (loc. abs.). In the Brāhmaṇas also it is extremely rare. In the later language, however, it comes to be quite common. And there it is almost always used predicatively, and generally without copula expressed, or with the value of a personal verb-form in the perfect tense (like the derivative in *tā* in the future: **942** ff.). For example: *mām na kaçcid dṛṣṭavān*, 'no one has seen me'; *sa nakulaṁ vyāpāditavān*, 'he destroyed the ichneumon'; or, with copula, *mahat kṛchram prāptavaty asi*, 'thou hast fallen upon great misery'. Although originally and properly made only from transitive verbs (with an object, to which the participle in *ta* stands in the relation of an objective or factitive predicate), it is finally found also from intransitives: thus, *cūtena saṁçritavatī* (Çak.), 'has become united with the mango-tree'; *gatavatī* (ib.), 'she has gone'.

Future Passive Participles: Gerundives.

961. Certain derivative adjectives (for the most part

more or less clearly secondary derivatives) have acquired in the language a value as qualifying something which is to, or which ought to, suffer the action expressed by the root from which they come; and they are allowed to be made from every verb. Hence they are, like more proper participles, usually treated as a part of the general verbal system, and called future passive participles, or gerundives (like the Latin forms in *ndus*, to which they correspond in meaning).

962. The suffixes by which such gerundives are regularly and ordinarily made are three: namely य *ya*, तव्य *tavya*, and अनीय *anīya*.

Derivatives in *ya* having this value are made in all periods of the language, from the earliest down; the other two are of more modern origin, being entirely wanting in the oldest Veda (RV.), and hardly known in the later. Other derivatives of a similar character, which afterward disappear from use, are found in the Veda.

963. The suffix *ya* in its gerundive use has nothing to distinguish it from the same suffix as employed to make adjectives and nouns of other character (see below, chap. XVIII.: **1213**). And it exhibits also the same variety in the treatment of the root.

The original value of the suffix is *ia*, and as such it has to be read in the very great majority of its Vedic occurrences. Hence the conversion of *e* and *o* to *ay* and *av* before it (see below).

Thus: **a**. Final *ā* becomes *e* before the suffix: *déya*, *khyéya*, *méya* (probably *dā́-ia* etc., with euphonic *y* interposed): but RV. has once *-jñāya*. — **b**. The other vowels either remain unchanged, or have the *guṇa* or the *vṛddhi* strengthening; and *e* usually and *o* always are treated before the *ya* as they would be before a vowel: thus, *jáyya*, *bháyya*, *lā́yya*; *návya*, *bhávya*, *hávya*, *bhāvyá*; *vā́rya*: and, in the later language, *nīya*, *jeya*, *dhūya* (such cases are wanting earlier). In a few instances, a short vowel adds *t* before the suffix: thus, *itya*, *mitya*, *çrútya*, *stútya*, *kṛtya* (the only Vedic examples). — **c**. Medial *a* remains unchanged or is lengthened: thus, *dábhya*, *vándya*, *sádya*; *mā́dya*, *vā́cya*. — **d**. Medial *i*, *u*, and *ṛ*-vowels are unchanged or have the *guṇa*-strengthening: thus, *ī́ḍya*, *gúhya*, *dhṛ́ṣya*; *dvéṣya*, *yódhya*, *márjya*.

The RV. has about forty examples of this gerundive, and the AV. adds half as many more. Except in *bhāviá* (once), the accent in RV. is always

on the root; AV. has several cases of accent on the *i* of the suffix (hence written *ādyà, āçyà, -vyādhyà, -dharṣyà*). According to the grammarians, the accent is on the root or else the ending is circumflexed: always the former, if the *ya* follow a vowel.

964. The suffix *tavya* is a secondary adjective derivative from the infinitival noun in *tu* (below, **972**), made by adding the suffix *ya* (properly *ía*, whence the accent *yà*), before which the final *u*, as usual, has *guṇa*-strengthening, and is resolved into *av*.

Hence, both as regards the form taken by the root and the use or omission of an auxiliary vowel *i* before the *tavya*, the rules are the same as for the formation of the infinitive (below, **968**).

No example of this formation is found in RV., and in AV. occur only two, *janitavyà* and *hiṅsitavyà*. In the Brāhmaṇa language it begins to be not rare, and is made both from the simple root and the derived conjugational stems (next chapter); in the classical language it is still more frequent. According to the grammarians, the accent of the word is either circumflex on the final or acute on the penult: thus, *kartavyà* or *kartávya;* in the accentuated texts, it is always the former.

As to the impersonal use of this gerundive, see below, under Passive (**999**).

965. The suffix *anīya* is in like manner the product of secondary derivation, made by adding the adjective suffix *īya* (**1215**) to a *nomen actionis* formed by the common suffix *ana*.

It follows, then, as regards its mode of formation, the rules for the suffix *ana* (below, chap. XVIII.: **1150**).

This derivative also is unknown in RV., and in AV. is found only in *upajīvanī́ya* and *āmantranī́ya* (in both of which, moreover, its distinct gerundive value admits of question). In the Brāhmaṇas (where less than a dozen examples of it have been noted), and in the later language, it is much less common than the gerundive in *tavya*. Its accent, as in all the derivatives with the suffix *īya*, is on the penult: thus, *karaṇī́ya*.

966. Other formations of kindred value are found in the Veda as follows:

a. Gerundives in *tua* or *tva*, apparently made from the infinitival noun in *tu* with the added suffix *a* (**1209**). They are *kártua* (in two occurrences *kártva*), *jántua, jétua, nántua, váktua, sótua, snā́tua, hántua, hétua;* and, with auxiliary *i* (or *ī*), *jánitva, sánitva, bhávītva*.

b. Gerundives in *enia* or *enya* (compare **1217**): they are *īḍénia, caréṇia, dṛçénia, bhūṣéṇya, yudhénia, váreṇia;* with one example from an apparent aorist-stem, *yaṅséṇya*, and three or four from secondary verb-stems (see below, **1038**).

c. Gerundives in *ā́yia* (once *ā́yya:* compare **1218**): they are *dakṣā́yia, panā́yia, vidā́yia, çravā́yia, hnavā́yia;* with a few from causative secondary conjugation-stems (below, chap. XIV.): and *stuṣéyia* is of close kindred with them.

d. A few adjectives in *elima*, as *sacelima*, *bhidelima* (apparently not found in use) are reckoned as gerundives by the grammarians.

967. The division-line between participial and ordinary adjectives is less strictly drawn in Sanskrit than in the other Indo-European languages. Thus, adjectives in *u*, as will be seen later (chap. XVII.: **1178**), from secondary conjugational stems, have participial value; and in the Brāhmaṇas (with an example or two in AV.) is found widely and commonly used a participial adjective formed with the suffix *uka* (ibid., **1180**).

Infinitives.

968. The later language has a single infinitive, which is the accusative case of a verbal noun formed by the suffix तु *tu*, added to the root usually directly, but often also with aid of the preceding auxiliary vowel इ *i*. The form of the infinitive ending, therefore, is तुम् *tum* or इतुम् *itum*. The root has the *guṇa*-strengthening, and is accented. Thus, for example, एतुम् *étum* from √इ *i*; कर्तुम् *kártum* from √कृ *kṛ*; चरितुम् *cáritum* from √चर् *car*; भवितुम् *bhávitum* from √भू *bhū*.

The rules as to the use or omission of the auxiliary *i* are the same as those that apply to the formation of the periphrastic future-noun in *tṛ* or *tar* (**943**).

The same form, in a like use, is found also in the older language, back to its earliest recorded period; but it is there only one of a whole body of related formations, an account of which is in brief as follows:

969. In the Veda and Brāhmaṇa, a number of verbal nouns, *nomina actionis*, in various of their cases, are used in constructions which assimilate them to the infinitive of other languages — although, were it not for these other later and more developed and pronounced infinitives, the constructions in question might pass as ordinary case-constructions of a somewhat peculiar kind.

970. The nouns thus used infinitively are the following:

a. The root-noun, without derivative suffix, is so used in its accusative in *am*, its dative in *e* or (from *ā*-roots) *āi*, its genitive and ablative in *as*, and its locative in *i*.

b. The verbal noun in *tu* is so used in its accusative in *tum*, its dative in *tave* or *tavāí*, and its ablative and genitive in *tos*.

Of other nouns, only single cases, generally datives, are reckoned as used with infinitive value; thus:

c. From the verbal noun in *as*, the dative in *ase;* and also, in an extremely small number of instances, a dative in *se* (or *ṣe*), from a noun formed with *s* simply.

d. From nouns in *man* and *van*, datives in *mane* and *vane.*

e. From nouns in *ti*, datives in *taye*, or (from one or two verbs) in *tyāi.*

f. From nouns in *i*, datives in *áye.*

g. From nouns in *dhi* and *ṣi*, datives in *dhyāi* and *ṣyāi.*

h. A few infinitives in *ṣaṇi* are perhaps locatives from nouns in *an* added to a root increased by *s*.

i. From a single root, *dhṛ*, are made infinitively used forms in *tári*, of which the grammatical character is questionable.

Among all these, the forms which have best right to special treatment as infinitives, on account of being of peculiar formation, or from suffixes not found in other uses, or both, are those in *ṣe*, *ṣaṇi*, *tari*, *dhyāi*, and *tavāi.*

Except the various cases of the derivative in *tu*, and of the root-noun, these infinitives are almost wholly unknown outside the Rig-Veda.

Other suffixes and forms than those noticed above might be added; for it is impossible to draw any fixed line between the uses classed as infinitive and the ordinary case-uses; and the so-called infinitives are found coördinated in the same sentence with common nouns, and even with compound nouns.

More special rules as to the various formations are as follows:

971. The root-noun used as infinitive has the same form, and the same accent, both when simple and when combined with prepositions, as in its other uses. In the very great majority of instances, it is made from roots ending in a consonant; but also from a few in *ā* (*khyā*, *dā*, *dhā*, *pā?*, *mā*, *yā*), from two or three in *i* and *u*-vowels (*hi*, *mī*, *bhū*), and from one or two in changeable *ṛ*, which takes the *ir*-form (*tir*, *stir*).

The roots in *ā* form the accus. in *ām* (*pratidhā́m*, AV.), the dat. in *āi*, the abl. in *ās* (understanding *avasā́* before *ā́* as for *avasā́s* and not *avasā́i* in RV. iii. 53. 20), and the locative in *e* (only two examples, of which one is better understood as dative).

972. The infinitive noun in *tu* is made freely from roots of every form. The root takes the *guṇa*-strengthening, if capable of it, and often adds the auxiliary vowel *i* before the suffix (according to the rule already stated, **968**). The root is accented, unless the noun be combined with a preposition, in which case the latter has the accent instead: thus, *kártum*, *étave*, *hántos*, but *níkartum*, *níretave*, *nírhantos.*

The dative in *tavāi* is in two respects anomalous: in having the heavy feminine ending *āi* along with a strengthened *u;* and in taking a double accent, one on the root or on the prefixed preposition, and the other on the ending *āi:* thus, *étavā́i*, *hántavā́i*, *átyetavā́i*, *ápabhartavā́i.*

The root *grah* makes (as in other kindred formations) *gráhītu;* and long *ī* is shown also by *çárītu*, *stárītu*, *hávītu* (and compare *bhávītva*, **966 a**).

973. The infinitive in *ase* is made in RV. from about twenty-five roots; in AV. and later there have been noted no other examples of it. In near three quarters of the cases, the accent is on the suffix: thus, *ṛñjáse, jīváse, bhiyáse, tujáse;* the exceptions are *cákṣase; dhā́yase* (with *y* inserted before the suffix); and *áyase, bhárase, spárase, hárase* (with *guṇa*-strengthening of the root). Strengthening of the root is also shown by *javáse, doháse, bhojáse, çobháse.* In *puṣyáse* is seen, apparently, the present-stem instead of the root.

The ending *se* is extremely rare, being found only in *jiṣé* and perhaps *stuṣé*, and one or two still more doubtful cases.

974. Infinitives in *mane* are made from only five roots: thus, *trā́maṇe, dā́mane, dhármaṇe, bhármaṇe,* and (with different accent) *vidmáne.* From √*dā* comes *dāváne; turváṇe* may come directly from √*tṛ*, or through the secondary root *turv; dhū́rvaṇe* is rather from √*dhūrv* than from √*dhvṛ.*

975. The infinitives in *taye* are *iṣṭáye* (√*iṣ*), *pītáye* (√*pā* 'drink'), *vītáye, sātáye.* In *tyāi*, the only examples noted are *ityā́i* (RV.) and *sāḍhyāi* (AB.).

With *aye* are formed *tujáye, dṛçáye, maháye, yudháye, sanáye.*

976. The ending *dhyāi* is, more than any other, irregular and various in its treatment. It has always an *a* before it; and in the majority of cases it is accented upon this *a*, and added to a weak form of root: thus, *çucádhyāi, pṛṇádhyāi, dhiyádhyāi, huvádhyāi.* But the form of root is the strong one in a few cases: namely, *çayádhyāi, stavádhyāi, tarádhyāi, jarádhyāi, mandádhyāi, vandádhyāi.* In half-a-dozen forms, again, the root has the accent: namely, *kṣáradhyāi, gámadhyāi, yájadhyāi* (but once or twice also *yajádhyāi*), *váhadhyāi, sáhadhyāi, bháradhyāi.* In a single instance, *píbadhyāi*, the suffix is added distinctly to a present-stem; and in one, *vāvṛdhádhyāi*, to a perfect stem. Finally, in a number of instances (ten), this infinitive is made from a causative stem in *ay:* thus, *mādayádhyāi, riṣayádhyāi,* etc.

This infinitive is by no means rare in RV., being made in thirty-five different forms (with seventy-two occurrences). But it is hardly known outside of the RV.; the AV. has it but once (in a passage found also in RV.); and in the branches of the Yajur-Veda but two or three examples have been noticed (one of them TS. falsely reads *gámadhye*); in the Brāhmaṇa language it appears to be entirely wanting.

977. An example or two are met with of an infinitive in *ṣyāi:* thus, *róhiṣyāi* (TS.), *avyathiṣyāi* (K.).

978. The infinitives in *ṣaṇi* are: *-bhūṣáṇi* from √*bhū; çūṣáṇi* from √*çū* or *çvā; neṣáṇi* from √*nī; sakṣáṇi* from √*sah; parṣáṇi* from √*pṛ, tarīṣáṇi* from √*tṛ;* and *gṛṇīṣáṇi* and *-stṛṇīṣáṇi* from √√*gṛ* and *stṛ* — the last containing evident present tense-signs (compare the 1st sing. *gṛṇīṣé*, **894** d).

979. The only infinitive in *tari* is *dhartári* (with its compound *vidhartári*), from √*dhṛ.*

Uses of the Infinitives.

980. The uses of the so-called infinitives are for the most part closely accordant with those of the corresponding cases from other abstract nouns. Thus:

981. The accusative, which is made only from the root-noun and the noun in *tu*, is used as object of a verb.

Especially, of forms from the roots *çak*, 'be able', and *arh*, 'be worthy, have the right or the power'. Thus, *çakéma tvā samídham* (RV.), 'may we accomplish thy kindling'; *mā́ çakan pratidhā́m íṣum* (AV.), 'may they not be able to fit the arrow to the string'; *máno vā́ imā́ṁ sadyáḥ páryāptum arhati mánaḥ páribhavitum* (TS.), 'the mind, forsooth, can at once attain and surpass her'; *kó hy ètásyā́ 'rhati gúhyaṁ nā́ma gráhītum* (ÇB.), 'for who is worthy to take his secret name?' In the Veda, the construction with these verbs is only one among others; in the Brāhmaṇa, it becomes the greatly prevalent one (three quarters or more of all the cases).

Further, of verbs of motion (next most frequent case): thus, *dákṣiṇāni hótum eti* (TS.), 'he goes to sacrifice things pertaining to sacrificial gifts'; *índram pratíram emy ā́yuḥ* (RV.), 'I go to Indra for (i. e. beseech of him) the lengthening out of life'; — of √*dhṛ*, 'persist in, undertake': as, *sá idáṁ jātáḥ sárvam evá dágdhum dadhre* (ÇB.), 'he, as soon as born, began to burn this universe'; — of verbs meaning 'desire, hope, notice, know', and the like: as, *pā́çān vicṛ́taṁ vettha sárvān* (AV.), 'thou knowest how to loosen all bonds'; *tásmād agníṁ nā́ ''driyeta párihantum* (ÇB.), 'therefore one should not be careful to smother the fire'; — and of others.

982. Of the infinitive datives, the fundamental and usual sense is that expressed by 'for, in order to, for the purpose of'.

Examples are: *víçvaṁ jīvá́ṁ carā́se bodháyantī* (RV.), 'awakening every living creature to motion'; *tā́n úpa yāta píbadhyāi* (RV.), 'come to drink them'; *nā́í 'tā́ṁ te devā́ adadur áttave* (AV.), 'the gods did not give her to thee for eating'; *prā́í ''d yudháye dásyum índraḥ* (RV.), 'Indra went forward to fight the demon'; *cákṣur no dhehi vikhyā́í* (RV.), 'give us sight for looking abroad'.

Some peculiar constructions, however, grow out of this use of the infinitive dative. Thus:

a. The noun which is logically the subject or the object of the action expressed by the infinitive is frequently put beside it in the dative (by a construction which is in part a perfectly simple one, but which is stretched beyond its natural boundaries by a kind of attraction): thus, *cakāra sū́ryāya pánthām ánvetavā́ u* (RV.), 'he made a track for the sun to follow (made for the sun a track for his following)'; *çíçīte çṛ́nge rákṣobhyo viníkṣe* (RV.), 'he whets his horns to pierce the demons'; *rudrā́ya dhánur ā́ tanomi brahmadvíṣe çárave hántavā́ u* (RV.), 'I stretch the bow for Rudra, that with his arrow he may slay the *brahma*-hater'; *asmábhyaṁ dṛçáye sū́ryāya púnar dātām ásum*, 'may they grant life again, that we may see the sun'.

b. An infinitive with √*kṛ*, 'make', is used nearly in the sense of a causative verb: thus, *prá́ 'ndháṁ çroṇáṁ cákṣasa étave kṛthaḥ* (RV.), 'ye make the blind and lame to see and go'; *agníṁ samídhe cakártha* (RV.), 'thou hast made the fire to be kindled'. Of similar character is an occasional

construction with another verb: as, *yád īm uçmási kártave kárat tát* (RV.), 'what we wish to be done, may he do that'.

c. A dative infinitive is not seldom used as a predicate, sometimes with, but more usually without, a copula expressed: thus, *agnír iva ná pratidhṛ́ṣe bhavati* (TS.), 'like fire, he is not to be resisted'; *mahimā́ te anyéna ná saṁnáçe* (VS.), 'thy greatness is not to be attained by another'; *nákīm índro níkartave ná çakráḥ páriçaktave* (RV.), 'Indra is not to be put down, the mighty one is not to be overpowered'.

d. Sometimes an infinitive so used without a copula has pretty clearly the value of an imperative: thus, *tyā́ me yaçásā . . . āuçijó huvádhyāi [asti]* (RV.), 'these glorious ones shall the son of Uçij invoke for me'; *sūktébhir vaḥ . . . índrā nv àgnī́ ávase huvádhyāi [staḥ]* (RV.), 'with your hymns shall ye call now on Indra and Agni for aid'; *vandádhyā agníṁ námobhiḥ [asmi]* (RV.), 'let me greet Agni with homage'; *asmā́kāsaç ca sūráyo víçvā ā́çās tarīṣáṇi* (RV.), 'and let our sacrificers cross all regions'. The infinitives in *dhyāi* and *ṣaṇi* (which latter is in all its uses accordant with datives) are those in which the imperative value is most distinctly to be recognized.

e. In the ÇB. (with only a sporadic case or two elsewhere) the dative in *tavāi* is frequently used with a verb signifying 'speak' (*brū*, *vac*, *ah*), to express the ordering of anything to be done: thus, *tásmād óṣadhīnām evá múlāny úcchettavāí brūyāt*, 'therefore let him direct the roots of the plants to be cut up (speak in order to cutting up)'.

983. The ablative infinitive — which, like the accusative, is made only from the root-noun and that in *tu* — is found especially with the prepositions *ā́*, 'until', and *purā́*, 'before'.

Thus, *ā́ támitos* (TS. etc.), 'until exhaustion'; *purā́ vācáḥ právaditos* (TS.), 'before utterance of the voice'. In the Brāhmaṇa language, this is the well-nigh exclusive construction of the ablative; in the Veda, the latter is used also after *ṛté*, 'without', and after several verbs, as *trā* and *pā*, *yu*, *bhī*.

In two or three instances, by an attraction similar to that illustrated above for the dative (**982 a**), a noun dependent on this infinitive is put in the ablative beside it: thus, *purā vāgbhyaḥ sampravaditoḥ* (PB.), 'before the utterance together of the voices'; *trā́dhvaṁ kartā́d avapádaḥ* (RV.), 'save us from falling down into the pit'.

984. The genitive infinitive (having the same form as the ablative) is in common use in the Brāhmaṇa language as dependent on *īçvará*, 'lord, master', employed adjectively in the sense of 'capable' or 'likely' or 'exposed to'.

Examples are: *tā́ [devátāḥ] īçvarā́ enam pradáhaḥ* (TS.), 'they are likely to burn him up'; *átha ha vā́ īçvarò 'gníṁ citvā́ kíṁcid dāuritám ā́pattor ví vā hválitoḥ* (ÇB.), 'so in truth he is liable, after piling the fire, to meet with some mishap or other, or to stagger'; *īçvaraṁ vāi rathantaram udgātuç cakṣuḥ pramathitoḥ* (PB.), 'the *rathantara* is liable to knock out the eye of the chanter'.

The dative is once used in ÇB. instead of the genitive (in *īçvarāú jánayitavāí);* and, in the later language, sometimes the accusative in *tum.* Occasionally the masc. sing. nom. *īçvaraḥ* is used, without regard to the gender or number of the word which it qualifies: thus, *tásye "çvaráḥ prajā́ pā́pīyasī bhā́vitoḥ* (ÇB.), 'his progeny is liable to deteriorate'. And in a few instances the word *īçvara* is omitted, and the genitive has the same value without it: thus, *dve madhyandinam abhi pratyetos* (AB.), 'two may be added to the noon libation'; *táto dīkṣitáḥ pāmanó bhā́vitoḥ* (ÇB.), 'then the consecrated is liable to get the itch'.

This construction with *īçvara*, which is the only one for the genitive infinitive in the Brāhmana, is unknown in the Veda, where the genitive is found in a very small number of examples with *madhyā́*, and with the root *īç:* thus, *madhyā́ kártoḥ* (RV.), 'in the midst of action'; *ī́çe rāyó dā́toḥ* (RV.), 'he is master of the giving of wealth'.

985. Unless the infinitives in *ṣaṇi* and *tari* are locative in form (their uses are those of datives), the locative infinitive is so rare, and has so little that is peculiar in its use, that it is hardly worth making any account of. An example is *uṣáso budhí* (RV.), 'at the awakening of the dawn'.

986. In the Veda, the dative infinitive forms are very much more numerous than the accusative (in RV., their occurrences are twelve times as many; in AV., more than three times); and the accusative in *tum* is rare (only four forms in RV., only eight in AV.). In the Brāhmaṇas, the accusative has risen to much greater comparative frequency (its forms are nearly twice as many as those of the dative); but the ablative-genitive, which is rare in the Veda, has also come to full equality with it. The complete disappearance in the classical language of all excepting the accusative in *tum* is a matter for no small surprise.

987. The later infinitive in *tum* is oftenest used in constructions corresponding to those of the earlier accusative: thus, *na vāṣpam açakat soḍhum,* 'he could not restrain his tears'; *taṁ draṣṭum arhasi*, 'thou oughtest to see it'; *prāptum ichanti*, 'they desire to obtain'; *saṁkhyātum ārabdham,* 'having begun to count'. But also, not infrequently, in those of the other cases. So, especially, of the dative: thus, *avasthātuṁ sthānāntaraṁ cintaya,* 'devise another place to stay in'; *tvām anveṣṭum ihā "gataḥ*, 'he has come hither to seek for thee'; — but likewise of the genitive: thus, *samartho gantum,* 'capable of going'; *saṁdhātum īçvaraḥ,* 'able to mend'. Even a construction as nominative is not unknown: thus, *yuktaṁ tasya mayā samāçvāsayitum bhāryām* (MBh.), 'it is proper for me to comfort his wife'; *na naptāraṁ svayaṁ nyāyyaṁ çaptum evam* (R.), 'it is not suitable thus to curse one's own grandson'.

988. In the later language, as in the earlier, the infinitive in certain connections has what we look upon as a passive value. Thus, *kartum ārabdhaḥ*,

'begun to be made': *çrotuṁ na yujyate*, 'it is not fit to be heard (for hearing)'. This is especially frequent along with the passive forms of √*çak:* thus, *tyaktuṁ na çakyate*, 'it cannot be abandoned'; *çakyāv ihā ''netum*, 'they two can be brought hither'; *na ca vibhūtayaḥ çakyam avāptum ūrjitāḥ*, 'nor are mighty successes a thing capable of being attained'.

Gerunds.

989. The so-called gerund is a stereotyped case (doubtless instrumental) of a verbal noun, used generally, but in the later language not exclusively, as logical adjunct to the subject of a clause, denoting an accompanying or (usually) a preceding action to that signified by the verb of the clause. It has thus the virtual value of an indeclinable participle, present or past, qualifying the actor whose action it describes:

Thus, for example: *çrutvāi 'va cā 'bruvan*, 'and hearing (or having heard) they spoke'; *tebhyaḥ pratijñāyā 'thāi 'tān paripapracha*, 'having given them his promise, he then questioned them'.

990. The gerund is made in the later language by one of the two suffixes त्वा *tvā* and य *ya*, the former being used with a simple root, the latter with one that is compounded with a prepositional prefix — or, rarely, with an element of another kind, as adverb or noun.

Exceptions to this distribution of uses between the two suffixes are very rare: examples of simple roots with *ya* are *arcya, gṛhya, uṣya* (√*vas* 'dwell'); of compounded roots with *tvā* are *anudhyātvā, apatyaktvā, pratyarpayitvā́* (AV.: only case noticed in the Veda: TA. has *-rocayitvā*). The gerund in *tvā*, however, may have the negative particle prefixed to it: thus, *akṛtvā, anīrayitvā*.

Of compounds of the gerund in *ya* with other elements than the usual verbal prefixes, RV. has *punardā́ya, karṇagṛ́hya, pādagṛ́hya, hastagṛ́hya, araṁkṛ́tya, akkhalīkṛ́tya, mithaspṛ́dhya;* AV. has further *namaskṛ́tya*.

991. The suffix त्वा *tvā* has the accent. It is usually added directly to the root, but sometimes with interposition of the auxiliary vowel इ *i* — with regard to which, as well as to the form of the root before it, this formation closely agrees with that of the participle in त *ta* (above, **952** ff.).

When *i* is used, the disposition to take a weak form of root is less marked. Roots which have *na* instead of *ta* as participial suffix usually reject the *i*.

992. The suffix य *ya* is added directly to the root, which is accented, but has its weak form. A root ending in a short vowel takes त्य *tya* instead of य *ya:* thus, जित्य *-jitya*, कृत्य *-kṛtya*.

Roots in *am* and *an* whose passive participle ends in *ata* (**954 d**) form this gerund also in *atya:* thus, *-gatya, -hatya.* But such *am*-roots are allowed in the later language to preserve their nasal in the gerund: thus, *-gamya* (no such form occurs in the Veda). Final changeable *ṛ* becomes *īr* or *ūr:* thus, *-gīrya, -pūrya.* Final *ā* remains unaltered: thus, *-gāya, -sthāya;* and *mi* 'establish' and *mi* 'diminish' take the form *mā; lī* 'cling' is allowed to do the same.

993. The older language has the same two gerund formations, having the same distinction, and used in the same way.

a. In RV., however, the final of *ya* is in the great majority of instances (fully two thirds) long (as if the instrumental ending of a derivative noun in *i* or *ti*). In AV., long *ā* appears only once, in a RV. passage.

b. Instead of *tvā* alone, the Veda has three forms of the suffix, namely *tvā́, tvā́ya*, and *tvī́*. Of these three, *tvī́* is decidedly the commonest in RV. (thirty-five occurrences, against twenty-one of *tvā*); but it is unknown in AV., and very rare elsewhere in the older language; *tvā́ya* is found nine times in RV. (only once outside the tenth Book), twice in AV., and but few times elsewhere. The historical relation of the three forms is obscure.

c. Two other gerund suffixes, *tvānam* and *tvīnam*, are mentioned by the grammarians as of Vedic use, but they have nowhere been found actually to occur.

994. The use of this gerund, through not changing in its character, becomes much more frequent, and even excessive, in the later language.

Thus, in the Nala and Bhagavad-Gītā, which have only one tenth as many verb-forms as RV., there are more than three times as many examples of the gerund as in the latter.

Early examples are: *vájreṇa hatvā́ nír apáḥ sasarja* (RV.), 'striking with his thunderbolt, he poured forth the waters'; *stríyaṁ dṛṣṭvā́ya kitaváṁ tatāpa* (RV.), 'the gambler is distressed when he sees a woman'; *pītvī́ sómasya vāvṛdhe* (RV.), 'having drunk of the soma, he waxed strong'. In the older language almost without exception, and in the later usually, it expresses an action or condition belonging to the subject of the sentence; but it is in some texts more loosely construed: thus, *tataḥ çabdād abhijñāya sa vyāghreṇa hataḥ* (H.), 'thereupon he was slain by the tiger, the latter having recognized him by his noise'; *kiṁ nu me syād idaṁ kṛtvā* (MBh.), 'what, I wonder,

would happen to me, having done this?' *sucintya co 'ktaṁ suvicārya yat kṛtam* (H.), 'what is said after mature thought, and done after full deliberation'.

Adverbial Gerund in *am*.

995. The accusative of a derivative *nomen actionis* in *a*, used adverbially, assumes sometimes a value and construction so accordant with that of the usual gerund that it cannot well be called by a different name.

No example of a peculiar gerundial construction with such a form occurs either in RV. or AV., although a few adverbial accusatives are probably to be classed as representing this formation: thus, *abhyākrámam, pratáñkam, praṇódam, niláyam, abhiskándam.* The gerund is found especially in the Brāhmaṇas (much oftenest in ÇB.), and sparingly later. In the classical language it is quite rare.

A final vowel has *vṛddhi*-strengthening before the suffix; final *ā* adds *y;* a medial vowel has *guṇa;* but medial *a* is usually lengthened. The accent is on the radical syllable.

Examples are: *kā́maṁ vā́ imā́ny áñgāni vyatyā́saṁ çete* (ÇB.), 'he lies changing the position of these limbs at pleasure'; *úttarām-uttarāṁ çā́khāṁ samālā́mbhaṁ róhet* (ÇB.), 'he would climb, taking hold of a higher and ever a higher limb'; *aparī́ṣu mahānāgám ivā 'bhisaṁsā́raṁ didṛkṣitā́raḥ* (ÇB.), 'hereafter, running together as it were about a great snake, they will wish to see him'; *nā́māny āsām etā́ni nāmagrā́ham* (ÇB.), 'with separate naming of these their names'; *yó viparyā́sam avagū́hati* (ÇB.), 'whoever buries it upside down'. As in these examples, the form is almost always a compound one. In the later language, it it said to be used most often repeated: thus, *pāyam-pāyaṁ vrajati*, 'he goes after drinking repeatedly'; *prathamam bhojaṁ vrajati*, 'having first eaten, he goes'; *bāhūtkṣepaṁ kranditum pravṛttā* (Çak.), 'she proceeded to cry, throwing up her arms (with arm-tossing)'.

CHAPTER XIV.

DERIVATIVE OR SECONDARY CONJUGATION.

996. SECONDARY conjugations are those in which a whole system of forms, like that already described as made from the simple root, is made, with greater or less completeness, from a derivative conjugation-stem; and is also usually connected with a certain definite modification of the original radical sense.

We have seen, indeed, that the tense-systems are also for the most part made from derivative-stems; and even that, in some cases, such stems assume the appearance and value of roots, and are made the basis of a complete conjugational system. Nor is there any distinct division-line to be drawn between tense-systems and derivative conjugations — the latter are present-systems which have been expanded into conjugations by the addition of other tenses, and of participles, infinitives, and so on. In the earliest language, their forms outside of the present-system are still quite rare, hardly more than sporadic; and even later they are — with the exception of one or two formations which attain a comparative frequency — much less common than the corresponding forms of primary conjugation.

997. The secondary conjugations are: I. Passive; II. Intensive; III. Desiderative; IV. Causative; V. Denominative.

The passive is classed here rather as a matter of convenience and of general usage than because it is of the same kind with the others.

I. Passive.

998. The passive conjugation has been already in the main described. Thus, we have seen that:

a. It has a special present-system, the stem of which is present only, and not made the basis of any of the remaining forms: this stem is formed with the accented class-sign य *yá*, and it takes the middle endings. It is treated above, **768** ff.

b. In the other tenses, the middle forms are used also in a passive sense. But:

c. There is a special passive 3d sing. of the aorist, ending in इ *i:* it is treated above, **842** ff. And:

d. According to the grammarians, there may be formed from some verbs, for passive use, a special stem for the aorist and the two future systems, coinciding in form with the peculiar 3d sing. aorist.

Thus: from √*dā* (aor. 3d sing. *adāyi*), beside *ádāsi*, *dāsyé*, *dātā́he*, also *ádāyiṣi*, *dāyiṣyé*, *dāyitā́he*. The permission to make this double formation extends to all roots ending in vowels, and to *grah*, *dṛç*, and *han*. The duplicate forms have not been noticed in the older language, and they are, at the best, extremely rare in the later.

As to the prescribed passive inflection of the periphrastic perfect, see below, **1072**.

e. Besides the participle from the present tense-stem (771. 5), the passive has a past participle in त *ta* (952), or न *na* (957), and future participles, or gerundives, of various formation (961 ff.), made directly from the root.

999. The passive construction, with the logical subject in the instrumental case, is a frequent and favorite one, especially in the later language: thus, *evam uktvā tena sarveṣām bandhanāni chittāni* (H.), 'thus saying, he cut the bonds of them all'. And, extremely frequently, an impersonal passive in the third person is used; and it may (as in other languages) be formed from intransitive as well as transitive verbs: thus, *çrūyatām*, 'let it be heard' (i. e. hear ye!), *ihā ''gamyatām*, 'come hither'; *sarvāir jālam ādāyo 'ḍḍīyatām* (H.), 'let all fly up, taking the net with them'; *tac chrutvā jaradgaveno 'ktam*, 'hearing that, Jaradgava said'; *kathaṁ jīvitavyam*, 'how is one to live?' *yāvad anena muninā sthātavyam* (H.), 'as long as that sage shall exist'. The predicate to the instrumental subject of such a construction is, of course, also in the instrumental: thus, *adhunā tavā 'nucareṇa mayā sarvathā bhavitavyam* (H.), 'henceforth I shall always be thy companion'; *tena tvayā yāvajjīvaṁ sukhinā bhavitavyam* (H.), 'with that thou shalt be happy as long as thou livest'. The gerundive is common in this construction, and not seldom it has a purely future sense.

II. Intensive.

1000. The intensive (sometimes also called frequentative) is that one of the secondary conjugations which is least removed from the analogy of formations already described. It is, like the present-system of the second conjugation-class (642 ff.), the inflection of a reduplicated stem, but of one that is peculiar in having a strengthened reduplication. It is decidedly less extended beyond the limits of a present-system than any other of the derivative conjugations.

The intensive conjugation signifies the repetition or intensification of the action expressed by the primary conjugation of a root.

1001. According to the grammarians, the intensive conjugation may be formed from nearly all the roots in the language — the exceptions being: roots of more than one

syllable, those conjugated only causatively (below, **1056**), and in general those beginning with a vowel.

In fact, however, intensives in the later language are extremely rare, so rare that it is hard to tell precisely what value is to be given to the rules of the native grammar respecting them. Nor are they at all common earlier, except (comparatively) in the RV., which contains about six sevenths of the whole number (rather over a hundred) quotable from Veda and Brāhmaṇa-texts (AV. has less than half as many as RV., and many of these in RV. passages).

Hence, in the description to be given below, the actual aspect of the formation, as exhibited in the older language, will be had primarily and especially in view; and the examples will be of forms found there in use.

1002. The strong intensive reduplication is made in three different ways:

a. The reduplicating syllable is, as elsewhere, composed of a single consonant with following vowel, and, so far as the consonant is concerned, follows the rules for present and perfect reduplication (**590**); but the vowel is a heavy one, radical *a* and *ṛ* (or *ar*) being reduplicated with *ā*, an *i*-vowel by *e*, and an *u*-vowel by *o*.

Examples are: *vāvad*, *bābadh*, *çāçvas*, *rārandh*; *dādṛ*, *dādhṛ*; *cekit*, *tetij*, *nenī*, *vevlī*; *çoçuc*, *popruth*, *coṣku*, *johū*.

b. The reduplicating syllable has a final consonant, taken from the end of the root. With an exception or two, this consonant is either *r* (or its substitute *l*) or a nasal.

Examples are: *carcar*, *calcal*, *sarsṛ*, *marmṛj*, *jarhṛṣ*; *cañkram*, *jañghan*, *taṅstan*, *dandaç* (√*daṅç* or *daç*), *jañjabh* (√*jambh* or *jabh*), *tantas* (√*taṅs* or *tas*), *nannam* (√*nam*).

Only roots having *a* or *ṛ* as vowel make this form of reduplication, but with such roots it is more common than either of the other forms.

Irregular formations of this class are: with a final other than *r* or *n* in the reduplication, *badbadh*; with a final nasal in the reduplication which is not found in the root, *jañgah* (RV.), *jañjap* (ÇB.: and the later language has *dandah*); with an anomalous initial consonant in reduplication, *jarbhur* from √*bhṛ* (compare the Vedic perfect *jabhāra*, **789 b**); with various treatment of an *ṛ* or *ar*-element, *dardar* and *dardir*, *carkar* and *carkir*, *tartar* and *tartur*, *carcar* and *carcur*, *jargur* and *jalgul* and *galgul*.

The root *ṛ* is the only one with vowel initial forming an intensive stem in the older language: it makes the irregular *alar* or *alṛ*.

c. The reduplication is dissyllabic, an *i*-vowel being added after a final consonant of the reduplicating syllable. This *i*-vowel is in the older language short before a double consonant, and long before a single.

Examples are: *ganīgam* (but *ganigmatam*), *varīvṛt*, *vanīvāh*, *caniṣkad*,

saniṣvan; navīnu, davidyut (and the participles *dávidhvat* but *távītuat*). A single exception as to the quantity of the *i* is *davidhāva.*

This method of reduplication is followed in the older language by over twenty roots. Thus, of roots having final or penultimate *n* (once *m*), and *n* in the reduplicating syllable, *pan*, *phan*, *san*, *svan*, *han; gam; krand*, *çcand*, *skand*, *syand;* of roots having final or medial *ṛ*, and *r* in the reduplicating syllable, *kṛ* 'make', *tṛ*, *bhṛ*, *vṛ*, *mṛd*, *vṛj*, *vṛt;* — further, of roots assuming in the reduplication a *n* not found in the root, only *vah* (ÇB.: the grammarians allow also *kas*, *pat*, *pad*); finally, of roots having *u* or *ū* as radical vowel, with *av* before the *i*-vowel, *tu*, *dhū*, *nu*, *dyut.*

In this class, the general rules as to the form of the reduplicating consonant (**590**) are violated in the case of *ghanīghan* and *bharībhṛ*, and of *ganīgam*, *karīkṛ* (but the regular *carīkṛ* also occurs), *kanikrand*, and *kaniṣkand* (but also *caniṣkand* occurs).

The reversion to more original guttural form after the reduplication in *cekit*, and *jañghan* and *ghanīghan*, is in accordance with what takes place elsewhere (**216**. 9).

1003. The same root is allowed to form its intensive stem in more than one way.

Thus, in the older language, *dādṛ* and *dardṛ; dādhṛ* and *dardhṛ; cācal* and *carcar* (and *carcur*); *tartar* (and *tartur*) and *tarītṛ; jañghan* and *ghanīghan; varvṛt* and *varīvṛt; jarbhur* and *bharībhṛ; dodhū* and *davīdhū; nonu* and *navīnu; bābadh* and *badbadh.*

1004. The model of normal intensive inflection is the present-system of the reduplicating conjugation-class (II.); and this is indeed to a considerable extent followed, in respect to endings, strengthening of stem, and accent. But deviations from the model are not rare; and the forms are in general of too infrequent occurrence to allow of satisfactory classification and explanation.

The most marked irregularity is the frequent insertion of an ई *ī* between the stem and ending. According to the grammarians, this is allowed in all the strong forms before an ending beginning with a consonant; and before the ई *ī* a final vowel has *guṇa*-strengthening, but a medial one remains unchanged.

Present System.

1005. We will take up the parts of the present-system in their order, giving first what is recognized as regular in the

later language, and then showing how the formation appears in the earlier texts. As most grammarians do not allow a middle inflection, and middle forms are few even in the Veda, no attempt will be made to set up a paradigm for the middle voice.

1006. As example of inflection may be taken the root विद् *vid*, of which the intensive stem is वेविद् *vevid*, or, in strong forms, वेवेद् *véved*.

Neither from this nor any other root are more than a few scattering forms actually quotable.

1. Present Indicative.

	s.	d.	p.
1	वेवेद्मि, वेविदीमि *vévedmi, vévidīmi*	वेविद्वस् *vevidvás*	वेविद्मस् *vevidmás*
2	वेवेत्सि, वेविदीषि *vévetsi, vévidīṣi*	वेवित्थस् *vevitthás*	वेवित्थ *vevitthá*
3	वेवेत्ति, वेविदीति *vévetti, vévidīti*	वेवित्तस् *vevittás*	वेविदति *vévidati*

From √हु *hū*, the singular forms with auxiliary vowel would be जोहवीमि *jóhavīmi*, जोहवीषि *jóhavīṣi*, जोहवीति *jóhavīti*.

1007. The forms found in the older language agree in general with the paradigm. Examples are: 1st sing., *carkarmi, veveṣmi;* 2d sing., *alarṣi, dárdarṣi;* 3d sing., *álarti, veveti, nenekti, jañghanti, kánikrantti, ganīgamti;* 3d du., *jarbhṛtás;* 1st pl., *nonumas;* 3d pl., *nānadati, bharibhrati, várvṛtati, dávidyutati, nénijati;* and, with the auxiliary vowel, *jóhavīmi, cākaçīmi; cákaçīti, nónavīti, dardarīti, jarbhurīti.* No stem with dissyllabic reduplication takes the auxiliary *ī* in any of its forms. AV. has *jāgráti*, with irregular accent.

A single dual form with *ī* and strong stem occurs: namely, *tartarīthas.*

The middle forms found to occur are: 1st sing., *jóguve, nenije;* 3d sing., *nenikté, sarsṛte;* and, with irregular accent, *tétikte, dédiṣṭe;* with irregular union-vowel, *nánnate;* with ending *e* instead of *te*, *jáñgahe, jóguve, yoyuve, bābadhe*, and (with irregular accent) *badbadhé;* 3d du., *sarsrāte;* 3d pl., *dédiçate.*

2. Present Subjunctive.

1008. Subjunctive forms with primary endings are extremely rare: there have been noticed only *jañghánāni, jāgarāsi* (AV.); and, in the middle, *tantasāíte* (3d du.).

Forms with secondary endings are more frequent: thus, 2d sing., *jañ-*

ghanas, jalgulas; 3d sing., *jāgarat, cárkṛṣat, jáñghanat, bárbṛhat, mármṛjat, mármṛçat, parpharat, dardirat, caniṣkadat, davidyutat, saniṣvanat;* 1st du., *jañghanāva;* 1st pl., *carkirāma, vevidāma;* 3d pl., *pā́patan, çóçucan, carkiran;* and, with double mode-sign, *cā́kaçān* (AV.). Besides these, *rārā́ṇas* and *rārā́ṇat, cākā́nas* and *cākā́nat* and *cākā́nāma*, which their accent assimilates rather to perfect mode-forms with long reduplication, like *māmáhas* and *sāsáhat* etc. (**810a**). Of the middle are found only 3d persons plural: thus, *jáñghananta, jarhṛṣanta, marmṛjanta, nonuvanta, çoçucanta*; and *cākā́nanta* (and *cakananta* once).

3. Present Optative.

1009. This mode would show the unstrengthened stem, with the usual endings (**566**), accented. Thus:

	s.	d.	p.
1	वेविद्याम् *vevidyā́m* etc.	वेविद्याव *vevidyā́va* etc.	वेविद्याम *vevidyā́ma* etc.

The optative is represented by only an example or two in the older language: thus, active, *veviṣyāt* (AV.), *jāgṛyāt* (AB.); RV. has only *cākanyāt* (pft.?); middle, *nenijīta* (K.).

4. Present Imperative.

1010. The regular forms of the imperative, including the usual subjunctive first persons, would be as follows:

	s.	d.	p.
1	वेविदानि *vévidāni*	वेविदाव *vévidāva*	वेविदाम *vévidāma*
2	वेविड्ढि *veviddhí*	वेवित्तम् *vevittám*	वेवित्त *vevittá*
3	वेवेत्तु, वेविदीतु *vévettu, vévidītu*	वेवित्ताम् *vevittā́m*	वेविदतु *vévidatu*

1011. Older imperative forms are less rare than optative. The first persons have been given above (*jañghánāni*, the only accented example, does not correspond with the model, but is in conformity with the subjunctive of the reduplicating present); the proper imperatives are: 2d sing., *dādṛhí, dardṛhi, carkṛdhi, jāgṛhi, nenigdhi*, and *rāranddhí, rārandhí, cākandhi, vāvandhí;* the ending *tāt* is found in *carkṛtāt* and *jāgṛtāt;* and the latter (as was pointed out above, **570**) is used in AV. as first person sing.; *barbṛhi* shows an elsewhere unparalleled loss of *h* before the ending *hi;* 3d sing., *veveṣṭu, dardartu, marmarttu*, and *rārantu;* 2d du., *jāgṛtam;* 3d du., *jāgṛtām;* 2d pl., *jāgṛtá*, and *rāranta; cañkramata* (RV., once) has an anomalous union-vowel; 3d pl., only the anomalous *cākantu* (RV., once), apparently for *cākanatu*. In the middle voice is found only *nenikṣva* (ÇB.).

Of imperative forms with auxiliary *ī*, RV. has none; AV. has *vāvadītu* and *johavītu*, and such are sometimes found in the Brāhmaṇas; AV. has also, against rule, *taṅstanīhi* and *jaṅghanīhi*.

5. Present Participle.

1012. The intensive participles, both active and middle, are comparatively common in the older language. They are formed and inflected like those of the reduplicating present, and have the accent on the reduplicating syllable.

Examples are: active, *cā́kaçat, nā́nadat, cékitat, mémyat, çóçucat, róruvat, dárdrat, mármṛjat, jáṅghanat, nánnamat, pánīphanat, kánikradat, dávidyutat;* — middle, *bā́badhāna, mémyāna, cékitāna, yóyuvāna, rórucāna, járbhurāṇa, sársrāṇa, nánnamāna, dándaçāna.* No middle participle shows the dissyllabic reduplication.

1013. On account of their accent, *rārahāṇá, rārakṣāṇá,* and *jāhṛṣāṇá* (beside *járhṛṣāṇa*) are probably to be regarded as perfect participles, although no other perfect forms with heavy reduplication from the same roots occur. The inference is, however, rendered uncertain by the unmistakably intensive *badbadhāná* and *marmṛjāná* (beside *mármṛjāna*).

The RV. has once *jáṅghnatas*, gen. sing., with root-vowel cast out; *kánikrat* appears to be used once for *kánikradat;* if *cākát* is to be referred to √*kā* (Grassmann), it is the only example of an intensive from a root in *ā*, and its accent is anomalous. *Marmṛçantas* (AB.) is probably a false reading.

6. Imperfect.

1014. The imperfect is regularly inflected as follows:

	s.	d.	p.
1	अवेविदम् *ávevidam*	अवेविद्व *ávevidva*	अवेविद्म *ávevidma*
2	अवेवेत्, अवेविदीस् *ávevet, ávevidīs*	अवेवित्तम् *ávevittam*	अवेवित्त *ávevitta*
3	अवेवेत्, अवेविदीत् *ávevet, ávevidīt*	अवेवित्ताम् *ávevittām*	अवेविदुस् *ávevidus*

1015. The imperfect forms found in the earlier texts are not numerous. They are, including those from which the augment is omitted, as follows: in active, 1st sing., *acākaçam, dediçam;* 2d sing., *ajāgar, adardar, dárdar, cākán;* 3d sing., *adardar, adardhar, avarīvar, dardar, kániṣkan, dávidyot, návīnot,* and *cākán* and *rārán;* 2d du., *adardṛtam;* 1st pl., *marmṛjmá;* 3d pl., *arāraṇus, anannamus, adardirus, acarkṛṣus, ájohavus, anonavus:* and, with auxiliary *ī*, in 3d sing., *ávāvaçīt, ávāvarīt, áyoyavīt, ároravīt, ájohavīt;* and, irregularly, in 3d du., *avāvaçītām.* The middle forms are

extremely few: namely, 3d sing., *ádediṣṭa*, *ánannata* (with loss of the final radical in a weak form of root); 3d pl. *marmṛjata*, and *avāvaçanta* (which, if it belongs here, shows a transfer to an *a*-stem).

1016. Derivative Middle Inflection. From every intensive stem, as above described, may be formed in the present-system a further derivative conjugation which is formally identical with a passive, being made by the accented sign य *yá*, along with middle endings only. It has not, however, a passive value, but is in meaning and use indistinguishable from the simpler conjugation.

A final vowel before this *ya* is treated as before the passive-sign *ya* (770).

The inflection is precisely like that of any other stem ending in *a* in the middle voice: thus, from √*mṛj*, intensive stem *marmṛj*, is made the present indicative *marmṛjyé*, *marmṛjyáse*, *marmṛjyáte*, etc.; optative *marmṛjyéya*, *marmṛjyéthās*, *marmṛjyéta*, etc.; imperative *marmṛjyásva*, *marmṛjyátām*, etc.; participle *marmṛjyámāna*; imperfect *ámarmṛjye*, *ámarmṛjyathās*, *ámarmṛjyata*, etc.; subjunctive forms do not occur.

1017. This kind of intensive inflection is said to be much more usual than the other in the later language; in the earlier, it is comparatively rare.

In RV., *yá*-forms are made from eight roots, five of which have also forms of the simpler conjugation; the AV. adds one more; the other earlier texts (so far as observed) only twelve more, and half of them have likewise forms of the simpler conjugation. Thus: from √*mṛj*, *marmṛjyáte* etc., and *marīmṛjyeta*; from √*tṛ*, *tartūryante*; from √*car*, *carcūryámāṇa*; from √*nī*, *nenīyéran* etc.; from √*vī*, *vevīyate*; from √*rih*, *rerihyáte* etc.; from √*vij*, *vevijyáte*; from √*sku*, *coṣkūyáse* etc.; from √*diç*, *dediçyate*; from √*kāç*, *cākaçyáte*; from √*vad*, *vāvadyámāna*; from √*nam*, *nannamyadhvam*; from √*vah*, *vanīvāhyéta* etc. (with lengthened root-vowel, elsewhere unknown); from √*krand*, *kanikradyámāna*; from √*vṛt*, *varīvartyámāna* (ÇB.: should be *varīvṛty-*); from √*mṛç*, *amarīmṛçyanta* (ÇB.? the text reads *amarīmṛtsyanta*); from √*yup*, *yoyupyánte* etc.; from √*nud*, *anonudyanta*; from √*vlī*, *avevlīyanta*; from √*jabh*, *jañjabhyáte* etc.; from √*jap*, *jañjapyámāna*.

Perfect.

1018. The grammarians are at variance as to whether a perfect may be formed directly from the intensive stem,

or whether only a periphrastic perfect (below, **1070** ff.) is to be admitted.

In the older language, no example of an intensive periphrastic perfect has come to light. A few unmistakable perfect forms are made from the intensively reduplicated root in RV.: namely, *davidhāva* and *nónāva*, 3d sing., and *nonuvus*, 3d pl., and TS. has once *dodrāva*. To these may be added *jāgara* 1st sing. and *jāgára* 3d sing.: but as to these, see below, **1020**.

Aorist, Future, etc.

1019. As to the remaining parts of a full verbal conjugation, also, the grammarians are not agreed (occurrences of such forms, apparently, being too rare to afford even them any basis for rules); in general, it is allowed to treat the intensive stem further as a root in filling up the scheme of forms, using always the auxiliary vowel इ *i* where it is ever used in the simple conjugation.

Thus, from √*vid*, intensive stem *vevid*, would be made the aorist *avevidiṣam* with precative *vevidyāsam*, the futures *vevidiṣyāmi* and *veviditāsmi*, the participles *vevidita*, *veviditavya*, etc., the infinitive *veviditum*, and the gerunds *veviditvā* and *-vevidya*. And, where the intensive conjugation is the derivative middle one, the aorist and futures would take the corresponding middle form.

Of all this, in the ancient language, there is hardly a trace. The RV. has *cárkṛṣe*, 3d sing. mid., of a formation like *hiṣe* and *stuṣé* (**894 d**), and the gerundives *vitantasáyya*, and *marmṛjénya* and *vāvṛdhénya*; and ÇB. has the participle *vanīvāhitá*, and the infinitive *dédīyitavāí*. As to *jāgariṣyánt* and *jāgaritá*, see the next paragraph.

1020. There are systems of inflection of certain roots, the intensive character of which is questioned or questionable. Thus:

The root *gṛ* (or *gar*) 'wake' has from the first no present-system save one with intensive reduplication; and its intensive stem, *jāgṛ*, begins early to assume the value of a root, and form a completer conjugation; while by the grammarians this stem is reckoned as if simple and belonging to the root-class (I.), and is inflected throughout accordingly. Those of its forms which occur in the older language have been given along with the other intensives above. They are, for the present-system, the same with those acknowledged as regular later. The older perfect is like the other intensive perfects found in RV.: namely, *jāgara* etc., with the participle *jāgṛváṅs*; and a future, *jāgariṣyánt*, and a passive participle *jāgaritá* are met with in the Brāhmaṇas. The old aorist (RV.) is the usual reduplicated or so-called causative aorist: thus, *ájīgar*. The grammarians give it in the later language a perfect with

additional reduplication, *jajāgāra* etc., an *iṣ*-aorist, *ajāgariṣam*, with precative *jāgaryāsam*, and everything else that is needed to make up a complete conjugation.

1021. The stem *irajya* (active only), 'regulate', from which a number of forms are made in RV., has been viewed as an intensive from √*raj* or *ṛj*. It lacks, however, any analogy with the intensive formation. The same is true of *iradh*, 'propitiate' (only *iradhanta* and *irádhyāi*, apparently for *iradhạdhyāi*).

The middle stem *ī́ya*, not infrequent in the oldest language, is usually called an intensive of √*i* 'go', but with very doubtful propriety, as it has no analogy of form with any intensives. The isolated 1st pl. *īmahe*, common in RV., is also of questionable character.

1022. The root *lī* 'totter', with constant intensive reduplication, *lelī*, is quite irregular in inflection and accent: thus, pres., *lelā́yati* and *lelāyate* pples *lelāyántī* and *leláyatas* (gen. sing.) and *lelāyamāna*, impf. *alelāyat*, *alelet* and *alelīyata*.

1023. The RV. anomalous form *dart* (or *dard*), 2d and 3d sing. from √*dṛ* or *dar*, is doubtfully referred to the intensive, as if abbreviated from *dardar*. RV. has once *avarīvus* (or *-vur*) where the sense requires a form from √*vṛt*, as *avarīvṛtus*. The form *rarāṇátā* (RV., once) seems corrupt.

1024. A marked intensive or frequentative meaning is not always easily to be traced in the forms classed as intensive; and in some of them it is quite effaced. Thus, the roots *cit*, *nij*, *viṣ* use their intensive present-system as if it were an ordinary conjugation-class; nor is it otherwise with *randh*, *ran*, *kan* (of which, as noticed above, the forms admit of being referred to the perfect-system), and with *gṛ* (*jāgṛ*). The grammarians reckon the inflection of *nij* and *viṣ* as belonging to the reduplicating present-system (II.), with irregularly strengthened reduplication; and they treat in the same way *vic* and *vij*; *jāgṛ*, as we have seen, they account a simple root.

Also *daridrā*, intensive of √*drā* 'run', is made by the grammarians a simple root, and furnished with a complete set of conjugational forms: as *dadaridrāu*; *adaridrāsīt*, etc. etc. It does not occur in the older language. The so-called root *vevī* 'flutter' is a pure intensive.

1025. It is allowed by the grammarians to make from the intensive stem also a passive, desiderative, causative, and so on: thus, from *vevid*, pass. *vevidyé*; desid. *vévidiṣāmi*; caus. *vevidáyāmi*; desid. of causative, *vévidayiṣāmi*. But such formations are not found in the older language, and, if they occur at all, are excessively rare in the later.

III. Desiderative.

1026. By the desiderative conjugation is signified a desire for the action or condition denoted by the simple root:

thus, पिबामि *pibāmi*, 'I drink', desid. पिपासामि *pipāsāmi*, 'I wish to drink'; जीवामि *jīvāmi*, 'I live', desid. जिजीविषामि *jijīviṣāmi*, 'I desire to live'. Such a conjugation is allowed to be formed from any simple root in the language, and also from any causative stem.

The desiderative conjugation, although its forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language, is earlier and more fully expanded into a whole verbal system than the intensive. Its forms are also of increasing frequency: much fewer than the intensives in RV., more numerous in the Brāhmaṇas and later; not one third of the whole number of roots (about ninety) noted as having a desiderative conjugation in Veda and Brāhmaṇa have such in RV.

1027. The desiderative stem is formed from the simple root by the addition of two characteristics: **a.** a reduplication, which always has the accent; **b.** an appended स *sa* — which, however (like the tense-signs of aorist and future), sometimes takes before it the auxiliary vowel इ *i*, becoming इष *iṣa*.

1028. The root in general remains unchanged; but with the following exceptions:

a. A final *i* or *u* is lengthened before *sa:* thus, *cikṣīṣa, cikīṣa, jigīṣa; çuçrūṣa, juhūṣa.*

b. A final *ṛ* becomes *īr* or *ūr* before *sa*: thus, *cikīrṣa, sisīrṣa, jihīrṣa; bubhūrṣa, tustūrṣa* (the only examples noted from the older texts).

c. Before *iṣa*, the same finals necessarily, and a penultimate *i* or *u* or *ṛ* optionally, have the *guṇa*-strengthening (no examples are quotable from the older texts).

More special exceptions are:

d. A few roots in *ā* weaken this vowel to *ī* or even *i:* thus, *pipīṣa* (beside *pipāsa*) from √*pā* 'drink', *jihīṣa* (AV.) from √*hā* 'remove' (*jihīte:* **664**); *didhiṣa* (beside *dhitsa*) from √*dhā.*

e. A few roots in *an* or *am* lengthen the vowel: thus, *jigāṅsa* (beside *jigamiṣa*) from √*gam; jighāṅsa* from √*han; mīmāṅsa* from √*man;* and √*tan* is said to make *titāṅsa.*

f. Reversion to guttural form of an initial after the reduplication is seen in *cikīṣa* from √*ci, cikitsa* from √*cit, jigīṣa* from √*ji, jighāṅsa* from √*han;* and √*hi* is said to make *jighīṣa.*

g. The roots *van* and *san* make *vivāsa* and *siṣāsa*, from the root-forms *vā* and *sā*.

h. The root *jīv* forms *jujyūṣa* (ÇB.: *jijīviṣa*, VS.); and the other roots in *īv* (or *iv* : **765**) are required to make the same change before *sa*, and to have *guṇa* before *iṣa:* thus, *susyūṣa* or *siseviṣa*. *Svap* forms *suṣupsa*. *Dhūrv* forms *dudhūrṣa*.

i. Initial *s* is usually left unchanged to *ṣ* after the reduplication when the desiderative sign has *ṣ* (**184 c**): thus, *sisañkṣa* (ÇB.: √*sañj*), and *susyūṣa* and *sisaniṣa*, according to the grammarians.

k. Further may be mentioned as prescribed by the grammarians: *ninañkṣa* (or *ninaçiṣa*) from √*naç*, 'perish'; *mimañkṣa* from √*majj; mimārjiṣa* (or *mimṛkṣa*) from √*mṛj*.

1029. The consonant of the reduplication follows the general rules (**590**); the vowel is इ *i* if the root has an *a*-vowel, or ऋ *ṛ*, or an *i*-vowel; it is उ *u* if the root has an *u*-vowel. But:

a. A few roots have a long vowel in the reduplicating syllable: thus, *bībhatsa* from √*badh* or *bādh; mīmāṅsa* from √*man;* and *tūtūrṣa* (RV.) from √*tur*.

b. From √*aç* is made (in ÇB). *açiçiṣa* (with a mode of reduplication like that followed sometimes in the reduplicating aorist: **862**). The grammarians give other cases of the same kind: thus, *arjihiṣa* from √*arh*, *īcikṣiṣa* from √*īkṣ*, *undidiṣa* from √*und*, *ardidhiṣa* from √*ṛdh*. In the older language, *aç* is the only root with initial vowel which forms a desiderative stem, except *āp* and *ṛdh*, which have abbreviated stems: see the next paragraph.

c. RV. has the stems *ínakṣa* and *íyakṣa*, regarded as desideratives from √√*naç* 'attain' and *yaj*, with mutilated reduplication.

1030. A number of roots, including some of very common use, form an abbreviated stem apparently by a contraction of reduplication and root together into one syllable: thus, ईप्स *īpsa* from √आप् *āp;* दित्स *ditsa* from √दा *dā*.

Such abbreviated stems are found in the older language as follows: *dhitsa* (beside *didhiṣa*) from √*dhā; ditsa* (beside *didāsa*) from √*dā; dipsa* from √*dabh; çikṣa* from √*çak; sīkṣa* from √*sah:* these are found in RV.; in AV. are added *īpsa* from √*āp* (RV. has *apsa* once), and *īrtsa* from √*ṛdh:* the other texts furnish *lipsa* (ÇB.) or *līpsa* (TB.) from √*labh*, *ripsa* (GB.) from √*rabh*, *pitsa* (ÇB.) from √*pad*, and *dhīkṣa* (ÇB.) from √*dih* (or, rather, *dah*). The grammarians prescribe *dhipsa* or *dhīpsa* from √*dabh*, instead of *dipsa;* they form *pitsa* from √*pat* as well as *pad;* and they add *ritsa* from √*radh*, *jñīpsa* (beside *jijñapayiṣa*) from the causative quasi-root *jñap* (below, **1042 e**), and *mitsa* from √√*mā* and *mī* and *mi:* this last could be only an anomalous

formation, made after the analogy of the others. Also *mokṣa* is reckoned as a desiderative stem from √*muc* (it is denominative, rather).

1031. The use of the auxiliary vowel इ *i* is quite rare in the early language, but more common later; and it is allowed or prescribed by the grammarians in many stems which have not yet been found in actual use.

It is declared to follow in general, (though not without exceptions, necessary or optional, the analogy of the futures (**934, 943**).

No example of the use of *i* is found in RV., and only one each in AV. *(pipatiṣa)*, VS. *(jijīviṣa)*, and TS. *(jigamiṣa)*. The other examples noted in the early texts are *açiçiṣa*, *cikramiṣa*, *jigrahīṣa* (with *ī* for *i*, as elsewhere in this root), *cicariṣa*, *jijaniṣa*, *didīkṣiṣa*, *bibādhiṣa*, *rirādhiṣa*, *vividiṣa*, *jihiṅsiṣa*: most of them are found only in ÇB. Stems also without the auxiliary vowel are made from roots *gam*, *jīv*, *bādh*, *vid*.

1032. Inflection: Present-System. The desiderative stem is conjugated in the present-system with perfect regularity, like other *a*-stems, in both voices, in all the modes (including, in the older language, the subjunctive), and with participles and imperfect. It will be sufficient to give here the first persons only. We may take as active model ईप्स *īpsa*, 'seek to obtain', from √आप् *āp*; as middle तितिक्ष *titikṣa*, 'endure', from √तिज् *tij*, 'be sharp' (see below, **1040**).

1. Present Indicative.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	ईप्सामि *īpsāmi* etc.	ईप्सावस् *īpsāvas* etc.	ईप्सामस् *īpsāmas* etc.	तितिक्षे *titikṣe* etc.	तितिक्षावहे *titikṣāvahe* etc.	तितिक्षामहे *titikṣāmahe* etc.

2. Present Subjunctive.

	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
2	ईप्सानि *īpsāni* etc.	ईप्साव *īpsāva* etc.	ईप्साम *īpsāma* etc.	तितिक्षै *titikṣāi* etc.	तितिक्षावहै *titikṣāvahāi* etc.	तितिक्षामहै *titikṣāmahāi* etc.

3. Present Optative.

	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	ईप्सेयम् *īpseyam* etc.	ईप्सेव *īpseva* etc.	ईप्सेम *īpsema* etc.	तितिक्षेय *titikṣeya* etc.	तितिक्षेवहि *titikṣevahi* etc.	तितिक्षेमहि *titikṣemahi* etc.

4. Present Imperative.

	ईप्स	ईप्सतम्	ईप्सत	तितिक्षस्व	तितिक्षेथाम्	तितिक्षध्वम्
2	*ī́psa*	*ī́psatam*	*ī́psata*	*títikṣasva*	*títikṣethām*	*títikṣadhvam*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

5. Present Participle.

ईप्सन्त् *ī́psant* (f. ईप्सन्ती *ī́psantī*) तितिक्षमाण *títikṣamāṇa.*

6. Imperfect.

	ऐप्सम्	ऐप्साव	ऐप्साम	अतितिक्षे	अतितिक्षावहि	अतितिक्षामहि
1	*āípsam*	*āípsāva*	*āípsāma*	*átitikṣe*	*átitikṣāvahi*	*átitikṣāmahi*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

There are almost no irregularities of inflection to be reported from the older language. No 1st pl. in *masi*, or 2d pl. in *thana* or *tana*, or impv. in *tāt*, is met with. The quotable subjunctive forms are those in *sāni*, *sāt* and *sat*, *sān*, and *santa*.

But the fem. pple *siṣāsatī* (instead of *siṣāsantī*) occurs once or twice in the older texts.

1033. Desiderative forms outside the present-system are extremely rare in the oldest language. The RV. has only perfect forms from a stem *mimikṣ* — thus, *mimikṣáthus*, *mimikṣátus*, *mimikṣús*; *mimikṣe*, *mimikṣire* — along with the present forms *mimikṣati*, *mimikṣa* etc., *mimikṣant* (pple): they show that *mimikṣ* or *mikṣ* has taken on the character of an independent root. In AV. are found two aorist forms, *īrtsīs* and *acikitsīs*, and a participle or two from *mīmāṅsa* (see below, **1037**, **1039**) — all of them from stems which have lost their distinct desiderative meaning, and come to bear an independent value. The forms noted from the other earlier texts will be given in full below.

In the later language, the complete system of verbal forms is allowed to be made in the desiderative conjugation, the desiderative stem, less its final vowel, being treated as a root. Thus:

1034. Perfect. The desiderative perfect is the periphrastic (**1070** ff.).

Thus, *īpsāṁ cakāra* etc.; *titikṣāṁ cakre* etc. Such forms are made in ÇB. from √√ *kram*, *dhūrv*, *bādh*, *ruh*.

Apparent perfect forms of the ordinary kind made from *mimikṣ* in RV. have been noticed in the preceding paragraph. And AB. (viii. 21) has once *didāsitha*, 'thou hast desired to give'.

1035. Aorist. The aorist is of the *iṣ*-form (5): thus, ऐप्सिषम् *āipsiṣam*, अतितिक्षिषि *átitikṣiṣi*.

The AV. has *acikitsīs*, and *īrtsīs* (augmentless, with *mā́* prohibitive: **579**). TB. has *āipsīt;* and ÇB. *ā́irtsīt*, *ácikīrṣīs* and *ajighāṅsīs*, and *amīmāṅsiṣṭhās.*

A precative is also allowed — thus, *īpsyāsam*, *titikṣiṣīya*, but it probably never occurs.

1036. Futures. The futures are made with the auxiliary vowel इ *i:* thus, ईप्सिष्यामि *īpsiṣyā́mi* and ईप्सितास्मि *īpsitā́smi;* तितिक्षिष्ये *titikṣiṣyé* and तितिक्षिताहे *titikṣitā́he.*

The ÇB. has *titikṣiṣyate* and *didṛkṣitā́ras.*

1037. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These too are made with the auxiliary vowel इ *i*, in all cases where that vowel is ever taken.

In the older language have been noted: participle in *ta*, *mīmāṅsitá* (AV., GB.), *jijyūṣita* (AB.), *çuçrūṣitá* and *dhīkṣitá* (ÇB.); — gerundive in *tavya*, *līpsitavya* (AB.), *didhyāsitavyà* (ÇB.); — gerund in *tvā*, *mīmāṅsitvā* (K.).

1038. A desiderative adjective in *u* — for example, *dipsú*, *bībhatsú*, *siṣāsú* — is of frequent occurrence, and has the meaning and construction of a present participle. An abstract noun in *ā* — for example, *jigīṣā́* — is also a usual appendage to the desiderative conjugation. Adjectives in *enya* (having a gerundive character: **966 b**) are occasionally met with from the earliest time: thus, *didṛkṣéṇya* (RV.), *çuçrūṣéṇya* (TS.), *ninīṣeṇya* (PB.); also, with irregular reduplication (apparently) *papṛkṣéṇya* (RV.). RV. has also *didhiṣā́yya* (**966 c**).

1039. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. A passive is allowed to be made, by adding the passive-sign य *yá* to the desiderative root (or stem without final *a*): thus, ईप्स्यते *īpsyáte*, 'it is desired to be obtained'; — and a causative by adding in like manner the causative-sign अय *áya* (**1041**): thus, ईप्सयामि *īpsáyāmi*, 'I cause to desire obtainment'.

The only trace of such formations noticed in the older language is the participle *mīmāṅsyámāna* (apparently to be read instead of *mīmāṅsámāna*, AV. ix. 6. 24).

For the desiderative conjugation formed on causative stems, which is found as early as the Brāhmaṇas, see below, **1052 b.**

1040. Some stems which are desiderative in form have lost the peculiarity of desiderative meaning, and assumed the value of independent roots: examples are *cikits*, 'cure', *jugups*, 'despise', *titikṣ*, 'endure', *bībhats*, 'abhor', *mīmāṅs*, 'ponder'. Doubtless

some of the apparent roots in the language with sibilant final are akin with the desideratives in origin.

IV. Causative.

1041. In the later language is allowed to be made from every root a complete causative conjugation. The basis of this is a causative stem, formed by appending the causative-sign अय *áya* to the, usually strengthened, root.

But by no means all conjugation-stems formed by the sign अय *áya* are of causative value; and the grammarians regard them as a conjugation-class, the tenth or *cur*-class, according to which roots may be inflected as according to the other classes, and either alone or along with others.

In RV., the proportion without causative value is fully one third. The formation is a more obviously denominative one than any of the other conjugation-classes, an intermediate between them and the proper denominatives. A causative meaning has established itself in connection with the formation, and become predominant, though not exclusive. A number of roots of late appearance and probably derivative character are included in the class, and some palpable denominatives, which lack only the usual denominative accent (below, **1055**).

The causative formation is of much more frequent use, and more decidedly expanded into a full conjugation, than either the intensive or the desiderative. It is made from more than two hundred and fifty roots in the early language (in RV., from about one hundred and fifty); but in the oldest, its forms outside the present-system are (apart from the attached reduplicated aorist: **1046**) exceedingly few.

1042. The treatment of the root before the causative-sign अय *aya* is as follows:

a. Medial or initial *i*, *u*, *ṛ*, *ḷ* have the *guṇa*-strengthening (if capable of it): thus, *vedaya* from √*vid*, *codaya* from √*cud*, *tarpaya* from √*tṛp*; and *kalpaya* from √*kḷp* (only example).

But a few roots lack the strengthening: these are, in the older language, *cit (citaya* and *cetaya)*, *vip (vipaya* and *vepaya)*, *iṣ*, *iḷ* and *il*, *riṣ (riṣaya* and *reṣaya)*, *tuj*, *tur*, *dyut (dyutaya* and *dyotaya)*, *mṛḍ*, *spṛh*; and *grabh* makes in RV. *gṛbhaya*. *Duṣ* and *guh* lengthen the vowel instead. *Mṛj* sometimes has *vṛddhi*, as in other forms: thus, *mārjaya* (beside *marjaya*).

b. A final vowel has the *vṛddhi*-strengthening: thus, *cyāvaya*, *bhāvaya*, *dhāraya*, *sāraya*.

But no root in *i* or *ī* has *vṛddhi* in the older language (unless *pāyaya* [d, below] comes from *pī* rather than *pā*) — as, indeed, regular causatives from such roots are hardly quotable: only RV. has *kṣayaya* from √*kṣi* 'dwell'; for a few alternatively permitted forms, see below, e.

A few roots have (generally in the older language only) a form also with *guṇa*-strengthening: thus, *dru*, *yu* 'ward off', *çru*, *pū*, *jṛ* 'decay', *dṛ* 'burst', *sṛ*, *hṛ*; *vṛ* 'choose' makes *varaya* later (it is not found in V. or Br.).

c. A medial or initial *a* in a light syllable is sometimes lengthened, and sometimes remains unchanged: thus, *bhājaya, svāpaya, ādaya; janaya, çrathaya, anaya.*

The roots in the older language which keep their short *a* are *an, jan, pan, svan, dhan, ran, stan, dhvan, gam* (*gāmaya* once in RV.), *tam, dam, nam, prath, çrath, çnath, vyath, svad, nad, das, dhvas, mah, nabh, tvar, svar.* Some have both forms: namely, *pat, chad, mad, ram, çam; raj* has *rajaya* (AV., once) and *rañjaya.* The roots which lengthen the vowel are decidedly the more numerous. If a nasal is taken in any of the strong forms of a root, it usually appears in the causative stem: thus, *randhaya, lambhaya, rambhaya, skandaya.*

d. Most roots in final *ā*, and the root *ṛ*, add *p* before the conjugation-sign: thus, *dāpaya, dhāpaya, sthāpaya; arpaya.*

Such stems are made in the older language from the roots *khyā, glā, ghrā, jñā, dā* 'give', *drā* 'run', *dhā* 'put' and *dhā* 'suck', *mā* 'measure', *mlā, vā* 'blow', and *vā* 'tire', *sthā, snā, hā* 'remove' and *hā* 'leave'. From *jñā* and *snā* are found in AV. and later the shortened forms *jñapaya* and *snapaya*, and from *çrā* only *çrapaya* (not in RV.). Also *glā* forms in the later language *glapaya.*

Stems from *ā*-roots showing no *p* are, earlier, *pāyaya* from √*pā* 'drink' (or *pī*), *pyāyaya* from √*pyā* or *pyāy; sāyaya* from √*sā* (or *si*); also, later, *çāyaya* from √*çā*, *hvāyaya* from √*hvā;* — and further, from roots *chā, vā* 'weave', and *vyā*, according to the grammarians.

e. The same *p* is taken also by a few *i* and *ī*-roots, with various accompanying irregularities: thus, *kṣepaya* from √*kṣi* 'dwell' (RV., beside *kṣayaya*); *kṣāpaya* (AV.) and *kṣapaya* and *kṣayaya* from √*kṣi* 'destroy'; *jāpaya* (VS. and later) from √*ji; lāpaya* (TB. and later) from √*lī; adhyāpaya* from *adhi* + √*i; smāpaya* (beside *smāyaya*, which does not occur) from √*smi; hrepaya* from √*hrī;* — and, according to the grammarians, *repaya* from √*rī, vlepaya* from √*vlī, krāpaya* from √*krī, bhāpaya* (beside *bhāyaya* and *bhīṣaya*) from √*bhī*, and *cāpaya* (beside *cāyaya*) from √*ci.* Moreover, √*ruh* forms later *ropaya* (earlier *rohaya*), and √*knū* or *knūy* is said to form *knopaya.*

f. More anomalous cases, in which the so-called causative is palpably the denominative of a derived noun, are: *pālaya* from √*pā* 'protect'; *prīṇaya* from √*prī; līnaya* (according to grammarians) from √*lī; dhūnaya* (not causative in sense) from √*dhū; bhīṣaya* from √*bhī; ghātaya* from √*han; sphāvaya* (according to grammarians) from √*sphā* or *sphāy.*

1043. Inflection: Present-System. The causative stem is inflected in the present-system precisely like other stems in अ *a:* it will be sufficient to give here in general the first persons of the different formations, taking as model the stem धारय *dhāráya,* from √धृ *dhṛ.* Thus:

1. Present Indicative.

	active.			middle.		
	s.	d.	p.	s.	d.	p.
1	धारयामि *dhāráyāmi*	धारयावस् *dhāráyāvas*	धारयामस् *dhāráyāmas*	धारये *dhāráye*	धारयावहे *dhāráyāvahe*	धारयामहे *dhāráyāmahe*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

The 1st pll. act. in *masi* greatly outnumber (as 10 to 1) those in *mas* in both RV. and AV. No example occurs of 2d pl. act. in *thana,* nor of 3d sing. mid. in *e* for *ate.*

2. Present Subjunctive.

For the subjunctive may be instanced all the forms noted as occurring in the older language:

1	*dhāráyāṇi*	*dhāráyāva*	*dhāráyāma*	*dhāráyāi*	*dhāráyāvahāi*	
2	*dhāráyāsi* / *dhāráyās*	*dhāráyāthas*	*dhāráyātha*	*dhāráyāse*		*dhāráyādhve* / *dhāráyādhvāi*
3	*dhāráyāti* / *dhāráyāt*	*dhāráyātas*	*dhāráyān*	*dhāráyāte* / *dhāráyātāi*	*dhāráyāite*	

Only one dual mid. form in *āite* occurs: *mādáyāite* (RV.). The only RV. mid. form in *āi*, except in 1st du., is *mādayādhvāi.* The primary endings in 2d and 3d sing. act. are more common than the secondary.

3. Present Optative.

1	धारयेयम् *dhāráyeyam*	धारयेव *dhāráyeva*	धारयेम *dhāráyema*	धारयेय *dhāráyeya*	धारयेवहि *dhāráyevahi*	धारयेमहि *dhāráyemahi*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Optative forms are very rare in the oldest language (four in RV., two in AV.); they become more common in the Brāhmaṇas. AB. has once *kāmayīta.*

4. Present Imperative.

2	धारय *dhāráya*	धारयतम् *dhāráyatam*	धारयत *dhāráyata*	धारयस्व *dhāráyasva*	धारयेथाम् *dhāráyethām*	धारयध्वम् *dhāráyadhvam*
	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

Imperative persons with the ending *tāt* occur: *dhārayatāt* (AV.) is 2d sing.; *gamayatāt* and *cyāvayatāt* (K. etc.), and *vārayatāt* (TB.) are used as 2d pl.; *vārayadhvāt* (K. etc.) is 2d pl., and the only noted example (see above, **570**).

5. Present Participle.

धारयन्त् *dhāráyant* (f. °यन्ती *-yantī*) धारयमाण *dhāráyamāṇa.*

6. Imperfect.

1 अधारयम्	अधारयाव	अधारयाम	अधारये	अधारयावहि	अधारयामहि
ádhārayam	*ádhārayāva*	*ádhārayāma*	*ádhāraye*	*ádhārayāvahi*	*ádhārayāmahi*
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

For a few forms in *īs* and *īt* which perhaps belong to the imperfect, see below.

1044. As was above pointed out, the formations from the causative stem in *aya* outside the present-system are in the oldest language very limited. In RV. are found two forms of the future in *syāmi*, and ten infinitives in *dhyāi;* also one or two derivative nouns in *tṛ (bodhayitṛ, codayitrī),* five in *iṣṇu*, seven in *itnu*, and a few in *a (atipārayá, nidhārayá, vācamīn̄khayá, viçvamejaya).* In AV., also two *s*-future forms and four gerunds in *tvā;* and a few derivative noun-stems, from one of which is made a periphrastic perfect *(gamayām̐ cakāra).* In the Brāhmaṇas, verbal derivative forms become more numerous and various, as will be noted in detail below.

1045. Perfect. The accepted causative perfect is the periphrastic (**1070**), the derivative noun in आ *á*, in accusative form, to which the auxiliary is added, being formed from the causative stem: thus,

धारयां चकार *dhārayám̐ cakāra* धारयां चक्रे *dhārayám̐ cakre.*

Of this perfect no example occurs in RV. or SV. or VS., only one — *gamayám̐ cakāra* — in AV., and but two or three in all the various texts of the Black Yajur-Veda, and these not in the *mantra*-parts of the text. They are also by no means frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, except in ÇB. (where they abound: chiefly, perhaps, for the reason that this work uses in considerable part the perfect instead of imperfect as its narrative tense).

1046. Aorist. The aorist of the causative conjugation is the reduplicated, which in general has nothing to do with the causative stem, but is made directly from the root.

It has been already fully described (above, **856** ff.).

Its association with the causative is doubtless founded on an original intensive character belonging to it as a reduplicated form, and is a matter of gradual growth: in the Veda it is made from a considerable number of roots (in RV., more than a third of its instances; in AV., about a fifth) which have no causative stem in *aya*.

The causative aorist of √धृ *dhṛ*, then, is as follows:

1 अदीधरम्	अदीधराव	अदीधराम	अदीधरे	अदीधरावहि	अदीधरामहि
ádīdharam	*ádīdharāva*	*ádīdharāma*	*ádīdhare*	*ádīdharāvahi*	*adīdharāmahi*
etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.	etc.

1047. In a few cases, where the root has assumed a peculiar form before the causative sign — as by the addition of a *p* or *ṣ* (above, **1042 d** ff.) — the reduplicated aorist is made from this form instead of from the simple root: thus, *atiṣṭhipam* from *sthāp* (stem *sthāpaya*) for √*sthā*. Aorist-forms of this character from quasi-roots in *āp* are made from *sthāp*, *jñāp*, *hāp*, *jāp*, and *çrap* (above, **861**); the only other example from the older language is *bībhiṣas* etc. from *bhīṣ* for √*bhī*.

1048. A small number of Vedic forms having *īs* and *īt* after *y* of the causal stem are apparently sporadic attempts at making an *iṣ*-aorist: thus, *vyathayīs* (AV.), *dhvanayīt* (RV.; TS. has instead the anomalous *dhvanayit*), and *āilayīt* (AV.). The two former are augmentless forms, used with *mā* prohibitive (compare the denom. *ūnayīs*, RV., also with *mā́*).

1049. A precative is of course allowed by the grammarians to be made for the causative conjugation: in the middle, from the causative stem with the auxiliary इ *i* substituted for its final अ *a*; in the active, from the form of the root as strengthened in the causative stem, but without the causative sign: thus,

धार्यासम् *dhāryāsam* etc. धारयिषीय *dhārayiṣīya* etc.

This formation is doubtless to be regarded as purely fictitious.

1050. Futures. Both futures, with the conditional, are made from the causative stem, with the auxiliary इ *i*, which takes the place of its final अ *a*. Thus:

S-Future.

धारयिष्यामि *dhārayiṣyā́mi* etc. धारयिष्ये *dhārayiṣyé* etc.

Conditional.

अधारयिष्यम् *ádhārayiṣyam* etc. अधारयिष्ये *ádhārayiṣye* etc.

Periphrastic Future.

धारयितास्मि *dhārayitā́smi* etc. धारयिताहे *dhārayitā́he* etc.

The *s*-future participles are made regularly: thus, *dhārayiṣyánt* (fem. *-yántī* or *-yatī́*), *dhārayiṣyámāṇa*.

It has been mentioned above that RV. and AV. contain only two examples each of the *s*-future, and none of the periphrastic. The former begin to appear in the Brāhmaṇas more numerously, but still sparingly, with participles, and conditional (only *adhārayiṣyat*, ÇB.); of the latter, ÇB. affords two examples (*pārayitā́smi* and *janayitā́si*).

1051. Verbal Nouns and Adjectives. These are in part formed from the causative stem in the same manner as the futures; in part — namely, the passive participle in त *ta* and the gerundive and gerund in य *ya* (and the root-infinitive) — from the causatively strengthened root-form. The auxiliary इ *i* is taken in every formation which ever admits that vowel.

Thus, of formations permitted in the later language (but the examples taken from the earlier):

participle in *ta: īritá, vāsitá, çrāvitá;*

gerundive in *tavya: tarpayitavyà, kalpayitavya, gamayitavya, bhakṣayitavya;*

gerundive in *ya: sthā́pya, yā́jya;*

infinitive in *tum: jóṣayitum, dhā́rayitum, janayitum, pārayitum;*

gerund in *tvā: kalpayitvā́, sādayitvā́, -arpayitvā́* (AV.: see 990), *-rocayitvā́* (TA.), *çrapayitvā* (AB.);

gerund in *ya: -ghārya, -pādya, -vāsya, -sādya, -sthā́pya;*

gerund in *am: -sthā́pam* (ÇB.).

Further, of formations found only in the older language:

root-infinitive, accusative: *-sthāpam* (PB.);

infinitive in *tavāi: jā́nayitavāí, tárpayitavāí, pā́yayitavāí, -kalpayitavāí, -çcotayitavāí* (all ÇB.);

infinitive in *dhyāi: iṣayádhyāi, īrayádhyāi, tan̄sayádhyāi, nāçayádhyāi, mandayádhyāi, mādayádhyāi, riṣayádhyāi, vartayádhyāi, vājayádhyāi, syandayádhyāi* (all RV.);

gerundive in *āyya: panayā́yya, spṛhayā́yya, trayayā́yya* (√*trā: ?*).

All these, it will be noticed, follow the same rule as to accent with the similar formations from the simple root, showing no trace of the special accent of the causative stem.

1052. Derivative or Tertiary Conjugations. From the causative stem may be made a passive and a desiderative conjugation. Thus:

a. The passive-stem is formed by adding the usual passive-sign य *yá* to the causatively strengthened root, the causative-sign being dropped: thus, धार्यते *dhāryáte*.

Such passives are not found in the Veda, but they are met with here and there throughout the Brāhmaṇa language: examples are *jñapyá-* (TS.), *sādya-* (K.), *pādya-* (AB.), *vādya-* (TB.), *sthāpya-* (GB.), and so on.

b. The desiderative stem is made by reduplication and addition of the sign इष *iṣa*, of which the initial vowel replaces the final of the causative stem: thus, दिधारयिषति *didhārayiṣati*.

These, too, are found here and there in the Brāhmaṇas and later: examples are *pipāyayiṣa* (K.), *bibhāvayiṣa* and *cikalpayiṣa* and *lulobhayiṣa* (AB.), *didrāpayiṣa* and *rirādhayiṣa* and *āpipayiṣa* (ÇB.), and so on.

As to causatives made from the desiderative stem, see above, **1039**.

V. Denominative.

1053. A denominative conjugation is one that has for its basis a noun-stem.

It is a view now prevailingly held that most of the present-systems of the Sanskrit verb, along with other formations analogous with a present-system, are in their ultimate origin denominative; and that many apparent roots are of the same character. The denominatives which are so called differ from these only in that their origin is recent and undisguised.

1054. The grammarians teach that any noun-stem in the language may be converted, without other addition than that of an अ *a* (as union-vowel enabling it to be inflected according to the second general conjugation) into a present-stem, and conjugated as such.

As examples of what is allowed in this way, are given *kṛṣṇati*, 'acts like Krishna'; *mālāti*, 'is like a garland *(mālā)*'; *kavayati*, 'plays the poet *(kavi)*'; *bhavati*, 'is like the earth *(bhū)*'; *çrayati*, 'resembles Çri (goddess)'; *pitarati*, 'acts the father'; *rājānati*, 'is kingly'. But such formations are at the best of extreme rarity in actual use. The RV. has a few isolated and doubtful examples, the clearest of which is *bhiṣákti*, 'he heals', from *bhiṣáj*, 'physician'; it is made like a form of the root-class; *abhiṣṇak* seems to be its imperfect according to the nasal class. And *pátyate*, 'he rules', appears to be a denominative of *páti*, 'master'. Other possible cases are (Delbrück) *iṣaṇas* etc., *kṛpáṇanta*, *taruṣema* etc., *vanuṣanta*, *bhurajanta*, *vánanvati*. None of the other Veda or Brāhmaṇa texts has anything additional of the same character.

1055. In general, the base of denominative conjugation

is made from the noun-stem by means of the conjugation-sign य *yá*, which has the accent.

The identity of this *ya* with the *ya* of the so-called causative conjugation, as making with the final *a* of the noun-stem the causative-sign *aya*, is altogether probable. What relation it sustains to the *ya* of the *ya*-class (VIII.), of the passive, and of the derivative intensive stem, is more open to question.

1056. Intermediate between the denominative and causative conjugations stands a class of verbs, plainly denominative in origin, but having the causative accent. Examples, beginning to appear at the earliest period of the language, are *mantráyate* (from *mantra*, √*man* + *tra*) and *kīrtáyati* (from *kīrti*, √*kṛ* 'praise'). These, along with like forms from roots which have no other present-system (though they may make scattering forms outside that system from the root directly), or which have this beside other present-systems without causative meaning, are reckoned by the grammarians as a separate conjugation-class (above, **607**).

1057. Denominatives are formed at every period in the history of the language, from the earliest down.

They are most frequent in RV., which contains over a hundred, of all varieties; AV. has only half as many (and personal forms from hardly a third as many: from the rest, present participles, or derivative nouns); AB., less than twenty; ÇB., hardly more than a dozen; and so on. In the later language in general, they are far from numerous; and most of those which occur are "*cur*-class" verbs.

1058. The denominative meaning is, as in other languages, of the greatest variety; some of the most frequent forms of it are: 'be like, act as, play the part of', 'regard or treat as', 'cause to be, make into', 'use, make application of', 'desire, wish for, crave' — that which is signified by the noun-stem.

The modes of treatment of the stem-final are also various; and the grammarians make a certain more or less definite assignment of the varieties of meaning to the varieties of form; but this allotment finds only a dubious support in the usages of the words as met with even in the later language, and still less in the earlier. Hence the formal classification, according to the final of the noun-stem, and the way in which this is treated before the denominative sign *yá*, will be the best one to follow.

1059. From stems in *a*. **a.** The final *a* of a noun-stem oftenest remains unchanged: thus, *amitrayáti*, 'plays the enemy, is hostile'; *devayáti*, 'cultivates the gods, is pious'.

b. Final *a* is lengthened: thus, *aghāyáti*, 'plans mischief'; *priyāyáte*, 'holds dear'; *açvāyáti*, 'seeks for horses'; *açanāyáti*, 'desires food'.

In the Veda, forms of the same verb with short and long *ā* before *ya* sometimes exchange with one another.

c. It is changed to *ī*, or rarely *i*; thus, *adhvarīyáti*, 'performs the sacrifice'; *taviṣīyáti*, 'is mighty'; *putrīyáti* or *putriyáti*, 'desires a son'; *māṅsīyáti*, 'craves flesh'.

Denominatives of this form show a special proclivity toward the meaning 'desire'.

d. It is dropped (after *n* or *r*): thus, *turaṇyáti*, 'is rapid'; *adhvaryáti*, 'performs the sacrifice'.

e. Other modes of treatment are sporadic: thus, the addition of *s*, as in *stanasyati*, 'seeks the breast'; the change of *a* to *e*, as in *vareyáti*, 'plays the wooer'.

1060. From stems in *ā*. Final *ā* usually remains, as in *gopāyáti*, 'plays the herdsman, protects'; *pṛtanāyati*, 'fights'; but it is sometimes treated in the other methods of an *a*-stem: thus, *pṛtanyati*, 'fights'.

1061. From stems in *i*, *ī*, and *u*, *ū*. Such stems are (especially those in *u*, *ū*) much less common. They show regularly *ī* and *ū* before *ya*: thus, *arātīyáti* (also *-tiy-*), 'plots injury'; *janīyáti* (also *-niy-*), 'seeks a wife'; *sakhīyáti*, 'desires friendship'; — *çatrūyáti*, 'acts the foe'; *ṛjūyáti*, 'is straight'; *vasūyáti*, 'desires wealth'; *asūyáti*, 'grumbles, is discontent': with short *u*, *gātuyáti*, 'sets in motion'.

More rarely, *i* is treated as *a* (or else is gunated, with loss of a *y*): thus, *dhunayáti*, 'comes snorting'. Sometimes, as to *a* (above, **e**), a sibilant is added: thus, *aviṣyáti*, 'is vehement'; *uruṣyáti*, 'saves'. From *dhī*, RV. makes *dhiyāyáte*.

1062. From other vowel-stems. **a.** Final *ṛ* is said to be changed to *rī*: thus, *pitrīyáti*, 'is fatherly': no example in use has been noted.

b. The diphthongs, in the few cases that occur, have their final element changed to a semivowel: thus, *gavyáti*, 'seeks cattle, goes a-raiding'.

1063. From consonant-stems. A final consonant usually remains before *ya*: thus, *bhiṣajyáti*, 'plays the physician, cures'; *ukṣaṇyáti*, 'acts like a bull'; *apasyáti*, 'is active'; *namasyáti*, 'pays reverence'; *sumanasyáte*, 'is favorably disposed'; *taruṣyáti*, 'fights'.

But a final *n* is said to be sometimes dropped, and the preceding vowel treated as a final: thus, *rājāyáte* or *rājīyáti*, 'is kingly', from *rājan: vṛṣāyáte* from *vṛṣan* is the only example quotable from the older language. Sporadic cases occur of other final consonants similarly treated: thus, *ojāyáte* from *ojas;* — while, on the other hand, an *a*-vowel is occasionally added to such a consonant before *ya:* thus, *iṣayáti* from *iṣ*, *satvanāyati* from *satvan*.

1064. By far the largest class of consonantal stems are those showing a *s* before the *ya;* and, as has been seen above, a sibilant is sometimes, by analogy, added to a final vowel, making the denominative-sign virtually *sya* — or even, with *a* also added after an *i* or *u*-vowel, *asya;* and this comes to be recognised in the later language as an independent sign, forming denominatives that express desire: thus, *madhuṣyati* or *madhvasyati*, 'longs for honey'; *kṣīrasyati*, 'craves milk'.

1065. The grammarians reckon as a special class of denominatives in *kāmya* what are really only ordinary ones made from a compound noun-stem having *kāma* as its final member: thus, *rathakāmyati*, 'longs for the chariot' (K.: only example noted from the older language); *putrakāmyati*, 'desires a son' — coming from the possessive compounds *rathakāma*, *putrakāma*. And *satyāpayati*, 'declares true' (from *satya*), is an example of yet another formation declared to occur.

1066. a. A number of denominative stems occur in the Veda for which no corresponding noun-stems are found, although for all or nearly all of them related words appear: thus, *añkūya*, *stabhūya*, *iṣudhya; dhiṣaṇya*, *riṣaṇya*, *ruvaṇya*, *huvanya*, *iṣaṇya; ratharya*, *çratharya*, *saparya; irasya*, *daçasya*, *makhasya*, *panasya*, *sacasya*. Those in *anya*, especially, look like the beginnings of a new conjugation-class.

b. Having still more that aspect, however, are a Vedic group of stems in *āya*, which in general have allied themselves to present-systems of the *nā*-class (V.), and are found alongside the forms of that class: thus, *gṛbhāyáti* beside *gṛbhṇāti*. Of such, RV. has *gṛbhāya*, *mathāya*, *pruṣāya*, *muṣāya*, *çrathāya*, *skabhāya*, *stabhāya*. A few others have no *nā*-class companions: thus, *damāya*, *çamāya*, *tudāya* (AV.); and *panāya*, *naçāya*, *vṛṣāya* (√*vṛṣ* 'rain'), *vasāya* (√*vas* 'clothe'), and perhaps *açāya* (√*aç* 'attain').

1067. The denominative stems in RV. and AV. with causative accentuation are: RV. *añkháya*, *artháya*, *iṣáya* (also *iṣayá*), *ūrjáya*, *ṛtáya*, *kṛpáya*, *mantráya*, *mṛgáya*, *vavráya*, *vājáya* (also *vājayá*), *vīḷáya*, *suṣváya* (also *suṣvayá*); AV. adds *kīrtáya*, *dhūpáya*, *pāláya*, *vīráya*, *sabhāgáya*.

The accent of *ánniya* and *hástaya* (RV.) is wholly anomalous.

1068. Inflection. The denominative stems are inflected with regularity like the other stems ending in अ *a* throughout the present-system. Forms outside of that sys-

tem — except from the stems which are reckoned to the causative or *cur*-class, and which follow in all respects the rules for that class — are of the utmost rarity.

In RV. occurs no form not belonging to the present-system, unless (as seems most likely) *ūnayīs* (with *mā́* prohibitive) is to be regarded as 2d sing. of the *iṣ*-aorist. Unquestionable examples of this aorist are *āsūyīt* (ÇB.), *pāpayiṣṭa* (TS. iii. 2. 8³: pl., with *mā́* prohibitive) and *avṛṣāyiṣata* (VS.). The form *ásaparyāit* (AV. xiv. 2. 20), with *āi* for *ī* (**555b**), might be aorist; but, as the metre shows, is probably a corrupt reading; *amanasyāit*, certainly imperfect, appears to occur in TB. (ii. 3. 8³). ÇB. has the future *gopāyiṣyati*, and TS. the participles *kaṇḍūyiṣyánt* and *kaṇḍūyitá*. From roots assimilated to the causatives occur in the older language *mantrayām āsa* (AB., GB.), *mantrayā́ṁ cakratus* and *cakre* (ÇB.), *mantritá* (ÇB., TA.), *-mantrya* (TB.), and one or two other like forms. The gerundival adjectives *saparyéṇya* and *atasāyya* also are met with.

CHAPTER XV.

PERIPHRASTIC AND COMPOUND CONJUGATION.

1069. ONE periphrastic formation, the periphrastic future, has been already described (**942** ff.), since it has become in the later language a necessary part of every verbal conjugation, and since, though still remaining essentially periphrastic, it has been so fused in its parts and altered in construction as to assume in considerable measure the semblance of an integral tense-formation.

By far the most important other formation of the class is

The Periphrastic Perfect.

1070. This (though almost unknown in the Veda, and coming only gradually into use in the Brāhmaṇas) is a tense widely made and frequently used in the classical Sanskrit.

It is made by prefixing the accusative of a derivative noun-stem in आ *á* (accented) to the perfect tense of an auxiliary verb: namely, of √कृ *kṛ* 'make', more often of √अस् *as* 'be', and very rarely of √भू *bhū*, 'be'.

In the older language, as is pointed out below, *kṛ* is used as auxiliary almost alone, and *bhū* not at all. Even in MBh., *bhū* hardly ever occurs (Holtzmann).

1071. The periphrastic perfect occurs as follows:

a. It is the perfect of the derivative conjugations: intensive, desiderative, causative, and denominative; the noun in आ *á* being made from the present-stem which is the general basis of each conjugation: thus, from √बुध् *budh*, intensive बोबुधाम् *bobudhám*, desiderative बुभुत्साम् *bubhutsám*, causative बोधयाम् *bodhayám;* denominative मन्त्रयाम् *mantrayám*.

The formation from causative stems, and from those denominatives which are assimilated to causatives, is by far the most frequent.

b. Most roots beginning with a vowel in a heavy syllable (long by nature or long by position) make this perfect only, and not the simple one: thus, आसाम् *āsám* from √आस् *ās*, ईक्षाम् *īkṣám* from √ईक्ष् *īkṣ;* उब्जाम् *ubjám* from √उब्ज् *ubj*.

Excepted are the roots *āp* and *āñch*, and those beginning with *a* before two consonants (and taking *ān* as reduplication: **788**).

c. The roots (that is, stems reckoned by the grammarians as roots) of more than one syllable have their perfect of this formation: thus, चकासाम् *cakāsám*.

But *ūrṇu* (**712**) is said to form *ūrṇonāva* only, and *jāgṛ* and *daridrā* (**1020, 1024**) to have a perfect of either formation.

d. A few other scattering roots: namely, *ay, day,* and *kās*, and optionally *vid* and *uṣ*, and a few roots of the reduplicating class, *bhī, bhṛ, hu,* and *hrī*. All these make the derivative noun from their present-stem: thus, *dayám, vidám, oṣám, bibhayám, juhavám, bibharám, jihrayám* (these with *guṇa* of the final vowel before the *ā*).

An occasional example is met with from other roots: thus, *nayám* from *nī* (pres.-stem *naya*); *hvayām* from √*hvā* (pres.-stem *hvaya*).

1072. The periphrastic perfect of the middle voice is

made only with the middle inflection of √कृ *kṛ;* that of the active, with any one of the three auxiliaries. For passive use, the auxiliaries अस् *as* and भू *bhū* are also allowed to take a middle inflection.

It is unnecessary to give a paradigm of this formation, as the inflection of the auxiliaries is the same as in their independent use (for that of √*kṛ*, see **800 f**); of √*bhū*, see **800 b**; of √*as*, see **636**).

The connection of the noun and auxiliary is not so close that other words are not sometimes allowed to come between them: thus, *tám pātayām prathamam āsa*, 'him he first made to fall'; *prabhrañçayāṁ yo naghuṣaṁ cakāra*, 'who made Naghusha fall headlong' (both Raghuvança).

1073. The above is an account of the periphrastic formation with a derivative noun in *ām* as it appears in the later language; earlier, its aspect is quite different: namely, as that of a more general, but quite infrequent, combination of such a noun with various forms of the root *kṛ*. Thus:

a. Of forms with the perfect of the auxiliary occurs only a single example in the whole body of Vedic texts (metrical): namely, *gamayā́ṁ cakāra* (AV. xviii.). In the *brāhmaṇa* parts of the Black Yajus texts are found *vidā́ṁ cakāra* (TS., K., MS.) and *vidā́ṁ cakṛma* (K.), and *yājayā́ṁ cakāra* (K.). In the Brāhmaṇas, examples from causative etc. stems in *aya* begin to prevail over others, and in ÇB. they are rather frequent. Examples from desiderative stems have been noted only from ÇB.: they are *cikramiṣā́m*, *rurukṣā́m*, *dudhūrṣā́m*, *bībhatsā́m*. From simple roots having the same formation in the later language, occur *vidā́m* (TB., ÇB., GB.), *āsā́m* (ÇB., GB.), *īkṣā́m* (ÇB., GB.), *edhā́m* (ÇB.), *juhavā́m* (AB., TB., ÇB.), *bibhayā́m* (ÇB.); and also *layā́m (nilayā́m)* from √*lī* (ÇB.).

b. Forms with the aorist of the auxiliary are in the oldest Brāhmaṇas as numerous as those with the perfect. Thus, with *akar* occur *ramayā́m* (K.), *janayā́m* and *sādayā́m* and *svadayā́m* and *sthāpayā́m* (MS.); and with *akran*, *vidā́m* (TS., MS., TB.). With the aorist optative or precative has been noted only *pāvayā́ṁ kriyāt* (MS.).

c. Like combinations with other tenses are excessively rare, but not entirely unknown: so, *juhavāṁ karoti* (Çānkh. Çr. Sū.).

d. With any other auxiliary than √*kṛ* appears only *mantrayā́m āsa* (AB., GB.; in ÇB. the same noun is combined with √*kṛ* in *mantrayā́ṁ cakratus* and *mantrayā́ṁ cakre*).

As the examples show, the noun (as in the case of the periphrastic future: **945**) has its independent accent.

Participial Periphrastic Phrases.

1074. Combinations of participles with auxiliary verbs, of condition or motion, forming phrases which have an office

analogous with that of verb-tenses, are not unknown in any period of the language.

They occur even in the Veda, but are far more common and conspicuous in the Brāhmaṇas, and become again of little account in the later language.

1075. Examples of the various formations are as follows.

a. A (usually present) participle with the tenses of the verb *i*, 'go'. This is the combination, on the whole, of widest and most frequent occurrence. Thus: *yathā sūcyā vāsaḥ saṁdadhad iyād evam evāi 'tābhir yajñasya chidraṁ saṁdadhad eti* (AB.), 'just as one would mend [habitually] a garment with a needle, so with these one mends any defect of the sacrifice'; *agnir vā idaṁ vāiçvānaro dahann āit* (PB.), 'Agni Vaiçvanara kept burning this creation'; *té 'surāḥ párājitā yánto dyā́vāpṛthivī́ úpāçrayan* (TB.), 'those Asuras, getting beaten, took refuge with heaven and earth'; *tè 'sya gṛhā́ḥ paçávа upamūryámāṇā īyuḥ* (ÇB.), 'the animals, his family, would be continually destroyed'.

b. The same with the verb *car*, 'go (continually or habitually)', signifying still more distinctly than the preceding a continued or habitual action. Thus: *agnā́v agníç carati právistaḥ* (AV.), 'Agni is constantly present in the fire'; *adaṇḍyam daṇḍena ghnantaç caranti* (PB.), 'they make a practice of beating with a rod what is undeserving of punishment'.

c. The same with the verbs *ās*, 'sit', and *sthā*, 'stand', with a like meaning. Thus, *juhvata āsate* (K.), 'they continue sacrificing'; *te 'pakramya prativāvadato 'tiṣṭhan* (AB.), 'they, having gone off, kept vehemently refusing'.

In the later language, *sthā* is the verb oftenest used, with predicates of various kind, to make a verbal phrase of continuance.

d. A participle with *as* and *bhū*, 'be'. The participle is oftenest a future one; *as* only is used in the optative, *bhū* usually in other forms. Thus: *yaḥ pūrvam anījānaḥ syāt* (AB.), 'whoever may not have made sacrifice before'; *samāvad eva yajñe kurvāṇā āsan* (GB.), 'they did the same thing at the sacrifice'; *parikrīḍanta āsan* (MS.), 'they were playing about'; *itarā me kena devatā upāptā bhaviṣyanti* (AB.), 'wherewith shall the other deities be won by me?' *yátra suptvā́ púnar nā̀ 'vadrāsyán bhávati* (ÇB.), 'when, after sleeping, he is not going to fall asleep again'; *havyaṁ hi vakṣyan bhavati* (AB.), 'for he is intending to carry the sacrifice'; *dāsyant syāt* (K.), 'may be going to give'; *yéna vā́hanena syantsyánt syā́t* (ÇB.), 'with what vehicle he may be about to drive'.

Composition with Prepositional Prefixes.

1076. All the forms, personal and other, of verbal conjugation — of both primary and secondary conjugation, and even to some extent of denominative (so far as the

denominative stems have become assimilated in value to simple roots) — occur very frequently in combination with certain words of direction, elements of an adverbial character (see the next chapter), the so-called prepositions, according to the original use of that term, or the verbal prefixes.

Practically, in the later language, it is as if a compounded root were formed, out of root and prefix, from which then the whole conjugation (with many derivatives: below, chap. XVII.) is made, just as from the simple root. Yet, even there (and still more in the older language: **1081**), the combination is so loose, and the members retain so much of their independent value, that in most dictionaries (that of Monier Williams is an exception) the conjugation of each root with prefixes is treated under the simple root, and not in the alphabetic order of the prefix. Derivative words, however, are by universal agreement given in their independent alphabetic place, like simple words.

1077. Those verbal prefixes which have value as such throughout the whole history of the language are given below, in alphabetic order, with their fundamental meanings:

अति *áti*, 'across, beyond, past, over, to excess';

अधि *ádhi*, 'above, over, on, on to';

अनु *ánu*, 'after, along, toward';

अन्तर् *antár*, 'between, among, within';

अप *ápa*, 'away, forth, off';

अपि *ápi*, 'unto, close upon or on';

अभि *abhí*, 'to, unto, against' (often with implied violence);

अव *áva*, 'down, off';

आ *á*, 'to, unto, at';

उद् *úd*, 'up, up forth or out';

उप *úpa*, 'to, unto, toward';

नि *ní*, 'down; in, into';

निस् *nís*, 'out, forth';

परा *párā*, 'to a distance, away, forth';

परि *pári*, 'round about, around';

प्र *prá*, 'forward, onward, forth, fore';

प्रति *práti*, 'in reversed direction, back to or against, against, in return';

वि *ví*, 'apart, asunder, away, out';

सम् *sám*, 'along, with, together'.

a. Some of these, of course, are used much more widely and frequently than others. In order of frequency in the older language (as estimated by the number of roots with which they are found used in RV. and AV.), they stand as follows: *pra*, *ā*, *vi*, *sam*, *abhi*, *ni*, *ud*, *pari*, *anu*, *upa*, *prati*, *ava*, *nis*, *ati*, *apa*, *parā*, *adhi*, *api*, *antar*. *Api* is of very limited use as prefix in the later language, having become a conjunction, 'too, also'.

b. The meanings given are only the leading ones. In combination with the roots they undergo much modification, both literal and figurative — yet seldom in such a way that the steps of transition from the fundamental sense are not easy to trace. Sometimes, indeed, the value of a root is hardly perceptibly modified by the addition of the prefix. An intensive force is not infrequently given by *pari*, *vi*, and *sam*.

1078. Prefixes essentially akin with the above, but more distinctly adverbial, and of more restricted use, are these:

ácha (or *áchā*), 'to, unto': tolerably frequent in RV. (used with over twenty roots), but already very rare in AV. (only two roots), and entirely lost in the later language;

āvis, 'forth to sight, in view': used only with the roots *bhū*, *as*, and *kṛ*;

tirás, 'through, crossways; out of sight': hardly used except with *kṛ*, *dhā*, *bhū* (in RV., with three or four others);

purás, 'in front, forward': used with only half-a-dozen roots, especially *kṛ*, *dhā*, *i*;

prādús, 'forth to view': only with *bhū*, *as*, *kṛ*.

A few others, as *bahis*, 'outside', *vinā*, 'without', *sākṣāt*, 'in view', are still less removed from ordinary adverbs.

1079. Of still more limited use, and of noun rather than adverb-value are:

çrad (or *çrath?*), only with *dhā* (in RV., once also with *kṛ*): *çraddhā*, 'believe, credit';

hiñ, only with *kṛ* (and obsolete in the classical language): *hiñkṛ*, 'make the sound *hing*, low, murmur'.

And beside these stand yet more fortuitous combinations: see below, **1091**.

1080. More than one prefix may be set before the same root. Combinations of two are quite usual; of three, much less common; of more than three, rare. Their order is in general determined only by the requirements of the meaning,

each added prefix bringing a further modification to the combination before which it is set. But आ *á* is never allowed in the later language, and only extremely rarely in the older, to be put in front of any of the others.

1081. In classical Sanskrit, the prefix always stands immediately before the verbal form.

In the older language, however, of both Veda and Brāhmaṇa, its position is quite free: it may be separated from the verb by another word or words, and may even (much less often) come after the form to which it belongs; it may also stand alone, qualifying a verb that is understood, or conjointly with another prefix one that is expressed.

Thus, *sá devā́ṅ é 'há vakṣyati* (RV.), 'he shall bring the gods hither'; *prá ṇa ā́yūṅṣi tāriṣat* (AV.), 'may he lengthen out our lives'; *tā́v á yātam úpa dravát* (RV.), 'do ye two come hither quickly'; *gámad vā́jebhir á sá naḥ* (RV.), 'may he come with gifts hither to us'; *pári mā́m pári me prajā́m pári ṇaḥ pāhi yád dhánam* (AV.), 'protect me, my progeny, and what wealth we own'; *yátaḥ sadyá á ca párā ca yánti* (AV.), 'from whence every day they advance and retire'; *vy àháṁ sárveṇa pāpmánā [avṛtam] ví yákṣmeṇa sám ā́yuṣā* (AV.), 'I have separated from all ill-luck,from disease, [I have joined myself] with life'.

The separation of the prefix from a verbal noun or adjective is very much more difficult, and of quite rare occurrence.

1082. As regards the accent of verb-forms compounded with prefixes, only the case needs to be considered in which the prefix stands (as always in the later language) immediately before the verb; otherwise, verb and prefix are treated as two entirely independent words.

1083. A personal verbal form, as has been seen above (**592**), is ordinarily unaccented: before such a form, the prefix has its own accent; or, if two or more precede the same form, the one nearest the latter is so accented, and the others lose their accent.

If, however, the verb-form is accented, the prefix or prefixes lose their accent.

That is, in every case, the verb along with its normally situated prefix or prefixes so far constitutes a unity that the whole combination is allowed to take but a single accent.

Examples are: *páre 'hi nāri púnar é 'hi kṣiprám* (AV.), 'go away, woman; come again quickly'; *áthā́ 'staṁ vipáretana* (RV.), 'then scatter ye away to your home'; *samā́cinuṣvā 'nusampráyāhi* (AV.), 'gather together, go forth together after'; *yád gṛhā́n upodā́íti* (AV.), when he goes up to the

house'; *evā́ ca tvā́ṁ sarama ājagántha* (RV.), 'now that you, Saramā, have thus come hither'; *yénā́ ''viṣṭitaḥ praviveçithā́ 'páḥ* (RV.), 'enveloped in which thou didst enter the waters'.

1084. A prefix, however, not seldom has a more independent value, as a general adverb of direction, or as a preposition (in the usual modern sense of that term), belonging to and governing a noun; in such case, it is not drawn in to form part of a verbal compound, but has its own accent. The two kinds of use shade into one another, and are not divisible by any distinct and fixed line.

1085. In combination with the non-personal parts of the verb-system, with participles, infinitives, and gerunds, the general rule is that the prefix loses its accent, in favor of the other member of the compound. But the prefix instead has sometimes the accent: namely, when combined —

a. with the passive participle in *ta* or *na:* thus, *páreta,* 'gone forth'; *antárhita,* 'concealed'; *ávapanna,* 'fallen'; *sámpūrṇa,* 'complete'.

b. with the infinitive in *tu* (**972**), in all its cases: thus, *sáṁhartum,* 'collect'; *ápidhātave,* 'to cover up'; *ávagantos,* 'of descending'; the doubly accented dative in *tavā́í* retains its final accent, but throws the other back upon the prefix: thus, *ánvetavā́í,* 'for following'; *ápabhartavā́í,* 'for carrying off'.

1086. The closeness of combination between the root and the prefix is indicated not only by their unity of accent, but also by the euphonic rules (e. g. **185, 192**), which allow the mutual adaptations of the two to be made to some extent as if they were parts of a unitary word.

1087. A few special irregularities call for notice:

a. In the later language, *api, adhi,* and *ava,* in connection with certain roots, sometimes lose their initial vowel: namely, *api* with *nah* and *dhā, adhi* with *sthā, ava* with *gāh.* In the Veda, on the other hand, *is* is in a few cases found instead of *nis* with √*kṛ.*

b. The final vowel of a prefix, especially an *i,* is (oftenest in the older language) sometimes lengthened, especially in derivative words: thus, *pratīkāra, nīvṛt, parīhāra, vīrúdh, adhīvāsá, ápīvṛta, abhīvartá; anūrúdh; prāvṛ́ṣ, úpāvasu.*

In the Veda, the initial of *anu* is sometimes lengthened after negative *an:* thus, *anānudā́.*

c. In combination with √*i* 'go', the prefixes *parā, pari,* and *pra* sometimes change their *r* to *l.*

In this way is formed a kind of derivative stem *palāy,* 'flee', inflected according to the *a*-class, in middle voice, which is not uncommon from the Brāhmaṇas down, and has so lost the consciousness of its origin that it takes

the augment prefixed: thus, *apalāyiṣṭhās;* it makes the periphrastic perfect *palāyāṁ cakre.* The stem *palyay*, similarly inflected, seems to occur only in ÇB.; and *plāy* has been found nowhere except in MS.

d. The root *kṛ* 'make' sometimes assumes (or retains from a more original condition) an initial *s* after the prefixes *sam, pari,* and *upa:* thus, *saṁskurute, samaskurvan, saṁskṛta, pariṣkṛṇvanti, pariṣkṛta, upaskṛta.* And √*kṛ* 'scatter' is said by the grammarians to add *s* in the same manner, under certain circumstances, after *upa* and *prati.*

e. The passive participle of the roots *dā* 'give' and *dā* 'cut' has often the abbreviated form *tta* after a prefix — of which the final vowel, if *i*, is lengthened (compare the similar contraction with other elements, above, **955 c**, and that of the derivative in *ti*, below, chap. XVII.). Thus, in AV. are found from *dā* 'give', *vyā̀tta, párītta, ápratītta:* in Brāhmaṇas, from the same, *ātta, pratta, apā́tta;* from *dā* 'cut', *ávatta, nirávatta, samávatta.*

f. The AB. has once *niniyoja* (instead of *ni-yuyoja*) from *ni* + √*yuj*, and *udaprapatat;* and in MBh. are found a few cases like *vivyāsa* from *vi* + √*as* (where, however, an intentional play on the word may be assumed: Delbrück); and *anvasaṁcarat* (instead of *anusamacarat*). Such unifications of prefix and root, with treatment of the result after the manner of a simple root, are extremely rare.

Some hold, however, that certain of the apparent roots of the language are results of this unification: thus, *āp* from *ā* + *ap*, *vyac* from *vi* + *ac*, *tyaj* from *ati* + *aj*, etc. (see Weber, Ind. Stud., xiii. 61).

g. The loss of the initial *s* of *sthā* and *stambh* after the prefix *ud* has been noticed above (**233 a**).

Also (**137 a, b**), certain peculiarities of combination of a prefix with the initial vowel of a root.

1088. As to the more general adverbial uses of the prefixes, and their prepositional uses, see the next chapter.

1089. The adverbial prefixes *su*, 'well', and *dus*, 'ill', are said to be sometimes combined with verbal forms; but no examples of such combination are quotable from accentuated texts.

As to the addition of the comparative and superlative suffixes *tarām* and *tamām* to verbs, see above, **473.**

Other Verbal Compounds.

1090. It has been seen above that some of the prepositional prefixes are employed in combination with only very small classes of roots, namely those whose meaning makes them best fitted for auxiliary and periphrastic uses — such as *kṛ*, 'make', *bhū* and *as*, 'be', *dhā*, 'put', *i*, 'go' — and that the first three of these are widely used in combination with a derivative in *ām* to make a periphrastic conjugation. Such roots have also been, from the earliest period of the language, but with increasing frequency, used in somewhat analogous combinations with

other elements, substantive and adjective as well as adverbial; and this has become, in part, developed finally into a regular and indefinitely extensible method of increasing the resources of verbal expression.

1091. Most analogous with *hiṅ* + √*kṛ* (**1079**) are a few other onomatopoetic compounds in the Veda: *akkhalīkṛ́tya* (RV.), 'making a crackling sound', *jañjanābhávant* (RV.), 'flimmering', and *alalābhávant* (RV.), 'making merry'; and (in AB.) *bababākurvan*, 'crackling'. And AV. has *maṣmaṣā́* with √*kṛ* (TS. and VS., *masmasā́*), 'crush'.

Further, combinations of √*kṛ* with terms used at the sacrifice, as *váṣaṭ*, *svā́hā*, *svadhā́*, *svagā́*: at first phrases only, and noun-compounds, but becoming verbal combinations in which the prefixed word is treated like a prepositional prefix: thus, *svagākaróti* (ÇB.: but *svadhā́ karóti*, TA.); and other prefixes are set before them, as *anuvaṣaṭkuryāt*.

1092. a. The noun *namas*, 'obeisance, homage', in a still more purely noun-value, becomes combined with √*kṛ*: in the Veda, only with the gerund, in *namaskṛ́tya* (beside *hastagṛ́hya* and *karṇagṛ́hya*: above, **990**.).

b. A solitary combination with √*i*, 'go', is shown by the accusative *ástam*, 'home'; which, appearing only in ordinary phrases in RV., is in AV. compounded with the participles — in *astaṁyánt*, *astameṣyánt*, *ástamita* (with accent like that of ordinary compounds with a prefix) — and in the Brāhmaṇas and the later language is treated quite like a prefix: thus, *astaméti* (ÇB.).

c. Other ordinary accusative forms of adjectives in combination with verbal derivatives of *kṛ* and *bhū* are found here and there in the older language: thus, *çṛtaṁkṛ́tya* and *nagnaṁkṛ́tya* (TS.); *nagnambhā́vuka*, *pāmanambhā́vuka*, etc. (TS. et al.).

1093. In the early but not in the earliest language, a noun-stem thus compounded with *kṛ* or *bhū*, in verbal nouns and ordinary derivatives, and then also in verbal forms, begins to assume a constant ending *ī* (of doubtful origin).

There is no instance of this in RV., unless the *ī* of *akkhalīkṛ́tya* (above, **1091**) is to be so explained. In AV., besides the obscure *vātī́kṛta* and *vātīkārá*, is found only *phalīkáraṇa*. In the Brāhmaṇa language, examples begin to occur occasionally — *çyetī* and *mithunī* in TS.; these and *phalī*, *krūrī*, *udvāsī* in TB.; the first three, with *suphalī*, *ekī*, *svī*, *brāhmaṇī*, and *daridrī* in ÇB.; and so on. The accent of the combination is in general accordance with the accent of compounds with the usual prefixes; and if the prefixed stem takes the tone, this rests upon the final *ī*. Sometimes a mere collocation takes place: thus, *mithunī́ bhávantīs* (TS.), *phalī́ kriyámāṇānām* (TB.), *vajrī́ bhutvā́* (TA.). The *ī* is variously treated: now as an uncombinable final, as in *çyetī́ akuruta* and *mithunī́ abhavan* (TS.); now as liable to the ordinary conversions, as in *mithuny ènayā syām* and *svyàkurvata* (ÇB.).

The examples in accentuated texts, and especially those in which the

verb is entitled to the tone, are too few to furnish more than a fragmentary illustration of the formation.

Out of such beginnings has grown in the later language the following rule:

1094. Any noun or adjective stem is liable to be compounded with verbal forms or derivatives of the roots √कृ *kṛ* and भू *bhū* (and, it is said, of अस् *as* also; but such cases, if they occur, are at least extremely rare), in the manner of a verbal prefix. If the final of the stem be an *a* or *i*-vowel, it is changed to ई *ī*; if an *u*-vowel, it is changed to ऊ *ū*.

It is prescribed also that a final *ṛ* become *rī*, and that *as* and *an* be changed to *ī*; but no genuine examples appear to be quotable.

Examples are: *stambhībhavati*, 'becomes a post'; *ekacittībhūya*, 'becoming of one mind'; *upahārīkaroṣi*, 'thou makest an offering'; *nakhaprahārajarjarīkṛta*, 'torn to pieces with blows of the claws'; *çithilībhavanti*, 'become loose'; *kuṇḍalīkṛta*, 'ring-shaped.'

1095. Of all the forms which constitute or are attached to the verbal system, the passive participle is the one most closely assimilated in its treatment as a combinable element to an ordinary adjective. Next to it come the gerund and the gerundives. Combinations of the kind here treated of are especially common with passive participles and gerunds.

CHAPTER XVI.

INDECLINABLES.

1096. THE indeclinable words are less distinctly divided into separate parts of speech in Sanskrit than is usual elsewhere in Indo-European language — especially owing to the fact that the class of prepositions hardly has a real existence, but is represented by certain adverbial words which are to a greater or less extent used prepositionally. They will, however, be briefly described here under the usual heads.

Adverbs.

1097. Adverbs by Suffix. Classes of adverbs, sometimes of considerable extent, are formed by the addition of adverb-making suffixes especially to pronominal roots or stems, but also to noun and adjective stems.

There is no ultimate difference between these suffixes and the case-endings in declension; and the adverbs of this division sometimes are used in the manner of cases.

1098. With the suffix *tas* are made adverbs having an ablative sense, and not rarely also an ablative construction. Such are made:

a. From pronominal roots, in *átas*, *itás*, *tátas*, *yátas*, *kútas*, *amútas*, *svatas* (not found earlier); and from the pronominal stems in *t* or *d* (**494**) of the personal pronouns: thus, *mattás* (only example in V.), *tvattas*, *asmattas*, *yuṣmattas*.

b. From noun and adjective stems of every class, since the earliest period, but more freely later: thus, *mukhatás*, *agratás*, *ṛbhutás*, *hṛttás*, *çīrṣatás*, *nastás*, *yajuṣṭas*, *pārátas*, *anyátas*, *sarvátas*, *dakṣiṇatás*, *abhīpatás* (once, in RV., from a case-form: *patsutás*).

c. From a few prepositions: thus, *abhítas*, *parítas*, *ántitas*.

Examples of ablative construction are: *tátaḥ ṣaṣṭhā́t* (AV.), 'from that sixth'; *táto jyā́yān* (AV.), 'older than they'; *kutaç cid deçād āgatya* (H.), 'arriving from some region or other'.

But the distinctive ablative meaning is not infrequently effaced, and the adverb has a more locative value: thus, *agratás*, 'in front'; *asmatsamīpatas*, 'in our presence'; *dharmatas*, 'in accordance with duty'; *chāgatas* (H.), 'with reference to the goat'.

1099. With the suffix *tra* (in V. often *trā*) are made adverbs having a locative sense, and occasionally also a locative construction.

These adverbs are formed from pronominal roots, namely *átra*, *tátra*, *yátra*, *kútra*, *amútra*, *asmatrā́*, *satrā́*; and also from noun and adjective stems, as *anyátra*, *viçvátra*, *samānátra*, *martyatrā́*, *dakṣiṇatrā́*, *devatrā́*, *purutrā́*, *bahutrā́*.

The words in (accented) *trā́* are Vedic only, except *satrā́*, 'altogether' (of which *satram* is also given as an alternative form).

Examples of quasi-locative or locative construction are: *hásta ā́ dakṣiṇatrā́* (RV.), 'in the right hand'; *tatrā 'ntare* (H.), 'in that interval'; *prabhutvaṁ tatra yujyate* (H.), 'sovereignty is suited to him'; *ekatra puruṣe* (MBh.), 'in a single man'.

As the locative case is used also to express the goal of motion (**304**), so the adverbs in *tra* have sometimes an accusative as well as a locative value: thus, *tatra gacha*, 'go there or thither'; *pathó devatrā́ yā́nān* (RV.), 'roads that go to the gods'.

1100. One or two other suffixes of locality are:

a. *ha,* in *ihá*, 'here', *kúha,* 'where?' and the Vedic *viçváha* (also *viçváhā*, *viçvā́hā*), 'always' (compare below, 1104, end).

b. *tāt*, which is added to words having already a local or directive value: thus, to adverbial accusatives, as *prā́ktāt*, *údaktāt;* to adverbial ablatives, as *ārā́ttāt*, *uttarā́ttāt*, *parākā́ttāt;* and to prepositional adverbs, as *adhástāt*, *avástāt*, *parástāt*, *purástāt*, *bahíṣṭāt*. Apparently by analogy with these last, the suffix has occasionally the form *stāt:* thus, *upáriṣṭāt*.

c. *hi*, in *uttarā́hi* (ÇB.) and *dakṣiṇā́hi* (no occurrence).

1101. By the suffix *thā* are made adverbs of manner, especially from pronominal roots or stems.

Thus, *táthā*, *yáthā; kathā́* and *itthā́* (by the side of which stand *katháṁ* and *itthám*); and the rare *imáthā* and *amúthā*. And *átha* (V. often *áthā*), 'so then', doubtless belongs with them. Further, from a few adjective and noun stems: as, *viçváthā*, *sarváthā*, *anyáthā*, *ubhayáthā*, *itaráthā*, *yatamáthā*, *ūrdhváthā*, *ṛtuthā́*, *nāmáthā* (once, AV.).

Yathā becomes usually toneless in V., when used in the sense of *iva* after a noun forming the subject of comparison: thus, *tāyávo yathā* (RV.), 'like thieves'.

1102. One or two other suffixes of manner are:

a. *ti,* in *íti,* 'thus', very commonly used, from the earliest period, as particle of quotation, following the words quoted.

Examples are: *brahmajāyé 'yám íti céd ávocan* (RV.), 'if they have said "this is a Brahman's wife"'; *táṁ devā́ abruvan vrātya kíṁ nú tiṣṭhasī́ 'ti* (AV.), 'the gods said to him: "Vratya, why do you stand?"' Often, the *iti* is used more pregnantly: thus, *yáḥ çraddádhāti sánti devā́ íti* (AV.), 'whoever has faith that the gods exist'; *taṁ vyāghram munir mūṣiko 'yam iti paçyati* (H.), 'the sage looks upon that tiger as being really a mouse'; *yūyaṁ kim iti sīdatha* (H.), 'why (lit'ly, alleging what reason) do you sit?' Or the *iti* marks an onomatopœia, or indicates a gesture: thus, *bahíṣ ṭe astu bā́l íti* (AV.), 'let it come out of you with a "splash"'; *íty ágre kṛṣaty áthé 'ti* (ÇB.), 'he ploughs first this way, then this way'. A word made by *iti* logically predicate to an object is usually nominative: thus, *svargó loká íti yáṁ vádanti* (AV.), 'what they call "the heavenly world"'; *vidarbharājatanayāṁ damayantī 'ti viddhi mām* (MBh.), 'know me for the Vidarbha-king's daughter, Damayanti by name'; but *ajñam bālam ity āhuḥ* (M.), 'they call an ignorant man a child'.

With the suffix of *íti* is to be compared that of *táti* etc. (519).

b. *va* in *iva* (toneless), 'like, as', and *evá* (in V. often *evā́*), earlier 'thus', later a particle emphasizing the preceding word; for 'thus' is used later the related *evám*, which hardly occurs in RV., and in AV. only with √*vid:* as, *eváṁ vidvā́n*, 'knowing thus'.

In later Vedic (AV. etc.) *iva* more often counts for only a single syllable.

1103. a. By the suffix *dā* are made adverbs of time, but almost only from pronominal roots.

Thus, *tadā́*, *yadā́*, *kadā́*, *idā́* (only in V.); and *sádā*, beside which is found earlier *sádam*. Besides these, in the older language, only *sarvadā́*; later a few others, as *anyadā*, *ekadā*, *nityadā*.

b. By the perhaps related *dānīm* are made *idā́nīm*, *tadā́nīm*, *viçvadā́nīm*.

c. With *rhi* are made, from pronominal roots, *tárhi*, *etárhi*, *yárhi*, *kárhi*, *amúrhi*.

d. The suffix *di*, found only in *yádi*, 'if', is perhaps related with *dā*, in form as in meaning.

1104. By the suffix *dhā* are formed adverbs especially from numerals, signifying '-fold, times, ways', etc.

Thus, *ekadhā́*, *dvidhā́* (also *dvídhā* and *dvedhā́*), *trídhā* (in the old language usually *tredhā́*), *ṣaḍḍhā́* (also *ṣoḍhā́* and *ṣaḍḍhā*), *dvādaçadhā́*, *sahasradhā́*, and so on. Also, naturally, from words having a quasi-numeral character: thus, *tatidhā́*, *bahudhā́*, *purudhā́*, *viçvádhā*, *çaçvadhā́*, *etāvaddhā́*. In a very few cases, also from general noun and adjective stems: thus, *mitradhā́* (AV.), *priyadhā́* (TS.), *ṛjudhā́* (TB.), *pariṣṭubdhā* (PB.).

The particle *ádha* or *ádhā*, a Vedic equivalent of *átha*, probably belongs here (*purudhá* and *viçvádha*, with shortened final, occur a few times in RV.); also *addhā́*, 'in truth'; and perhaps *sahá*, 'with', which has an equivalent *sadha-* in several Vedic compounds. And the other adverbs in *ha* (**1100a**) may be of like origin.

1105. From a few numerals are made multiplicative adverbs with *s*: namely, *dvís*, *trís*, and *catúr* (probably, for *catúrs*).

The corresponding word for 'once', *sakṛ́t*, is a compound rather than a derivative; and the same character belongs still more evidently to *pañcakṛ́tvas*, *navakṛ́tvas*, *aparimitakṛ́tvas*, etc., though *kṛt* and *kṛtvas* are regarded by the native grammarians as suffixes (AV. has *dáça kṛ́tvas* and *saptá kṛ́tvas*).

1106. By the suffix *çás* are made, especially from numeral or quantitative stems, adverbs of quantity or measure or manner, generally used distributively.

Thus, *ekaçás*, 'one by one', *çataçás*, 'by hundreds', *ṛtuçás*, 'season by season', *pacchas*, 'foot by foot', *akṣaraçás*, 'syllable by syllable', *gaṇaçás*, 'in crowds', *stambaçás*, 'by bunches', *paruççás*, 'limb by limb', *tāvacchás*, 'in such and such number or quantity': and, in a more general way, *sarvaçás*, 'wholly', *mukhyaças*, 'principally', *kṛchraças*, 'stingily'.

1107. By the suffix *vát* are made with great freedom, in every period of the language, adverbs signifying 'after the manner of, like', etc.

Thus, *an̄girasvát*, 'like Angiras', *manuṣvát* (RV.), 'as Manu did', *jamadagnivát*, 'after the manner of Jamadagni'; *pūrvavát* or *pratnavát* or *purāṇavát*, 'as of old', *kākatālīyavat*, 'after the fashion of the crow and the palm-fruit'.

This is really the adverbially used accusative (with adverbial shift of accent: below, **1111e**) of the suffix *vant* (next chapter), which in the Veda makes certain adjective compounds of a similar meaning: thus, *tvā́vant*, 'like thee', *mā́vant*, 'of my sort', etc.

1108. By the suffix *sāt* are made adverbs signifying 'into the condition of', which are used along with verbs of becoming and of making.

Thus, *agnisāt* + √*kṛ*, 'reduce to fire, burn up'; *bhasmasāt* + √*bhū*, 'turn to ashes'; *ātmasātkṛta*, 'made one's own'.

These derivatives are unknown in the earlier language, and not common in the later. The *s* of *sāt* is not liable to conversion into *ṣ*. The connection with the following verb is not so close as to require the use of the gerund in *ya:* thus, *bhasmasātkṛtvā* (not *-kṛtya:* above, **990**).

1109. Suffixes, not of noun-derivation or inflection, may be traced with more or less plausibility in a few other adverbs. Thus, for example, in *prātár*, 'early', and *sanutár*, 'away'; in *dakṣiṇít*, 'with right hand', and *cikitvít*, 'with consideration'; in *nūnám*, 'now', and *nānānám*, 'variously'. But the cases are in the main too rare and doubtful to be worth notice here.

The adverbs of this division are almost never used prepositionally. Those of the next division, however, are in many instances so used.

1110. Case-forms used as Adverbs. A large number of adverbs are more or less evidently cases in form, made from stems which are not otherwise in use. Also many cases of known stems, pronominal or noun or adjective, are used with an adverbial value, being distinguished from proper cases by some difference of application, which is sometimes accompanied by an irregularity of form.

1111. The accusative is the case most frequently and widely used adverbially. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, *yád*, 'if, when, that', etc.; *tád*, 'then' etc.; *kím*, 'why, whether', etc.; *idám*, 'now, here'; *adás*, 'yonder'; and so on. Of like value, apparently, are the (mostly Vedic) particles *kád*, *kám* and *kam(?)*, *íd, cid* (common at every period), *smád* and *sumád*, *īm* and *sīm* (by some regarded as still possessing pronoun-value), *-kīm.*

Compounds with *íd* are *céd*, 'if', *néd*, 'lest', *svid*, *kuvíd;* with *cid*, *kúcid;* with *-kīm*, *nákīm* and *mákīm*, and *ákīm.*

b. Of noun-stems: as, *nā́ma*, 'by name'; *súkham*, 'happily'; *kā́mam*, 'at will, if you please'; *náktam*, 'by night'; *ráhas*, 'secretly'; *oṣám*, 'quickly' (V.); and so on.

c. Of adjective stems, in great numbers: as, *satyám*, 'truly'; *cirám*, 'long'; *nítyam*, 'constantly'; *bhū́yas*, 'more, again'; and so on.

1. The neuter singular is the case commonly employed in this way; and it is formed and used adverbially from a large class of compound stems which do not occur in adjective use (the so-called *avyayībhāva*-compounds: below, chap. XVIII.).

2. But the feminine singular also is sometimes used; especially in the so-called adverbial endings of comparison, *tarām* and *tamām*, which are attached to particles, and even, as it is claimed (**473**), to verb-forms: thus, *pratarā́m*, *pratamā́m*, *uccāistarā́m*, *çanāistarā́m*, *jyoktamā́m*.

In the oldest language (RV. and AV.), the neuter instead of the feminine form of these suffixes is almost alone in use: see **1119**.

d. Many adverbs of obscure form or connection are to be explained with probability as accusatives of obsolete noun or adjective stems: examples are *tūṣṇī́m*, 'in silence'; *sāyám*, 'at evening'; *álakam*, 'vainly'; *sākám*, 'together, with (prep.)'; *áram* or *álam*, 'sufficient' (in the later language used with √*kṛ* in the manner of a prefix); *prāyas*, 'usually'; *īṣát*, 'somewhat'; *amnás*, 'unexpectedly'; *bahís*, 'outside'; *míthu* and *mithás*, *múhu* and *múhus*, *jā́tu*, and so on. *Madrík* etc., and *niṇík* (in RV.), are perhaps contracted forms of adjectives having √*ac* or *añc* as their final (**407** ff.); and *viṣuṇák* and *vṛ́thak*, with *pṛ́thak* and *ṛ́dhak*, may be of the same character. The presence of other roots as final members is also probable for *uçádhak*, *ānuṣák* and *āyuṣák*, *anuṣṭhú* and *suṣṭhú*, *yugapát*, etc. Compare also the forms in *am* beside those in *ā*, above, **1099, 1101, 1103 a**.

e. In (Vedic) *dravát*, 'quickly', is to be seen a change of accent for the adverbial use (pple *drávant*, 'running'); and *drahyát*, 'stoutly' (RV., once), may be another example. The comparative and superlative suffixes (above, **c**) show a like change; and it is also to be recognized in the derivatives with *vát* (**1107**).

1112. The instrumental is also very often used with adverbial value: generally in the singular, but sometimes also in the plural. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, *enā́* and *ayā́*, *kā́yā*, *anā́*, *sánā*, *amā́*, *amuyā́*.

b. Of noun-stems: as, *kṣaṇena*, 'instantly'; *açeṣeṇa*, 'completely'; *viçeṣeṇa*, 'especially'; *dívā*, 'by day'; *diṣṭyā*, 'fortunately'; *sáhasā*, 'suddenly'; *aktubhis*, 'by night'; and so on.

c. Of adjectives, both neuter (not distinguishable from masculine) and feminine: as, *dákṣiṇena*, 'to the south'; *úttareṇa*, 'to the north'; *ántareṇa*, 'within'; *ciréṇa*, 'long'; — *çánāis* and *çánakāis*, 'slowly'; *uccāís*, 'on high'; *parācāís*, 'afar'; *táviṣībhis*, 'mightily'; and so on.

d. More doubtful cases, mostly from the older language, may be instanced as follows: *tiraçcátā*, *devátā*, *bāhútā*, and *sasvártā* (all RV.), homonymous instrumentals from nouns in *tā*; *dvitā́*, *tādī́tnā*, *īrmā́*, *mṛṣā́*, *vṛ́thā*, *sácā*, *asthā́ (?)*, *mudhā* (not V.), *adhunā́* (Br. and later).

e. Adverbially used instrumentals are (in the older language), oftener than any other case, distinguished from normal instrumentals by differences of form: thus, especially, by an irregular accent: as, *amā́* and *dívā* (given above); perhaps *gúhā*; *apākā́*, *āsayā́*, *kuhayā́ (?)*; *naktayā́*, *svapnayā́*, *samanā́*; *adatrayā́*, *ṛtayā́*, *ubhayā́*, *sumnayā́ (?)*; *dakṣiṇā́*, *madhyā́*; *nīcā́*, *prācā́*, *uccā́*, *paçcā́*, *tiraçcā́*; — in a few *u*-stems, by a *y* inserted before the ending,

which is accented: thus, *amuyā́* (given above), *āçuyā́*, *sādhuyā́*, *raghuyā́*, *dhṛṣṇuyā́*, *anuṣṭhuyā́*, *mithuyā́*; — and *urviyā́* (for *urvyā́*) and *víçvyā* (properly *víçvayā*) are more slightly irregular.

1113. The dative has only very seldom an adverbial use.

Examples are (from the later language only): *cirāya*, 'long'; *arthāya*, 'for the sake of'; *ahnāya*, 'presently'.

1114. The ablative is not infrequently used adverbially. Thus:

a. Of pronominal stems: as, *kásmāt*, 'why?' *akasmāt*, 'casually, unexpectedly'; *ā́t*, *tā́t*, *yā́t* (V.: normal forms, instead of the pronominal *asmāt* etc.).

b. Of noun-stems: as, *āsā́t*, 'near'; *ārā́t*, 'afar'; *balāt*, 'forcibly'; *kutūhalāt*, 'emulously'; *sakāçāt*, 'on the part of'.

c. Oftenest, of adjective stems: as, *dūrā́t*, 'afar'; *nīcā́t*, 'below'; *paçcā́t*, 'behind'; *sākṣā́t*, 'plainly, actually'; *samantāt*, 'completely'; *acirāt*, 'not long'.

d. In a few instances, adverbially used ablatives likewise show a changed accent in the early language: thus, *apākā́t*, 'from afar'; *amā́t*, 'from near by'; *sanā́t*, 'from of old' (but instr. *sánā*); *uttarā́t*, 'from the north'; *adharā́t*, 'below'.

1115. The genitive is almost never used adverbially.

In the older language occur *aktós*, 'by night', and *vástos*, 'by day'; later, *cirasya*, 'long'.

1116. The locative is sometimes used with adverbial value. Thus:

From noun and adjective stems: *āké*, 'near'; *āré* and *dūré*, 'afar'; *abhisvaré*, 'behind'; *astamīké*, 'at home'; *ṛté*, 'without' (prep.); *ágre*, 'in front'; *sthāne*, 'suitably'; *sapadi*, 'immediately'; *-arthe* and *-kṛte* (common in composition), 'for the sake of'; *aparī́ṣu*, 'in after time'.

1117. Even a nominative form appears to be stereotyped into an adverbial value in (Vedic) *kís*, interrogative particle, and its compounds *nákis* and *mā́kis*, negative particles.

1118. Verbal Prefixes and kindred words. The verbal prefixes, described in the preceding chapter (**1076** ff.), are properly adverbs, having a special office and mode of use in connection with verbal roots and their more immediate derivatives.

Their occasional looser connection with the verb has been noticed above (**1084**). In the value of general adverbs, however, they only very rarely occur (except as *ápi* has mainly changed its office from prefix to adverb or conjunction in the later language); but their prepositional uses are much more frequent and important: see below, **1125**.

In composition with nouns, they (like other adverbial elements) not infrequently have an adjective value: see below, chap. XVIII.

1119. Several of the prefixes (as noticed above, **473—4**) form comparative and superlative adjectives, by the suffixes *tara* and *tama*, or *ra* and *ma:* thus, *úttara* and *uttamá; ádhara* and *adhamá*, *ápara* and *apamá*, *ávara* and *avamá*, *úpara* and *upamá;* and *prathamá* is doubtless of the same character; also, *ántara* and *ántama*. And accusatives of such derivative adjectives (for the most part not otherwise found in use) have the value of comparatives, and rarely superlatives, to the prefixes themselves: thus, *sáṁçitaṁ cit saṁtaráṁ sáṁ çiçādhi* (AV.), 'whatever is quickened, do thou still further quicken'; *vitaráṁ ví kramasva* (RV.), 'stride out yet more widely'; *prá táṁ naya prataráṁ vásyo ácha* (RV.), 'lead him forward still further toward advantage'; *úd enam uttaráṁ naya* (AV.), 'lead him up still higher'.

Besides those instanced, are found also *nitarám*, *avatarám*, *parātarám*, *parastarám*. In the Brāhmaṇas and later (above, **1111 c**), the feminine accusative is used instead: thus, *pratitarā́m, saṁtarā́m, nitarā́m, uttarā́m, pratarā́m* and *pratamā́m* (and *saṁtarā́m*, RV., once).

1120. Kindred in origin and character with the verbal prefixes, and used like them except in composition with verbs, are a few other adverbs: thus, *avás*, 'down'; *adhás*, 'below'; *parás*, 'far off'; *purā́*, 'before'; *antarā́* (apparently, *antár* + *ā́*), 'among'; *ánti*, 'near'; *upári*, 'above': and *sahá* (already mentioned, **1104**), 'along, with', and *sácā*, 'together, with', may be noticed with them. *Vinā́*, 'without', and *viṣu-*, 'apart', appear to be related with *ví*.

1121. Inseparable Prefixes. A small number of adverbial prefixes are found only in combination with other elements. Thus:

a. The negative prefix *a* or *an* — *an* before vowels, *a* before consonants.

It is combined especially with innumerable nouns and adjectives; much more rarely, with adverbs, as *akútra* and *ápunar* (RV.), *ánadhas* (TB.), *akasmāt*, *asakṛt;* and, according to the grammarians, sometimes also with pronouns (*asas*, *aneṣas*), and with verbs (*apacati*, 'does not cook'), but no such combinations appear to be quotable.

The independent negative adverbs, *ná* and *mā́*, are only in rare and exceptional instances used in composition: see below, **1122 b**.

b. The comitative prefix *sa*, used instead of the preposition *sám*, and exchangeably with *sahá*, before nouns and adjectives.

c. The prefix of dispraise *dus*, 'ill, badly' (identical with √*duṣ:* **225**).

It is combined in the same manner as *a* or *an*. Of combinations with a verbal form, at least a single example appears to be quotable: *duçcarati* (R.), 'behaves ill' (BR.).

d. The corresponding laudatory prefix *su*, 'well', is in general so closely accordant in its use with the preceding that it is best mentioned here, through it occurs not rarely as an independent particle in the oldest language (in RV., more than two hundred times; in the peculiar parts of AV., only fourteen times), and even occasionally later.

No combination of *su* with a verbal form appears to be quotable from any accentuated text (though the worthless *pada*-text of AV. xix. reads *su-ápāyati* at 49. 10). K. has *na su vijñāyete* and *na vāi su viduḥ* (or *su-víjñāyete?*).

e. The exclamatory and usually depreciative prefixed forms of the interrogative pronoun (**506**) are most analogous with the inseparable prefixes.

1122. Miscellaneous Adverbs. Other words of adverbial character and office, not clearly referable to any of the classes hitherto treated, may be mentioned as follows:

a. Asseverative particles (in part, Vedic only): thus, *aṅgá, hánta, kíla, khálu, tú* (rare in older language), *vāí, vāvá* (in Brāhmaṇa language only), *hí, hiná, u, áha, ha, gha, samaha, sma, bhala.*

Of these, *hánta* is a word of assent; *hí* has won also an illative meaning, and accents the verb with which it stands in connection (**595 d**); *sma* sometimes gives a past meaning to a present tense (**778 b**); *u* is often combined with the final *a* of other particles: thus, *átho, nó, mó, utó, úpo, pró;* but also with that of verb-forms, as *dattó, vidmó.* The final *o* thus produced is *pragṛhya* or uncombinable (**138 c**).

Particles of kindred value, already mentioned above, are *íd, kám* or *kam, cid, jā́tu, evá.*

Some of the asseverative particles are much used in the later artificial poetry with a purely expletive value, as devices to help make out the metre (*pādapūraṇa*, 'verse-fillers'); so especially *ha, hi, tu, sma.*

b. Negative particles are: *ná*, signifying simple negation; *mā́*, signifying prohibition.

As to the construction of the verb with *mā́*, see above, **579—80.**

In the Veda, *nú* (or *nū́:* **248 a**) has also sometimes a negative meaning. For the Vedic *ná* of comparison, see below, **d.**

In *nahí, ná* is combined with *hí*, both elements retaining their full meaning; also with *íd* in *néd*, 'lest'. It is perhaps present in *nanú* and *caná*, but not in *hiná* (RV., once). In general, neither *ná* nor *mā́* is used in composition to make negative compounds, but, instead, the inseparable negative prefix *a* or *an* (**1121 a**): exceptions are the Vedic particles *nákis* and *mā́kis, nákīm* and *mā́kīm;* also *naciram* and *māciram*, and a few others.

c. Interrogative particles are only those already given: *kád, kím, kuvíd, svid, nanú,* of which the last introduces an objection or expostulation.

d. Of particles of comparison have been mentioned the toneless *iva*, and *yathā* (also toneless when used in the same way). Of frequent occurrence in the oldest language is also *ná*, having (without loss of accent) the same position and value as the preceding.

Examples are: *ṛṣidvíṣa íṣuṁ ná sṛjata dvíṣam* (RV.), 'let loose your enmity like an arrow at the enemy of the singer'; *vā́yo ná vṛkṣā́m* (AV.), 'as birds to the tree'; *gāuró ná tṛṣitáḥ piba* (RV.), 'drink like a thirsty buffalo'. This use is generally explained as being a modification or adaptation of the negative one: thus, '[although, to be sure] not [precisely] a thirsty buffalo'; and so on.

e. Of particles of place, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed *kvà* (in V., always to be read *kúa*).

f. Particles of time are: *nú*, 'now' (also *nū́*: *nūnám* was mentioned above, **1109**) *adyá* and *sadyás* and *sadívas* (RV., once), 'today, at once' (all held to contain the element *div* or *dyu*), *hyás*, 'yesterday', *çvás*, 'tomorrow', *jyók* (also related with *dyu*), 'long'; *púnar*, 'again'.

g. Of particles of manner, besides those already mentioned, may be noticed *nā́nā*, 'variously' (for *nānānám*, its derivative, see **1109**); *sasvár* (RV.), 'secretly'.

In the above classifications are included all the Vedic adverbial words, and most of those of the later language: for the rest, see the dictionaries.

Prepositions.

1123. There is, as already stated, no proper class of prepositions (in the modern sense of that term), no body of words having for their exclusive office the "government" of nouns. But many of the adverbial words indicated above are used with nouns in a way which approximates them to the more fully developed prepositions of other languages.

If one and another of such words — as *vinā*, *ṛte* — occurs almost solely in prepositional use, this is merely fortuitous, and of no consequence.

1124. Words are used prepositionally along with all the noun-cases excepting the dative. But in general their office is directive only, determining more definitely, or strengthening, the proper case-use of the noun. Sometimes, however, the case-use is not easy to trace, and the noun then seems to be more immediately "governed" by the preposition — that is, to have its case-form more arbitrarily determined by its association with the latter. This is oftenest true of the accusative; and of the

genitive, which has, here as elsewhere (**294**), suffered an extension of its normal sphere of use.

1125. The adverbs by derivative form (**1097** ff.) have least of a prepositional value (exceptions are especially a few made with the suffix *tas:* **1098**).

Most of the verbal prefixes (exceptions are *ud*, *ni*, *parā*, *pra:* and *ava* and *ni* are almost such) have their prepositional or quasi-prepositional uses with cases; but much more widely in the older time than in the later: in the classical language the usage is mainly restricted to *prati*, *anu*, and *ā*.

Most of the directive words akin with the more proper prefixes are used prepositionally: some of them — as *saha*, *vinā*, *upari*, *antarā*, *purā* — freely, earlier and later.

The case-forms used adverbially are in many instances used prepositionally also: oftenest, as was to be expected, with the genitive; but frequently, and from an early time, with the accusative; more rarely with other cases.

We will take up now the cases for a brief exposition, beginning with those that are least freely used.

1126. The Locative. This case is least of all used with words that can claim the name of preposition. Of directives, *antár* and its later derivative *antarā́*, meaning 'within, in', are oftenest added to it, and in the classical language as well as earlier. Of frequent Vedic use with it are *ā* and *adhi* (illustrated above, **305**); — *api* and *upa* are much rarer: thus, *yā́ apā́m ápi vraté [sánti]* (RV.), 'who are in the domain of the waters'; *amū́r yā́ úpa sū́rye [sánti]* (RV.), 'who are up yonder in the sun'; — *sácā*, 'along with', is not rare in RV., but almost entirely unknown later: thus, *pitróḥ sácā satī́*, 'staying with her parents'.

1127. The Instrumental. The directives used with this case are almost only those which contain the associative pronominal root *sa:* as *saha* (most frequent), *sākam*, *sārdham*, *samam*, *samayā*, *saratham;* and, in the Veda, the prefix *sam:* as, *te sumatíbhiḥ sám pátnībhir ná vṛ́ṣaṇo nasīmahi* (RV.), 'may we be united with thy favors as men with their spouses'. By substitution of the instrumental for the ablative of separation (**283**), *vinā*, 'without' (not Vedic), takes sometimes the instrumental; and so, in the Veda, *avas*, 'down', and *paras*, 'beyond', with which the ablative is also, and much more normally, construed. And *adhi*, in RV., is used with the instrumentals *snúnā* and *snúbhis*, where the locative would be expected.

1128. The Ablative. In the prepositional constructions of the ablative (as was pointed out and partly illustrated above, **293**), the ablative value of the case, and the merely directive value of the added particle, are for the most part clearly to be traced. Many of the verbal prefixes are more or less frequently joined in the older language with this case: oftenest, *adhi* and *pari;* more sporadically, *anu*, *apa*, *ava*, *prati*, and the separatives *nis* and *vi*. The change of meaning of the ablative with *ā*, 'hither', by which

it comes to fill the office of its opposite, the accusative, was sufficiently explained above (**293c**). Of directive words akin with the prefixes, many — as *bahis*, *puras*, *avas*, *adhas*, *paras*, *purā*, *vinā*, and *tiras*, 'out of knowledge of' — accompany this case by a perfectly regular construction. Also the case-forms *arvāk*, *prāk*, *paçcāt*, *ūrdhvam*, *pūrvam*, *param*, *pareṇa*, *prabhṛti;* and *ṛte*, 'without', of which the natural construction with an ablative is predominant earlier. *Antikam*, 'near', is said to take the ablative as well as its more normal companion the genitive.

1129. The Accusative. Many of the verbal prefixes and related words take an accompanying accusative. Most naturally (since the accusative is essentially the 'to'-case), those that express a motion or action toward anything: as *abhi, prati, anu, upa, ā, ati* and *adhi* in the sense of 'over on to' or 'across, beyond', *tiras*, 'through', *antar* and *antarā* when meaning 'between', *pari*, 'around'. Examples are: *yáḥ pradíço abhí sū́ryo vicáṣṭe* (AV.), 'what quarters the sun looks abroad unto'; *ábodhy agníḥ práty āyatī́m uṣā́sam* (RV.), 'Agni has been awakened to meet the advancing dawn'; *gached kadācit svajanam prati* (MBh.), 'she might go somewhither to her own people'; *imam prakṣyāmi nṛpatim prati* (MBh.), 'him I will ask with reference to the king'; *máma cittám ánu cittébhir é 'ta* (AV.), 'follow after my mind with your minds'; *é 'hy ā́ naḥ* (AV.), 'come hither to us'; *úpa na é 'hy arvā́n* (RV.), 'come hither unto us'; *yó devó mártyāṅ áti* (AV.), 'the god who is beyond mortals'; *adhiṣṭhāya várcasā́ 'dhy anyā́n* (AV.), 'excelling above others in glory'. Also *abhitas* and *paritas,* which have a like value with the simple *abhi* and *pari;* and *upari*, 'above' (oftener with genitive). Less accordant with ordinary accusative constructions is the use of this case with *adhas*, *paras*, *puras*, *vinā,* beside other cases which seem more suited to the meaning of those particles. And the same may be said of most of the adverbial case-forms with which the accusative is used. Thus, a number of instrumentals of situation or direction: as *yé 'vareṇā ''dityám, yé páreṇā ''dityám* (TB.), 'those who are below the sun, those who are beyond the sun'; *ántareṇa yónim* (ÇB.), 'within the womb'; *te hī 'dam antareṇa sarvam* (AB.), 'for all this universe is between them'; *úttareṇa gā́rhapatyam* (ÇB.), 'to the north of the householder's fire'; *dákṣiṇena védim* (ÇB.), to the south of the sacrificial hearth'; *dakṣiṇena vṛkṣavātikām* (Çak.), 'to the right of the orchard'; *nikaṣā́*, 'near to'. Similarly, *ūrdhvam* and *pūrvam* have an accusative object as well as an ablative; and the same is true later of *ṛte. Abhimukham,* 'toward', has a more natural right to construction with this case; and *samáyā* (later *samayā́*), 'through between', is analogous with *antarā* and *tiras.*

1130. The Genitive. The words which are accompanied by the genitive are mostly case-forms of nouns, or of adjectives used substantively, retaining enough of the noun-character to take this case as their natural adjunct. Such are the locatives *agre*, 'in front of', *abhyāçe*, 'near', *arthe* and *kṛte*, 'for the sake of', *nimitte* and *hetāu*, 'by reason of', *madhye*, 'in the midst of'; and other cases, as *artham* and *arthāya, antikam* and *abhimukham* (which have also other constructions), *kāraṇāt*, *sakāçāt*, *hetos.* And really, although

less directly and obviously, of the same character are other adjective cases (some of them showing other constructions, already noticed): as *adharena*, *uttarena* and *uttarāt*, *dakṣiṇena* and *dakṣiṇāt*, *paçcāt*, *ūrdhvam*, *anantaram*, *samakṣam*, *sākṣāt*. More questionable, and illustrations rather of the general looseness of use of the genitive, are its constructions (almost wholly unknown in the oldest language) with more proper words of direction: thus, with the derivative *paritas*, *paratas*, and *antitas*, and *parastāt* and *purastāt* (these found in the Brāhmaṇa language: as, *saṁvatsarasya parastāt*, 'after a year'; *sūktasya purastāt*, 'before the hymn' [AB.]); with *anti*, *adhas*, *avas*, *puras;* with *upari*, 'above' (common later); and with *antar*.

Conjunctions.

1131. The conjunctions, also, as a distinct class of words, are almost wanting.

The combination of clauses is in Sanskrit in general of a very simple character; much of what in other Indo-European languages is effected by subordinating conjunctions is here managed by means of composition of words, by the use of the gerunds (**994**), and of *iti* (**1102 a**), and so on.

1132. The relative derivative adverbs, already given (**1098** ff.), may properly be regarded as conjunctions; and a few other particles of kindred value, as *ced* and *ned* (**1111 a**).

1133. Purely of conjunctive value are च *ca*, 'and', and वा *vā*, 'or' (both toneless, and never having the first place in a sentence or clause).

Of copulative value, along with *ca*, is in the older language especially *utá* (later it becomes a particle of more indefinite use); and *api*, *tatas*, *tathā*, *kiṁ ca*, with other particles and combinations of particles, are used often as connectives of clauses.

Adversative is *tú*, 'but' (rare in the older language); also, less strongly, *u* (toneless).

Of illative value is *hí*, 'for' (originally, and in great part at every period, asseverative only): compare above, **1122 a**.

To *ca* (as well as to its compound *céd*) belongs occasionally the meaning 'if'.

It is needless to enter into detail with regard to those uses which may be not less properly, or more properly, called conjunctive than adverbial, of the particles already given, under the head of Adverbs.

Interjections.

1134. The utterances which may be classed as interjections are, as in other languages, in part voice-gestures,

in part onomatopœias, and in part mutilations and corruptions of other parts of speech.

1135. a. Of the class of voice-gestures are, for example: *ā, hā, hāhā, ahaha, he, hāí* (AV.), *ayi, aye, hayé* (RV.), *aho, báṭ* (RV.), *bata* (RV.) or *vata*, and (probably) *híruk* and *hurúk* (RV.).

b. Onomatopoetic or imitative utterances are, for example (in the older language); *ciçcā́*, 'whiz' (of an arrow: RV.); *kikirā́* (palpitation: RV.); *bā́l* and *pháṭ (pháṣ?)* or *phál*, 'splash' (AV.); *bhúk*, 'bow-wow' (AV.); *çál*, 'pat' (AV.); *āṣ, hīṣ, as*, and *has* (PB.); and see the words already quoted in composition with the roots *kṛ* and *bhū*, above, **1091**.

c. Nouns and adjectives which have assumed an interjectional character are, for example: *bhos* (for the vocative *bhavas*, **456**); *are* or *re* (voc. of *ari*, 'enemy'); *dhik*, 'alas!' (may be mere voice-gesture, but perhaps related with √*dih); kaṣṭam*, 'woe is me!' *diṣṭyā*, 'thank heaven!' *svasti*, 'hail!' *suṣṭhu, sādhu*, 'good, excellent!' None of these are Vedic in interjectional use.

CHAPTER XVII.

DERIVATION OF DECLINABLE STEMS.

1136. THE formation from roots of conjugable stems — namely, tense-stems, mode-stems, and stems of secondary conjugation (not essentially different from one another, nor, it is believed, ultimately from the formation of declined stems) — was most conveniently treated above, in the chapters devoted to the verb. Likewise the formation of adverbs by derivation (not essentially different from case-formation), in the chapter devoted to particles. And the formation of those declinable stems — namely, of comparison, and of infinitives and participles — which attach themselves most closely to the systems of inflection, has also been more or less fully exhibited. But the extensive and intricate subject of the formation of the great body of declinable stems was best reserved for a special chapter.

Of course, only a brief and compendious exhibition of the subject can be attempted within the here necessary limits: no exhaustive tracing out of the formative elements of every period; still less, a complete statement of the varied uses of each element; least of all, a discussion of origins; but enough to help the student in that analysis of words which must form a part

of his labor from the outset, giving a general outline of the field, and preparing for more penetrating investigation.

The material from accented texts, and especially the Vedic material, will be had especially in view (nothing that is Vedic being intentionally left unconsidered); and the examples given will be, so far as is possible, words found in such texts with their accent marked. No word not thus vouched for will be accented unless the fact is specifically pointed out.

1137. The roots themselves, both verbal and pronominal, are used in their bare form, or without any added suffix, as declinable stems.

As to this use of verbal roots, see below, **1147**.

The pronominal roots, so-called, are essentially declinable; and hence, in their further treatment in derivation, they are in accordance with other declinable stems, and not with verbal roots.

1138. Apart from this, every such stem is made by a suffix. And these suffixes fall into two general classes:

A. Primary suffixes, or those which are added directly to roots;

B. Secondary suffixes, or those which are added to derivative stems (also to pronominal roots, as just pointed out, and sometimes to particles).

The division of primary suffixes nearly corresponds to the *kṛt* (more regular) and *uṇādi* (less regular) suffixes of the Hindu grammarians; the secondary, to their *taddhita*-suffixes.

1139. But this distinction, though one of high value, theoretically and practically, is not absolute. Thus:

a. Suffixes come to have the aspect and the use of primary which really contain a secondary element — that is to say, the earliest words exhibiting them were made by addition of secondary suffixes to words already derivative.

Sundry examples of this will be pointed out below: thus, the gerundival suffixes, *tavya*, *anīya*, etc., the suffixes *uka* and *aka*, *tra*, and others. This origin is probable for more cases than admit of demonstration; and it is possible for others which show no distinct signs of composition.

b. Less often, a suffix of primary use passes over in part into secondary, through the medium of use with denominative "roots" or otherwise: examples are *yu*, *iman*, *īyas* and *iṣṭha*.

1140. Moreover, primary suffixes are added not only

to original roots, but, generally with equal freedom, to elements which have come to wear in the language the aspect of such, by being made the basis of primary conjugation — and even, to a certain extent, to the bases of secondary conjugation, the conjugation-stems, and the bases of tense-inflection, the tense-stems.

a. The most conspicuous examples of this are the participles, present and future and perfect, which are made alike from tense and conjugation-stems of every form. The infinitives (**968** ff.) attach themselves only in sporadic instances to tense-stems, and even from conjugation-stems are made but sparingly earlier; and the same is true of the gerundives.

b. General adjectives and nouns are somewhat widely made from conjugation-stems, especially from the base of causative conjugation: see below the suffixes *a*, *ā*, *as*, *ani*, *u*, *ti*, *tṛ*, *tnu*, *snu*.

c. From tense-stems, the examples are far fewer, but not unknown: thus, from present-stems, occasional derivatives in *a* (**1148.3b**), *ā* (**1149**), *u* (**1178e,g,h**), *ta* (**1176e**), *tu* (**1161c**), *tra* (**1185d**), *ru* (**1192**), *vin* (or *in:* **1232**, end); from stems in a *s* apparently of aoristic character (besides infinitives and gerundives), occasional derivatives in *a* (**1148.3b**), *ana* (**1150.2b**), *ani* (**1159b**), *an* (**1160a**), *āna* (**1175**), *as* (**1151.1b**), *iṣṭha* (**1184**), *u* (**1178e**), *us* (**1154**), *tṛ* (**1182c**), *in* (**1183**).

1141. The primary suffixes are added also to roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes.

Whatever, namely, may have been originally and strictly the mode of production of the derivatives with prefixes, it is throughout the recorded life of the language as if the root and its prefix or prefixes constituted a unity, from which a derivative is formed in the same manner as from the simple root, with that modification of the radical meaning which appears also in the proper verbal forms as compounded with the same prefixes. Not derivatives of every kind are thus made; but, in the main, those classes which have most of the verbal force, or which are most akin in value with infinitives and participles.

The occurrence of such derivatives with prefixes, and their accent, will be noted under each suffix below. They are chiefly (in nearly the order of their comparative frequency), besides root-stems, those in *a*, in *ana*, in *ti*, in *tar* and *tra*, and in *in*, *ya*, *van* and *man*, *i* and *u*, *as*, and a few others.

1142. The suffixes of both classes are sometimes joined to their primitives by a preceding union-vowel — that is to say, by one which wears that aspect, and, in our uncertainty as to its real origin, may most conveniently and safely be called by that name. The line between these vowels and such as de-

serve to be ranked as of organic suffixal character cannot be sharply drawn.

Each of the two great classes will now be taken up by itself, for more particular consideration.

A. Primary Derivatives.

1143. Form of root. The form of root to which a primary suffix is added is liable to more or less variation. Thus:

a. By far the most frequent is a strengthening change, by *guṇa* or *vṛddhi*-increment. The former may occur under all circumstances (except, of course, where *guṇa*-change is in general forbidden: **235**, **240**): thus, *véda* from √*vid*, *móda* from √*mud*, *várdha* from √*vṛdh*: *áyana* from √*i*, *sávana* from √*su*, *sáraṇa* from √*sṛ*; and so on. But the latter is only allowed under such circumstances as leave long *ā* as the resulting vowel: that is, with non-final *a*, and with a final *i* or *u*-vowel and *ṛ*, before a vowel: thus, *nādá* from √*nad*, *grābhá* from √*gṛbh* or *grabh*, *vāhá* from √*vah*, *nāyá* from √*nī*, *bhāvá* from √*bhū*, *kārá* from √*kṛ*; such strengthening as would make *vāida* and *māuda* is entirely unknown in primary derivation.

No general rules can be given as to the occurrence of strengthening in derivation: it must be left to be pointed out for each suffix.

b. Other vowel changes are more sporadic, and will be noticed in detail below: thus, occasional abbreviation of a root, as in *ukti* from √*vac*; change of final *ṛ* to *ir* and *ur*; the loss of final *ā*, or its conversion to an *i*-vowel; and so on.

c. The reversion of a final palatal or *h* to a guttural has been already noticed (**216**). A final *n* or *m* is occasionally lost, as in formations already considered.

d. After a short final vowel is sometimes added a *t*: namely, where a root is used as stem without suffix (**1147**), and before a following *y* or *v* of *van* (**1169**), *vara* and *varī* (**1171**), *yu* once (**1165a**), and *ya* (**1213**).

The presence of *t* before these suffixes indicates an original secondary derivation from derivatives in *ti* and *tu*.

e. The root is sometimes reduplicated: rarely in the use without suffix: oftenest before *i*, *a*, *u*; in only a few cases each, also before other suffixes (*ana*, *vana*, *van* and *varī*, *vani*, *vi*, *vit*, *ani*, *in*, *atu*, *tnu*, *ta*, *ti*, *tṛ*, *tra*, *ūka* and *īka*, *ma*, *ya*).

1144. Accent. No general laws governing the place of the accent are to be recognized; each suffix must in this respect be considered by itself.

In connection with a very few suffixes is to be recognized a certain

degree of tendency to accent the root in case of a *nomen actionis* or infinitival derivative, and the ending in the case of a *nomen agentis* or participial derivative: see the suffixes *a*, *ana*, *as*, *an*, and *man*, below, where the examples are considered. Differences of accent in words made by the same suffix are also occasionally connected with differences of gender: see the suffixes *as* and *man*.

1145. Meaning. As regards their signification, the primary derivatives fall into two great classes, the one indicating the action expressed by the verbal root, the other the person or thing in which the action appears, the agent or actor — the latter, either substantively or adjectively. The one class is abstract, infinitival; the other is concrete, participial. All other meanings may be viewed as modifications or specializations of these two.

Even the words indicating recipience of action, the passive participles, are, as their use also as neuter or reflexive shows, only notably modified words of agency. The gerundives are, as was pointed out above (**961**), secondary derivatives, originally indicating only 'concerned with the action'.

1146. But these two classes, in the processes of formation, are not held sharply apart. There is hardly a suffix by which action-nouns are formed which does not also make agent-nouns or adjectives; although there are not a few by which are made only the latter. In treating them in detail below, we will first take up the suffixes by which derivatives of both classes are made, and then those forming only agent-nouns.

To follow an alphabetical arrangement, although in some respects more practically convenient, seems too artificial, and destructive of all natural connection. The Index will give what help is needed toward finding any particular suffix which is sought.

1147. Stems without suffix: Root-words. These words and their uses have been already pretty fully considered above (**323**, **348** ff., **383** ff., **400**, **401**).

a. They are used especially (in the later language, almost solely) as finals of compounds, and have both fundamental values, as action-nouns (frequently as infinitives: **971**), and as agent-nouns and adjectives (often governing an accusative: **271e**). As action-nouns, they are chiefly feminines (**384**: in many instances, however, they do not occur in situations that determine the gender).

b. In a small number of words, mostly of rare occurrence, the reduplicated root is used without suffix.

The Vedic cases are: with simple reduplication, *sasyád*, *cikít*, *sasrút* (irregular, for *susrut*), *didyú* and *didyút*, *juhū́*, and perhaps *çíçu;* with in-

tensive reduplication, *-nenī́*, *jogū́*, *yavīyúdh*, *vánīvan* (with the intensive instead of the usual radical accent). In *dáridra* is seen a transfer to the *a*-declension. *Asūsū́* is probably to be understood as a compound, *asū-sū́*.

c. If the root end in a short vowel, a *t* is regularly and usually added (**383b**).

Examples, and the exceptions found to occur, have been given at the place just quoted.

d. Words of this form in combination with verbal prefixes are very numerous. The accent rests (as in combination of the same with other preceding elements) on the root-stem.

e. In a single instance, *çrútkarṇa* (RV.), 'of listening ears', a stem of this class occurs as prior member of a compound.

1148. अ *a*. With the suffix अ *a* is made a very large and heterogeneous body of derivatives, of various meaning and showing various treatment of the root: *guṇa*-strengthening, *vṛddhi*-strengthening, retention unchanged, and reduplication.

In good part, they are classifiable under the two usual general heads; but in part they have been individualized into more special senses.

1. With *guṇa*-strengthening of the root (where that is possible: **235**, **240**). These are the great majority, being more than twice as numerous as all others together.

a. Many *nomina actionis:* as, *çráma*, 'weariness', *gráha*, 'seizure', *áya*, 'movement', *véda*, 'knowledge', *háva*, 'call', *kródha*, 'wrath', *jóṣa*, 'enjoyment', *tára*, 'crossing', *sárga*, 'emission'.

b. Many *nomina agentis:* as, *kṣamá*, 'patient', *svajá*, 'constrictor', *hinvá*, 'impelling', *jīvá*, 'living', *meghá*, 'cloud', *codá*, 'inciting', *plavá*, 'boat', *sará*, 'brook', *sarpá*, 'serpent', *arcá*, 'radiant'.

c. Of the examples here given, those under **a** accent the radical syllable, and those under **b** the ending. And this is in a majority of cases the fact as regards the two classes of derivatives; so that, taken in connection with kindred facts as to other suffixes, it indicates such a difference of accent as a general tendency of the language. A few sporadic instances are met with of the same form having the one or the other value according to its accent: thus, *éṣa*, 'haste', *eṣá*, 'hasting'; *çā́sa*, 'order', *çāsá*, 'orderer' (other examples are *kāma*, *çāka*, *çoka*): compare a similar difference with other derivatives *as*, *ana*, *an*, *man*). But exceptions are numerous — thus, for example, *jayá*, *javá*, *smará*, action-nouns; *çráva*, *mógha*, *híṅsa*, agent-nouns — and the subject calls for a much wider and deeper investigation than it has yet received, before the accentuation referred to can be set up as a law of the language in derivation.

2. With *vṛddhi*-strengthening of the root — but only where

ā is the resulting radical vowel: that is, of medial *a*, and of final *ṛ* (most often), *u* or *ū*, *i* or *ī* (rare).

a. Examples of action-nouns are: *kā́ma*, 'love', *bhāgá*, 'share', *nādá*, 'noise', *dāvá*, 'fire', *tārá*, 'crossing'. Hardly any forms of clear derivation and meaning are quotable with accent on the root-syllable.

b. Examples of agent-nouns are: *grābhá*, 'seizing', *vāhá*, 'carrying', *nāyá*, 'leading', *jārá*, 'lover'.

3. With unstrengthened root, the examples are quite few: thus, *kṛçá*, 'lean', *yugá*, 'yoke', *sruvá*, 'spoon', *priyá*, 'dear', *vrá*, 'troop', *çucá*, 'bright'.

a. A number of words of this class, especially as occurring in composition, are probably results of the transfer of root-stems to the *a*-declension: thus, *-ruja*, *-ghuṣa*, *-sphuṛa*.

b. A few Vedic examples are made from conjugational stems: thus, from the causative stem, *kū́paya* and *tánaya* and *mṛ́gaya*(?), *-īn̄khaya*, *-ejaya*, *-dhārayá*, *-pārayá*; from present-stems of the *nu*-class (IV.), or secondary roots made from them (**716**), *hinvá*, *-invá*, *-jinvá*, *-piṇvá*, *-sinvá*, *-sunvá*; from others, *-pṛṇá*, *-mṛṇá*, *-paçyá*, *-manya*, *-dasya*, *-jurya*, *-kṣudhya*, *-tṛṣya*, *-jighrá*, *-piba*; from aorist-stems(?), *jeṣá*, *neṣa* (in *néṣatama*, RV., once).

4. With reduplicated root, the derivatives in the older language are a class of some extent. They are made in a few instances with the simple reduplication: thus, *cacará*, 'movable'(?), *çiçayá*, 'inciting', *sasrá*, 'flowing', *vavrá*, 'hiding'; much more often, with the intensive reduplication: thus, *rerihá*, 'licking', *vevijá*, 'hasting', *-roruda*, 'weeping', *-can̄krama*, 'striding', *carācará* and *calācalá*, 'movable', *kanikradá*, 'noisy', *paniṣpadá*, 'quivering', *varīvṛtá*, 'rolling'.

Only a single example of an action-noun has been noticed, namely *çiçnátha*, 'attack', with accent on the root. Other examples of accent elsewhere than on the suffix are only the stems (of doubtful meaning or derivation) *cárcara* and *gárgara*.

5. Derivatives with this suffix from roots as compounded with the verbal prefixes are quite common, in all the modes of formation (in each, in proportion to the frequency of independent words): constituting, in fact, considerably the largest body of derivative stems with prefixes. They are of both classes as to meaning. The accent is, with few exceptions, on the ending — and that, without any reference to the value of the stem as action-noun or agent-noun.

Examples are: *saṁgamá*, 'assembly', *nimeṣá*, 'wink', *abhidrohá*, 'enmity', *anukará*, 'assistance', *udāná*, 'inspiration', *pratyāçrāvá*, 'response'; — *paricará*, 'wandering', *saṁjayá*, 'victorious', *vibodhá*, 'wakeful', *atiyājá*, 'over-pious', *udārá*, 'inciting, elevated', *uttudá*, 'rousing', *saṁgirá*, 'swallowing', *ādardirá*, 'crushing', *adhican̄kramá*, 'climbing'.

The only definable class of exceptions in regard to accent appears to be that of the adverbial gerunds in *am* (above, **995**), which are accented on the root-syllable. A very few other stems have the same tone: for ex-

ample, *utpā́ta*, 'portent'; *āçréṣa*, 'plague'. A few others, mostly agent-nouns, have the accent on the prefix: for example, *vyò̀ṣa* (i. e. *ví-oṣa*), 'burning', *prā́tiveça*, 'neighbor', *ā́bhaga*, 'sharing'; but also *sáṁkāça*, 'appearance'.

For the remaining compounds of these derivatives, with the inseparable prefixes and with other elements, see the next chapter. It may be merely mentioned here that such compounds are numerous, and that the *a*-derivative has often an active participial value, and is frequently preceded by a case-form, oftenest the accusative.

Many words in the language appear to end with a suffix *a*, while yet they are referable to no root which can be otherwise demonstrated as such.

1149. आ *ā*. This suffix has, for the most part, the subordinate office of making corresponding feminines (especially adjective) to masculines in अ *a* — in which use, of course, it might be open to question whether we should not regard it rather as an element of secondary character. It is comparatively little employed independently.

There are, however, a considerable number of feminine nouns in *ā* in the language to which no corresponding masculines exist; and many of them are distinctly traceable to roots. The latter are especially action-nouns, accented on the suffix: and such derivatives in *ā́* form a distinct class, being made sometimes from simple roots, but especially, and at will, from conjugational stems, desiderative, causative, and denominative.

Examples from simple roots are: *īçā́*, 'lordship', *krīḍā́*, 'play', *jarā́*, 'old age', *nindā́*, 'reproach'.

Examples from desiderative stems are very few in the oldest language, but common later: thus, *jigīṣā́* and *bhikṣā́* (RV.); the latter and *vīrtsā́* (AV.); *bībhatsā́* (VS.); in Brāhmaṇa language, *pipāsā́*, *bubhukṣā́*, *mīmāṅsā́*, *çikṣā́* or *çīkṣā́*, etc.

From causative stems, the only Vedic example is *gamayā́* (compare the derivatives in *-aya*, above, **1148.** 3b); but the formation becomes common later, in the making-up of the periphrastic perfect (above, **1070** ff.). The derivatives from present-stems — thus, *vidā́*, *edhā́*, *juhavā́*, etc. — made for a similar office, have been mentioned in connection with this perfect (**1073**).

From denominative stems, the older instances are more numerous: for example, *açvayā́*, *sukratūyā́*, *apasyā́*, *uruṣyā́*, *asūyā́*, *açanayā́*, *jīvanasyā́*. Their *y* is not resolved into *i*.

1150. अन *ana*. With this suffix (as with अ *a*) are formed many derivatives, of both the principal classes of meaning, and with not infrequent specializations. The root has

usually *guṇa*-strengthening, but sometimes *vṛddhi* instead; and in a few cases it remains unstrengthened. Derivatives of this formation are frequent from roots with prefixes, and also in composition with other elements.

The normal and greatly prevalent accent is upon the root-syllable, without regard to the difference of meaning: but cases occur of accented final, and a few of accented penult (which last are possibly to be referred to another suffix of the same form but of a different origin).

The action-nouns are in general of the neuter gender. The feminine of adjectives is made either in *ā* or in *ī* (for details, see below). And a few feminine action-nouns in *anā* and *anī* occur, which are to be ranked as belonging to this suffix.

1. With strengthened and accented root-syllable. Under this head fall, as above indicated, the great mass of forms.

a. With *guṇa*-strengthening: examples of action-nouns are *sádana*, 'seat', *rákṣaṇa*, 'protection', *dā́na*, 'giving', *cáyana*, 'collection', *védana*, 'property', *hávana*, 'call', *bhójana*, 'enjoyment', *káraṇa*, 'deed', *várdhana*, 'increase'; — of agent-nouns, *tápana*, 'burning', *cétana*, 'visible', *códana*, 'impelling'.

The derivatives *dū́ṣaṇa* and *-mā́rjana* have the same irregular strengthening which appears in their present-systems (**627**, **1042 a**), and other formations from the same roots.

b. With *vṛddhi*-strengthening (only in such circumstances that *ā* remains as vowel of the radical syllable): examples (all that have been noted in the older language) are *-cā́tana*, *nā́çana*, *mā́dana*, *-vā́cana*, *-vā́sana*, *-vā́hana*, *sā́dana*, *-spā́çana*, *svā́dana*, *-ā́yana*, *-yā́vana*, *-srā́vaṇa*, *-pā́raṇa*, *vā́raṇa*.

c. From roots with prefixes, the derivatives of this formation are very numerous, being exceeded in frequency only by those made with the suffix *a* (above, **1148.** 5). A few examples are: *ākrámaṇa*, 'striding on', *udyā́na*, 'upgoing', *nidhā́na*, 'receptacle', *prā́ṇana*, 'expiration', *vimócana*, 'release' and 'releasing', *saṁgrámaṇa*, 'assembly' and 'assembler', *adhivikártana*, 'cutting off', *avaprabhrā́ṅçana*, 'falling away down'.

For other compounds of these derivatives, showing the same accent (and the same feminine stem), see the next chapter (below, **1272**).

A few exceptions occur: *vicakṣaṇá*, *upariçayaṇá*, and the feminines *pramandanī́* and *nirdahanī́*.

d. The adjectives of this formation, simple or compound, make their feminine usually in *ī*: thus, *códanī*, *péçanī*, *spáraṇī*, *jámbhanī*; *prajñā́nī*, *prókṣaṇī*, *saṁgráhaṇī*, *abhiṣávaṇī*, *vidháraṇī* (*cetanī́* is of doubtful meaning: below, **2 a**).

An adjective compound, however, having a noun in *ana* as final member, makes its feminine in *ā*: thus, *sūpasarpaṇā́*, 'of easy approach', *ṣáḍvidhānā*, 'of sextuple order', *anapavācanā́*, 'not to be ordered away'.

2. The more irregular formations may be classed as follows:

a. With accent on the final: a small number of agent-nouns and adjectives, as *karaṇá*, 'active' (against *kárana*, 'act'), *tvaraṇá*, 'hasting', *rocaná*, 'shining', *kroçaná*, 'yelling', *svapaná*, 'sleepy', *kṣayaṇá*, 'habitable'.

These, unlike the more regular class, make their feminines in *ā*: thus, *tvaraṇā́*, *spandanā́*, etc. And a very few feminine action-nouns have the same form: *jaraṇā́*, *dyotanā́* (? RV. i. 123. 4), *çvetanā́* (and compare *kapanā́*, *raçanā́*).

Beside these may be mentioned a few feminines in *anī́*, of more or less doubtful character: *arṣaṇī́*, *cetanī́* (to *cétana*), *tapanī́* (to *tápana*), *vṛjanī́* (with *vṛjána*), *hāyanī́* (with *hāyaná*), *rajanī*, *tedanī́*.

b. With accent on the penult: a very small number of adjectives: as *dohána*, 'milking', *manána*, 'considerate', *mandána*, 'rejoicing', *sakṣáṇa*, 'overcoming', and perhaps *vakṣáṇā*, 'carrying' (with aoristic *s*); and a still smaller number of neuter action-nouns: *daṅsána*, 'great deed', *vṛjána*, 'enclosure, town', *kṛpáṇa*, 'misery' (against *kṛpaṇá*, 'miserable'), with the masculine *kiráṇa*, 'dust'.

The only noticed example of a feminine is in *ā*: *turáṇā*. And a few feminine nouns have the same form: as *jaráṇā*, *bhandánā*, *kanyánā*, *vakṣáṇā*, etc. (and compare the anomalous masc. name *uçánā*: **355 a**).

c. Without strengthening of the root are made a very small number of derivatives: namely (besides those already noted, *kṛpáṇa* and *kṛpaṇá*, *vṛjána* and *vṛjanī́*, *kiráṇa*, *turáṇā*), *bhuraṇa*, *-súvana* and *bhúvana* (compare the perfects of the same roots, *sasū́va* and *babhū́va*, without the usual strengthening: **789 a**): *kṛ́çana*, *pṛ́çana*, *vṛ́ṣaṇa* are doubtful.

d. A few isolated cases may be here mentioned: *jāgaraṇá* and *pálpūlana* from reduplicated root-forms; *sámana* apparently from the prefix *sam*; *aṅhūraṇá* apparently from *aṅhurá*; *yóṣaṇā*, 'woman' (beside *yóṣan*, *yóṣā*, etc.), and *pṛ́tanā*, 'fight', are the only feminines with accented root-syllable.

1151. अस् *as*. By this suffix are made (usually with *guṇa*-strengthening of the root-vowel) especially a large class of neuter nouns, mostly abstract (action-nouns), but sometimes assuming a concrete value; and also, in the older language, a few agent-nouns and adjectives, and a considerable number of infinitives.

The accent in words of the first class is on the root, and in the second on the ending; and in a few instances words of the two classes having the same form are distinguished by their accent; the infinitives have for the most part the accent on the suffix.

1. **a.** Examples of the first and principal class are: *ávas*, 'aid, favor', *tápas*, 'warmth', *práyas*, 'pleasure', *téjas*, 'splendor', *çrávas*, 'fame', *dóhas*, 'milking', *káras*, 'deed', *práthas*, 'breadth', *cétas* and *mánas*, 'mind', *cákṣas*, 'eye', *sáras*, 'pond', *vácas*, 'speech'.

b. A few words of this class are of irregular formation: thus, without

strengthening of the root, *jū́vas*, 'quickness' (beside *jávas*), *úras*, 'breast', *mṛ́dhas*, 'contempt'; and *çíras*, 'head', is to be compared; — with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, *-vācas*, *vā́sas*, *vā́has*, *-svādas*, *-hāyas;* — perhaps with an aoristic *s*, *hé̄ṣas*, 'missile'.

c. After final *ā* of a root is usually inserted *y* before the suffix (**258**): thus, *dhā́yas, gā́yas.*

But there are in the oldest language apparent remains of a formation in which *as* was added directly to radical *ā:* thus, *bhās* and *-dās* (often to be pronounced as two syllables), *jñās*, *mās;* and *-jas* and *-dhas* and *-das*, from the roots *jā* and *dhā* and *dā* (Benfey, Abh. Gött. Ges. xxiii., 1878).

2. **a.** The instances in which an agent-noun is differentiated by its accent from an action-noun are: *ápas*, 'work', and *apás*, 'active'; *yáças*, 'beauty', and *yaçás*, 'beauteous'; *táras*, 'quickness', and *tarás* (SV., once), 'quick'; *dúvas*, 'worship', and *duvás*, 'lively'(?); *máhas*, 'greatness', and *mahás*, 'great'; between *rákṣas*, n., and *rakṣás*, m., both meaning 'demon', and between *tyájas*, n., 'abandonment'(?), and *tyajás*, m., 'descendant' (?), the antithesis is much less clear.

b. Adjectives in *ás* without corresponding abstracts are: *tavás*, 'strong', *vedhás*, 'pious', probably *āhanás*, 'heady'; and a few other words of isolated occurence, as *veçás*, *dhvarás*. From a denominative stem is made *mṛgayás*, 'wild animal' (RV., once).

c. But there are also a very few cases of abstract nouns, not neuter, accented on the ending: thus, *jarás*, 'old age', *bhiyás*, 'fear'; and doubtless also *havás*, 'call', and *tveṣás*, 'impulse'. The feminine *uṣás*, 'dawn', might belong either here or under the last preceding head.

d. Apparently containing a suffix *as* are the noun *upás*, 'lap', and certain proper names: *áñgiras*, *nodhás*, *bhalānás*, *arcanānás*. The feminine *apsarás*, 'nymph', is of doubtful derivation.

The irregular formation of some of the words of this division will be noticed, without special remark.

3. The infinitives made by the suffix *as* have been explained above (**973**): they show various treatment of the root, and various accent (which last may perhaps mark a difference of gender, like that between *sáhas* and *jarás*).

4. The formation of derivatives in *as* from roots compounded with prefixes is very restricted — if, indeed, it is to be admitted at all. No infinitive in *as* occurs with a prefix; nor any action-noun; and the adjective combinations are in some instances evidently, and in most others apparently, possessive compounds of the noun with the prefix used adjectively: the most probable exceptions are *-nyòkas* and *víspardhas*. As in these examples, the accent is always on the prefix.

In connection with this, the most common and important suffix ending in *s*, may be best treated the others, kindred in office and possibly also in origin, which end in the same sibilant.

1152. तस् *tas*, नस् *nas*, सस् *sas*. With these suffixes are made an extremely small number of action-nouns. Thus:

a. With *tas* are made *rétas*, 'seed', and *srótas*, 'stream'.

b. With *nas* are made *ápnas*, 'acquisition', *árṇas*, 'wave', *-bharṇas*, 'offering', *réknas*, 'riches'; and in *drávinas*, 'wealth', and *párīṇas*, 'fulness', is apparently to be seen the same suffix, with prefixed elements having the present value of union-vowels. Probably the same is true of *dámūnas*, 'house-friend'.

c. With *sas* is perhaps made *vápsas*, 'beauty'(?); and *tárūṣas* may be mentioned with it (rather *tarus-a?*).

1153. इस् *is*. With the suffix *is* is formed a small number (about a dozen) of nouns.

They are in part nouns of action, but most are used concretely. The radical syllable has the *guṇa*-strengthening, and the accent is on the suffix (except in *jyótis*, 'light', *vyáthis (?)*, and *ámis*, 'raw meat'). Examples are: *arcís*, *rocís*, and *çocís*, 'light', *havís*, 'oblation', *vartís*, 'track'.

The forms *tuvis-* and *surabhis-* appear inorganically for *tuvi* and *surabhi* in a few compounds or derivatives.

1154. उस् *us*. With this suffix are made a few words, of various meaning, root-form, and accent.

They are words signifying both action and agent. A few have both meanings, without difference of accent: thus, *tápus*, 'heat' and 'hot'; *árus*, 'wound' and 'sore'; *cákṣus*, 'brightness' and 'seeing, eye'; *vápus*, 'wonderful' and 'wonder'. The nouns are mostly neuter, and accented on the root-syllable; exceptions are: in regard to accent, *janús*, 'birth'; in regard to gender, *mánus*, 'man', and *náhus*, proper name. Of adjectives, are accented on the ending *jayús*, *vanús*, *vidús* (which alone shows an unstrengthened root), and *dakṣús*, 'burning' (which appears to attach itself to the aorist-stem).

1155. इ *i*. With this suffix are formed a considerable body of derivatives, of all genders: adjectives and masculine agent-nouns, feminine abstracts, and a few neuters. They show a various form of the root: strong, weak, and reduplicated. Their accent is also various.

Many words in *i* have meanings much specialized; and many (including most of the neuters) are hardly to be connected with any root elsewhere demonstrable.

1. The feminine action-nouns are of very various form: thus, with weak root-form, *rúci*, 'brightness', *tvíṣi*, 'sheen'; *kṛṣí*, 'ploughing', *nṛtí*,

'dance', *yudhí*, 'fighting'; — with *guṇa*-strengthening (where possible), *rópi*, 'pain', *rándhi*, 'subjection', *çocí*, 'heat', *vaní* and *saní*, 'gain'; — with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, *gráhi*, 'seizure', *dhrā́ji*, 'course', *ājí*, 'race'; from √*duṣ* comes *dū́ṣi* (compare *dūṣayati*, **1042 a**). The variety of accent, which seems reducible to no rule, is illustrated by the examples given.

The few infinitively used words of this formation (above, **975**) have a weak root-form, with accent on the ending.

2. The adjectives and masculine agent-nouns exhibit the same variety. Thus:

a. With unstrengthened root: *çúci*, 'bright', *bhṛ́mi*, 'lively' (√*bhram*), *gṛ́bhi*, 'container'.

b. With strengthened root (or root incapable of *guṇa*-change): *ári*, 'enemy', *máhi*, 'great', *arcí*, 'beam', *granthí*, 'knot', *krīḍí*, 'playing'; and some words, of obscure connections, show an apparent *vṛddhi*-increment: thus, *drāpí*, 'mantle', *rāçí*, 'heap', *pāṇí*, 'hand', etc.

c. With reduplicated root. This is in the older language a considerable class, of quite various form. Thus: with weak or abbreviated root, *cákri*, *jághri* (√*ghar*), *pápri*, *sásri*, *-mamri*, *babhrí*, *vavrí*, *jágmi*, *jághni*, *sásni*, *súṣvi*, *-çiçvi*; and, with displacement of final *ā* (or its weakening to the semblance of the suffix), *dadí*, *papí*, *yayí* (with a case or two from *yayī́*), *-jajñi*, *dádhi*; — from the *ur*-form of roots in changeable *ṛ*, *jáguri*, *táturi*, *pápuri*; — with simple reduplication, *yúyudhi*, *vívici*; — with strengthened reduplication, *-cācali*, *tā́tṛpi*, *dā́dhṛṣi*, *vā́vahi*, *sāsahí*, *tū́tuji* and *tūtují*, *yū́yuvi*, *yū́yudhi*; and *jarbhári*. And *karkarí*, 'lute', and *dundubhí*, 'drum', have the aspect of belonging to the same class, but are probably onomatopoetic. The accent, it will be noticed, is most often on the reduplication, but not seldom elsewhere (only once on the root).

It was noticed above (**271 f**) that these reduplicated derivatives in *i* especially often take an object in the accusative, like a present participle.

d. Formations in *i* from the root compounded with prefixes are not at all numerous. They are accented usually on the suffix. Examples are: *abhidrohí*, *āyají*, *vyānaçí*, *nijaghní*, *parādadí*, *viṣāsahí*; but also *ājáni*, *āmúri*, *vívavri*.

As compounded with other preceding words, the adjectives or agent-nouns in *i* are not rare, and are regularly accented on the root: see the next chapter, **1276**.

e. From √*dhā* comes a derivative *-dhi*, forming many masculine compounds, with the value both of an abstract and a concrete: thus, with prefixes, *antardhí*, *uddhí*, *nidhí*, *paridhí*, etc. Opinions are divided as to whether it is to be regarded as formed with the suffix *i*, displacing the radical *ā*, or with weakening of *ā* to *i*.

3. Neuter nouns in *i* are few, and of obscure derivation: examples are *ákṣi*, 'eye', *ásthi*, 'bone', *dádhi*, 'curds', etc.

1156. ई *ī*. The suffix ई *ī*, like आ *ā* (above, **1149**), has in general the office of making a feminine from a masculine stem. Thus:

Especially, from consonant-stems in general; — from stems in *ṛ* (or *ar*): **376 a**; — from some stems in *u*: **344**; — from many stems in (for details, see the various suffixes ending in *a*): — stems in *i* very rarely have corresponding feminines in *ī*: an example is *kṛmī́* (masc. *kṛ́mi*).

In the oldest language, a few masculines also are made in final *ī*: they have been noticed, and their inflection described, above (**355** ff.).

1157. ति *ti*. This suffix forms a large class of frequently used feminine nouns of action; and also a few agent-nouns (masculine) and adjectives. The root has in general the same form as before the suffix त *ta* of the passive participle (**952** ff.) — that is to say, a weak, and often a weakened or abbreviated, form.

The accent ought, in analogy with that of the participle, to rest always upon the suffix; and it does so in the (small) majority of words quotable from accented texts; but the exceptions are numerous. In the few words used as infinitives (**975**), the accent is on the suffix only.

1. **a.** Examples of the normal formation are: *rātí*, 'gift', *ití*, 'progress', *rītí*, 'flow', *stutí*, 'praise', *bhūtí*, 'prosperity', *bhṛtí*, 'bearing', *çaktí*, 'power', *kīrtí*, 'fame', *pūrtí*, 'bestowal', *matí*, 'thought', *pītí*, 'drink' (√*pā*; pple *pīta*), *dhāutí*, 'stream' (√*dhāv*; pple *dhāuta*); — and, with accented root, *gáti*, 'motion', *çā́nti*, 'repose', *díti*, 'division' (√*dā*; pple *ditá*), *tṛ́pti*, 'satisfaction', *íṣṭi*, 'offering' (√*yaj*: pple *iṣṭá*), *-ukti*, 'speech' (√*vac*: pple *uktá*), *vṛ́ddhi*, 'increase'.

b. The roots which form their participle in *ita* (**956**) do not have the *i* also before *ti*: thus, only *gúpti*, *-dṛpti* (but AV. has once *úditi*, beside *uditá*, from √*vad*). A few roots having their participle in *na* instead of *ta* (**957**), form the abstract noun also in *ni* (below, **1158**). And from the roots *tan* and *ran* occur *tánti* and *ránti*, beside the more regular *tati* and *ráti*; also *áhanti* (once, VS.) beside *áhati*. From roots having the form *dā*, the derivative in composition is sometimes *-tti* (for *dāti* with loss of radical vowel: compare the participle-form *-tta*, above, **955 c**): thus, *niravatti* (K.), *vásutti*, *bhágatti*, *maghátti* (all RV.).

c. A few derivatives are made from reduplicated roots; their accent is various: thus, *carkṛtí*, *dī́dhiti* and *-dī́diti*, *jígarti*, and perhaps the proper name *yayā́ti*.

d. Derivatives from roots with prefixes are numerous, and have (as in the case of the participles in *ta*, and the action-nouns in *tu*) the accent on the prefix: examples are *ánumati*, *abhìti*, *ā́huti*, *nírṛti*, *vyā̀pti*, *sáṁgati*. The only exceptions noticed are *āsaktí* and *āsutí*.

In other combinations than with prefixes, the accentuation is in general the same: see the next chapter.

2. The adjectives and agent-nouns — which, as masculines, are to be

connected with these instead of with the feminine abstracts — are very few: thus, *pū́ti*, 'putrid', *vā́ṣṭi*, 'eager', *dhū́ti*, 'shaker', *jñātí*, 'relative', *pattí*, 'footman'; and a few others, of more or less dubious character. The accent is various, as in the other class.

3. A few words show the same suffix *ti* preceded by a vowel, in which no organic character seems recognizable, and which may therefore pass for a "union-vowel". One, *úditi*, has been quoted above; another with *i* is *sániti* (RV., once); and *snī́hitī* and *snéhitī*, notwithstanding their long final, may be mentioned with them. With *ati* are made a few, variously accented: thus, the action-nouns *aṅhatí*, *dṛçatí*, *vasatí* 'nest', *ramáti*, *vratáti*, *amáti* and *ámati*, *-dhrajati;* and the agent-words *aratí*, *khalatí*, *vṛkáti*, *rámati.* With *ītí*, *ṛ́jīti* and *dábhīti.* In the Brāhmaṇas appear occasional derivatives from conjugational stems, like *jánayati* (TS.) and *āgamayiti* (K. xxviii. 6). The feminine *yuvatí*, 'young (adj.), maiden', is of isolated character.

4. In some of the words instanced in the last paragraph, *ti* is perhaps applied as a secondary suffix. A kindred character belongs to it in the numeral derivatives from pronominal roots, *káti*, *táti*, *yáti*, and from numerals, as *viṅçatí*, *ṣaṣṭí*, etc.; with *paṅktí* (from *páñca*); and in *addhātí*, from the particle *addhā́*.

1158. नि *ni.* This suffix agrees in general in its uses and in the form of its derivatives with the preceding; but it makes a much smaller number of words, among which the feminine abstracts are a minority.

1. As was noticed above (**1157.1b**), a few verbs (ending in vowels) making their passive participle in *na* instead of *ta* make their action-noun in *ni* instead of *ti.* From the Veda are quotable only *-jyāni*, 'injury', and *jūrṇí*, 'heat'; later occur *glāni*, *jīrṇi*, and others. Certain other feminine nouns of concrete meaning occur: thus, *jā́ni*, 'woman', etc.

2. Examples of words of the other class are: *váhni*, 'carrying', *tū́rṇi*, 'hasty', *bhū́rṇi*, 'excited', *preṇí*, 'loving', *vṛṣṇí* and *vṛ́ṣṇi*, 'virile'.

In *preṇí*, *yóni*, *mení*, *çréṇi*, *çróṇi* is seen a strengthening of the root, such as does not appear among the derivatives in *ti.*

Derivatives in *ni* from roots with prefixes do not appear to occur.

In the words ending in *ani*, the *a* has probably the same value with that of *ati* (above, **1157.3**); but *ani* has gained a more independent status, and may be best treated as a separate suffix.

1159. अनि *ani.* The words made by this suffix have the same double value with those made by the preceding ones. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. Feminine action-nouns, sometimes with concreted meaning: as, *iṣáṇi*, 'impulse', *çaráṇi*, 'injury', *dyotaní*, 'brightness', *kṣipaṇí*, 'blow', *açáni*, 'missile', *vartaní*, 'track', *ā́jani* (*ā-ájani:* the only example with prefix), 'goad'.

b. Adjectives and other agent-words are such as *carā́ṇi*, 'movable', *cakṣā́ṇi*, 'enlightener', *vakṣā́ṇi*, 'strengthener'. From a reduplicated root-form comes *-paptani*. From desiderative stems are made *rurukṣā́ṇi*, *siṣāsā́ni*, and (with prefix) *ā-çuçukṣā́ṇi*. And a small number of words appear to attach themselves to an *s*-aorist stem: thus, *parṣā́ṇi*, *sakṣā́ṇi*, *carṣaṇí*.

3. It is questionable whether the infinitives in *ṣā́ṇi* (**978**) are to be put here, as accusatives of a formation in *ani*, or under the next suffix, as locatives of a formation in *an*, from roots and stems increased by an aoristic *s*.

1160. अन् *an*. Not many words appear to be made with a suffix of this form, and of these still fewer are plainly to be connected with roots. Certain rare neuters (along with the doubtful infinitives) are nouns of action; the rest are masculine and neuter agent-nouns. The accent is various.

a. The infinitives which admit of being referred to this suffix, as locative cases, are those in *ṣā́ṇi*, of which the sibilant appears to be the final of a tense-stem. They are all given above (**978**).

b. The other action-nouns in *an* are *mahā́n*, 'greatness', *maṅhā́n* (?), 'liberality', *rājā́n*, 'authority' (RV., once: compare *rā́jan*; the accent-relation is the reverse of the usual one), and *gámbhan*, 'depth' (VS., once).

c. Examples of agent-nouns are: masc. *tákṣan*, 'carpenter', *rā́jan*, 'king', *vṛ́ṣan*, virile, bull', *ukṣā́n*, 'ox'; neut. *udā́n*, 'water', *cákṣan*, 'eye': — with prefixes, *pratidī́van*, 'antagonist at play' (*ā́tidīvan*, AV., is perhaps a bad reading), *vibhvā́n*, 'superior'.

d. A few stems in *an*, running parallel with those in other suffixes and filling out their declension, were mentioned above (**429** ff.).

1161. तु *tu*. The great mass of the words of this formation are the infinitives — accusatives in the later language, in the earlier likewise datives and ablative-genitives: see above, **970 b**, **972**. But a few are also used independently, as action-nouns or with concreted meaning; and an extremely small number, of somewhat questionable character, appear to have the value of agent-words. They are of all genders, but chiefly masculine. The root has the *guṇa*-strengthening.

The infinitive words are accented on the radical syllable when simple, and most of the others have the same accent; but a few have the tone on the ending.

a. Examples are: of the regular formation, masc., *gántu*, 'way', *dhā́tu*, 'element', *mántu*, 'counsel'; fem. *vástu*, 'morning'; neut. *vā́stu*, 'abode'; —

with accent on the ending, *jantú*, 'being', *gātú*, 'way' and 'song', *hetú*, 'cause', *ketú*, 'banner' (all masc.); — with unstrengthened root, *ṛtú*, 'season', *pitú*, 'drink', *sū́tu*, 'birth'; with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, *vā́stu* (above).

b. The infinitives in *tu* have (**972**) often the union-vowel *i* before the suffix, and this in a few cases is lengthened to *ī*. In other use occur also *-tárītu* and *-dhárītu* (both with *dus*); *turphárītu* seems of the same formation, but is obscure.

The infinitives, when made from roots with prefixes, have (as was pointed out above, **972**) the accent on the prefix. But the same words, when used (not infinitivally) in further combination (with *su* and *dus*), retain the radical accent which belongs to the simple word: thus, *duratyétu*, *durniyáṁtu*, *duṣparihántu*, *suprā́itu*.

c. In a few instances, the suffix *tu* appears to be added to a tense- or conjugation-stem in *a*: thus, *edhatú* and *vahatú*; *tanyatú* and *tapyatú*; and *siṣāsátu*. The accent of the last is paralleled only by that of *jīvā́tu*, 'life', which is further exceptional in showing a long *ā*; it is used sometimes in the manner of an infinitive.

1162. नु *nu*. This suffix forms a comparatively small body of words, generally masculine, and having both the abstract and the concrete value.

The accent is usually on the ending, and the root unstrengthened.

Examples are: *bhānú*, 'light' (later 'sun'), *vagnú*, 'sound', *sūnú*, 'son', *dā́nu* (with irregular accent), m. 'demon', n. 'drop, dew'; *dhenú*, f., 'cow'; — *gṛdhnú*, 'hasty', *dhṛṣṇú*, 'bold'.

This also (like *tu*), appears sometimes with a prefixed *a*: thus, *krandanú* and *nadanú*, 'roaring', *nabhanú* (and *-nū́*, f.), 'fountain', *vibhañjanú* (only instance with prefix), 'breaking to pieces'; and perhaps *kṛçā́nu* belongs here.

1163. थ *tha*. The words made with this suffix are almost without exception action-nouns (though some have assumed a concrete value). They are of all genders. The root is of a weak (or even weakened) form, and the accent usually on the suffix.

a. Examples are: masc. *bhṛthá*, 'offering', *-kṛtha*, 'making', *-itha*, 'going'; neut. *ukthá*, 'saying', *nīthá*, 'song', *tīrthá*, 'ford'; fem. (with *ā*) *gā́thā*, 'song', *nī́thā*, 'way'. Radical *ā* is weakened to *ī* in *-gīthá* and *-pīthá*. Final *m* or *n* is lost in *-gathá* and *hátha* (as sometimes in the verbal inflection of the same roots: **637, 834** b).

A few examples of combination with prefixes occur, with accent on the final: thus, *nirṛthá*, 'destruction', *saṁgathá*, 'union', etc.

b. Still more common in the older language is a form of this suffix to which has become prefixed an *á*, which is probably of thematic origin, though

become a union-vowel. Thus: masc. *carátha*, 'mobility', *yajátha*, 'offering', *ravátha*, 'cry', *çapátha*, 'curse', *stavátha*, 'praise'; neut. *ucátha*, 'speech', *vidátha*, 'ordering'. Before this, a root has sometimes *guṇa:* thus, *çayátha*, 'couch', *tveṣátha*, 'vehemence'. With a prefix, the accent is thrown forward upon the final: thus, *āvasathá*, 'abode', *pravasathá*, 'absence'; *prāṇátha*, 'breath', is treated as if *prān* were an integral root.

c. Isolated combinations of *tha* with other preceding vowels occur: thus, *várūtha*, 'protection', with another doubtful case or two; and *matútha* (√*man?*).

1164. थु *thu*. This suffix has an अ *á* attached to it (like थ *tha*, above), and, in the very few derivatives which it makes, appears only as अथु *áthu*.

The only Vedic examples are *ejáthu*, 'quaking', *vepáthu*, 'trembling', *stanáthu*, 'roaring'. Later cases are *nandáthu* (TS.), *vamathu*, *çvayathu*, etc.

1165. यु *yu*. With this suffix are made a very few nouns, both of agent and of action, with unstrengthened root and various accent. Thus:

a. Abstracts (masc.) are *manyú*, 'wrath', *mṛtyú*, 'death' (with *t* added to the short final of the root).

b. Adjectives etc. are *bhujyú*, 'pliable', *çundhyú*, 'pure'; *yájyu*, 'pious', *sáhyu*, 'strong', *dásyu*, 'enemy', and one or two more.

For other derivatives ending in *yu*, see the suffix *u*, below, **1178 g, h**.

1166. म *ma*. The action-nouns made by this suffix are almost all masculine; and they are of various root-form and accent, as are also the agent-nouns and adjectives.

a. Examples of the former class are: *ajmá*, 'course', *gharmá*, 'heat'; *éma*, 'progress', *bhā́ma*, 'brightness', *sárma*, 'flow', *stóma*, 'song of praise'.

b. Examples of the latter class are: *tigmá*, 'sharp', *bhīmá*, 'terrible', *çagmá*, 'mighty'; *idhmá*, 'fuel', *yudhmá*, 'warrior'. A single instance from a reduplicated root is *tūtumá*, 'powerful'.

1167. मि *mi*. A very small number of nouns, masculine and feminine, formed with *mi*, may be conveniently noticed here.

Thus, from *ṛ*-roots, *ūrmí*, 'wave', *-kū́rmi*, 'action', *sū́rmī*, f., 'tube'; from others, *jāmí* (?), 'relation', *bhū́mi* or *bhū́mī*, f., 'earth', *lakṣmí*, 'sign'; also probably *raçmí*, 'line, ray'.

1168. मन् *man*. The derivatives made with this suffix are almost only action-nouns. The great majority of them are neuter, and accented on the root-syllable; a much smaller number are masculine, and accented on the suffix. The few agent-words are, if nouns, masculine, and have the

latter accent: in several instances, a neuter and a masculine, of the one and the other value and accent, stand side by side. The root has in general the *guṇa*-strengthening.

1. a. Examples of regularly formed neuters are: *kárman*, 'action', *jánman*, 'birth', *nā́man*, 'name', *vártman*, 'track', *véçman*, 'dwelling', *hóman*, 'sacrifice', *-dyótman*, 'splendor'.

b. Examples of masculine abstracts are: *ojmán*, 'strength', *jemán*, 'conquest', *svādmán*, 'sweetness'.

c. Corresponding neuter action-nouns and masculine agent-nouns are: *bráhman*, 'worship', and *brahmán*, 'priest'; *dā́man*, 'gift', and *dāmán*, 'giver'; *dhárman*, 'rule', and *dharmán*, 'orderer'; *sádman*, 'seat', and *sadmán*, 'sitter'. Very few other agent-nouns occur; and all, except *brahmán*, are of rare occurrence.

On the other hand, *varṣman* and *svādman* (and *variman*) have the difference of gender and accent without a corresponding difference of meaning.

The noun *áçman*, 'stone', though masculine, is accented on the radical syllable; and two or three other questionable cases of the same kind occur.

The derivatives in *man* used as infinitives (**974**) have for the most part the accent of neuters: the only exception is *vidmáne*.

d. A few words, of either class, have an irregular root-form: thus, *bhū́man* 'earth', *syū́man*; *bhūmán* 'abundance', *sīmán*, *bhujmán*, *vidmán*; and *kárṣman*, *bhárman*, *çákman*.

e. Derivatives in *man* from roots with prefixes are not numerous. They are usually accented on the prefix, whether action-nouns or adjectives: thus, *prábharman*, 'forthbringing', *práyāman*, 'departure'; *ánuvartman*, 'following after': the exceptions, *vijā́man*, *prativartmán*, *visarmán*, are perhaps of possessive formation.

2. The same suffix, though only with its abstract-making value, has in a number of cases before it a union-vowel, *i* or *ī*; and *imán* comes to be used as a secondary suffix, forming abstract nouns (masculine) from a certain number of adjectives.

a. The neuters in *iman* and *īman* are all primary formations, belonging to the older language: thus, *jániman* and *váriman* (beside *varimán*, as noticed above); and *dárīman*, *dhárīman*, *párīman* (and *páreman*, SV., once), *bhárīman*, *várīman*, *sárīman*, *stárīman*, *sávīman*, and *hávīman*. Those in *īman* are hardly met with outside the Rig-Veda.

b. The masculines in *imán* are in the oldest language less frequent than the neuters just described: they are *jarimán*, *prathimán*, *mahimán*, *varimán* (beside the equivalent *váriman* and *várīman*), *varṣimán* (beside the equivalent *várṣman* and *varṣmán*), *harimán*, and *drāghimán* (VS.) beside *drāghmán* (RV.). Some of these, as well as of the derivatives in simple *man*, attach themselves in meaning, or in form also, to adjectives, to which they seem the accompanying abstracts: compare the similar treatment of the primary comparatives and superlatives (above, **468**): such are *pāpmán* (to *pāpá*,

pā́pīyas, etc.); *drāghmán* etc. (to *dīrghá*, *drā́ghīyas*, etc.); *váriman* etc. (to *urú*, *várīyas*, etc.); *práthiman* (to *pṛthú*, *práthiṣṭha*); *harimán* (to *hári* or *hárita*); *várṣman* etc. (to *várṣīyas* etc.); *svā́dman* etc. (to *svādú*, *svā́dīyas*, etc.). Then in the Brāhmaṇa language are found further examples: thus, *dhūmrimán* (TS., K.), *draḍhiman* (K.: to *dṛḍhá*, *drā́ḍhīyas*, etc.), *taruṇiman* (K.), *lohitiman* (KB.); and still later such as *laghiman;* while *kṣepiman* (to *kṣiprá*, *kṣépīyas*, etc.) and *kṛṣṇiman*, and so on, are allowed by the grammarians.

1169. वन् *van.* By this suffix are made almost only agent-words, adjectives and nouns, the latter mostly masculines. The root is unstrengthened, and to a short final vowel is added a त् *t* before the suffix. The accent is almost always on the root, both in the simple words and in their compounds.

The insertion of *t* is an indication that the words of this form are originally made by the addition of *an* to derivatives in *u* and *tu;* yet *van* has the present value of an integral suffix in the language, and must be treated as such.

1. **a.** Examples of the usual formation are: masc. *yájvan*, 'offering', *drúhvan*, 'harming', *çákvan*, 'capable', *-ríkvan*, 'leaving', *-jítvan*, 'conquering', *sútvan*, 'pressing', *kṛ́tvan*, 'active', *-gátvan* (like *-gat*, *-gatya*), 'going', *sátvan* (√*san*), 'warrior', *árvan* (only example with strengthened root), 'courser'; — neut. *párvan*, 'joint', *dhánvan*, 'bow'.

b. Examples from roots with prefixes (which are not rare) are: *atī́tvan*, 'excelling', *upahásvan*, 'reviler', *sambhṛ́tvan*, 'collecting'; and probably *vivásvan*, 'shining': *abhísatvan* is a compound with governing preposition (**1310**).

For the compounds with other elements, which, except in special cases, have the same accent, see below, **1277.**

c. The stem *muṣīván*, 'robber' (RV., once), is the only one with a union-vowel, and is perhaps better regarded as a secondary derivative — of which a few are made with this suffix: see below, **1234.**

d. From a reduplicated root are made *rárāvan* and *cikitván* (and possibly *vivásvan*).

2. The number of action-nouns made with the suffix *van* is extremely small: namely, *dāván*, 'giving', and *turván*, 'overcoming', both used as infinitives (**974**), and *bhurván*, 'unrest' (?); likewise *dhū́rvan*, 'injury', also used as infinitive (unless this is rather *dhū́rv-an*).

The feminines corresponding to adjectives in *van* are not made (apparently) directly from this suffix, but from *vara*, and end in *varī;* see below, **1171 b.**

1170. वन *vana*, वनि *vani*, वनु *vanu.* The very few words made with these suffixes may best be noticed here, in con-

nection with वन् *van* (of which the others are probably secondary extensions).

a. With *vana* are made *vagvaná*, 'talkative', *satvaná*, 'warrior' (beside *sátvan*, above); and, from a reduplicated root, *çuçukvaná*, 'shining'.

b. With *vani* are made from simple roots *turváṇi*, 'excelling', and *bhurváṇi*, 'restless' (compare *turván* and *bhurván*, just above); and, from reduplicated roots, *çuçukváni*, 'shining', *dadhṛṣváṇi*, 'daring', *tuturváṇi*, 'striving after', and *jugurváṇi*, 'praising': *arhariṣváṇi* is obscure.

c. With *vanu* is made only *vagvanú*, 'tone, noise'.

1171. वर *vara.* With this suffix are made a few derivatives, of all genders, having for the most part the value of agent-nouns and adjectives.

Much more common are the feminine stems in वरी *varī*, which, from the earliest period, serve as the corresponding feminines to the masculine stems in वन् *van.*

a. A few masculine adjectives in *vará* occur, formally accordant (except in accent) with the feminines: thus, *itvará*, 'going', *-advará*, 'eating', *-sadvará*, 'sitting', *īçvará*, 'ruler, lord'; and with them doubtless belongs *vidvalá*, 'knowing' (with *l* for *r*).

b. The feminines in *varī* accord in treatment of the root and in accent with the masculines in *van* to which they correspond: thus, *yájvarī*, *-jítvarī*, *sṛ́tvarī*, *-çī́varī*, *-yā́varī*, and so on (about twenty-five such formations in RV.); from a reduplicated root, *-çíçvarī*.

c. A very small number of neuters occur, with accent on the root: thus, *kárvara*, 'deed', *gáhvara*, 'thicket'; and a feminine or two, with accent on the penult: *urvárā*, 'field', and *urvárī*, 'tow' (both of doubtful etymology).

We take up now the suffixes by which are made only stems having the value of agent-nouns and adjectives; beginning with a brief mention of the participial endings, which in general have been already sufficiently treated.

1172. अन्त् *ant* (or अत् *at*). The office of this suffix, in making present and future participles active, has been fully explained above, in connection with the various tense-stems and conjugation-stems (chaps. VIII.—XIV.), in combination with which alone it is employed (not directly with the root, unless this is also used as tense-stem).

With the same or a formally identical suffix are made from pronominal roots *íyant* and *kíyant* (**517**). And *ádvayant*, 'not double-tongued' (RV., once), appears to contain a similar form-

ation from the numeral *dvi* — unless we are to assume a denominative verb-stem as intermediate.

Here may also be best mentioned the words made with the so-called suffix *anta* (fem. *antā* or *antī*), being evident transfers (Prakritic) of stems in *ant* to the *a*-declension.

Extremely few such words occur in the oldest language: namely, *pánta*, 'draught' (RV.), *vasantá*, 'spring' (RV.: beside it also *hemantá*, 'winter'); *veçantá* or *veçantī́*, 'tank' (AV.; ÇB. *veçā́ntā*); *jīvantī́*, a certain healing plant (RV.); and probably the proper name *tarantá* (RV.). A few others are instanced as admitted later: thus, *nandanta* and *nandayanta*, *gadayanta*, *jayanta*, *jaranta*, *prāṇanta*, etc.: all are said to be accented on the final.

A different extension of the same suffix is exhibited in the proper names *dhvasánti* and *çucantí* (RV.), with which may be mentioned *puruṣánti*.

1173. वांस् *vāṅs* (or वस् *vas*). For the (perfect active) participles made with this suffix, see above, chaps. X. and XIV., and **458** ff.

A few words of irregular and questionable formation were noticed at **462**, above. Also, apparent transfers to a form *us* or *uṣa*.

The oldest language (RV.) has a very few words in *vas*, of doubtful relations: *ṛbhvas*, 'seizing', and *çíkvas*, 'skilful' (beside words in *va* and *van*), and perhaps *khidvas* (√*khād*). The neuter abstract *várivas*, 'breadth, room' (belonging to *urú*, 'broad', in the same manner with *várīyas* and *varimán*), is quite isolated.

The unique *tatanúṣṭi* (RV., once) is possibly to be divided *tatanúṣ-ṭi*, and connected with this suffix.

1174. मान *māna*. The participles having this ending are, as has been seen, present and future only, and have the middle, or the derived passive, value belonging in general to the stems to which the suffix is attached.

1175. आन *āna*. The participles ending in आन *āna* are of middle and passive value, like those just noticed, and either present, perfect, or (partly with the form सान *sāna*: above, **897**) aorist.

A few other words ending in the same manner in the old language may be mentioned here. The RV. has the adjectives *vásavāna*, 'well-endowed', and *ūrdhvasānā́*, 'uplifted', evidently made on the model of participial stems. Also the proper names *ápnavāna*, *pṛ́thavāna*, and *cyávāna* and *cyávatāna*. *Párçāna*, 'abyss', is doubtful.

1176. त *ta*. The use of this suffix in forming participles directly from the root, or from a conjugational (not

a tense) stem, was explained above, chap. XIII. The participles thus made are in part intransitive, but in great part passive in value (like those made by the two preceding suffixes, but in much larger measure, and more decidedly).

For the frequent use of the connecting vowel *i* with the suffix, making its form *ita*, see also chap. XIII.

a. A few general adjectives, or nouns with concrete meaning, are adaptations of this participle. Examples are: *tṛṣṭá*, 'rough', *çītá*, 'cold', *dṛḍhá* (for *dṛḍhá*: **224 a**), 'firm'; *dūtá*, 'messenger', *sūtá*, 'charioteer'; *ṛtá*, 'right', *ghṛtá*, 'ghee', *jūtá*, 'kind', *dyūtá*, 'gambling', *nṛttá*, 'dance', *jīvitá*, 'life', *caritá*, 'behavior.'. The adjective *tigitá* (RV.), 'sharp', shows anomalous reversion of palatal to guttural before the *i* (**216**). *Vāvā́ta*, 'dear', is a single example from a reduplicated root.

b. Doubtless after the example and model of participles from denominative stems (of which, however, no instances are quotable from the Veda), derivatives in *ita* are in the later language made directly from noun and adjective-stems, having the meaning of 'endowed with, affected by, made to be', and the like (compare the similar English formation in *ed*, as *horned*, *barefooted*, *bluecoated*). Examples are *rathita*, 'furnished with a chariot', etc.

c. A few words ending in *ta* are accented on the radical syllable, and their relation to the participial derivatives is very doubtful: such are *ásta*, 'home', *márta*, 'mortal', *vā́ta*, 'wind'; and with them may be mentioned *gárta* (?), *nákta*, 'night', *hásta*, 'hand'.

d. Several adjectives denoting color end in *ita*, but are hardly connectible with roots of kindred meaning: thus, *palitá*, 'gray', *ásita*, 'black', *róhita* and *lóhita*, 'red', *hárita*, 'green'; akin with them are *éta*, 'variegated', *çyetá*, 'white'.

The feminines of these stems are in part irregular: thus, *énī* and *çyénī*; *róhiṇī* and *lóhinī*, and *háriṇī* (but the corresponding masc. *háriṇa* also occurs); and *ásiknī*, *páliknī*, and *háriknī*.

e. A small number of adjectives in the older language ending in *ata* are not to be separated from the participial words in *ta*, although their specific meaning is in part gerundive. They are: *pacatá*, 'cooked', *darçatá* and *paçyata*, 'seen, to be seen, worth seeing'; and so *yajatá*, *haryatá*, *bharatá*. The *y* of *paçyata* and *haryatá* indicates pretty plainly that the *a* also is that of a present tense-stem. *Rajatá*, 'silvery', is of more obscure relation to √*raj* 'color'.

1177. न *na* (and इन *ina*, उन *una*). The use of the suffix न *na* in forming from certain roots participles equivalent to those in त *ta*, either alongside the latter or instead of them, was explained above, chap. XIII. (**957**).

a. With the same suffix are made a number of general adjectives, and

of nouns of various gender (fem. in *nā*). The accent is on the suffix or on the root. A few examples are: *uṣṇá*, 'hot', *çuná*, 'fortunate', *áçna*, 'ravenous', *çvítna*, 'white'; masc. *praçná*, 'question', *yajñá*, 'offering', *ghṛṇá*, 'heat', *várṇa*, 'color', *svápna*, 'sleep'; neut. *parṇá*, 'wing', *rátna*, 'jewel' (?); fem. *tṛ́ṣṇā*, 'thirst', *yācñā́*, 'supplication'. But many of the stems ending in *na* are not readily connectible with roots. An antithesis of accent is seen in *kárṇa*, 'ear', and *karṇá*, 'eared'.

b. The very few words ending in *ina* are perhaps related with these (perhaps rather with those in *ana*): thus, *aminá*, 'violent', *vṛjiná*, 'crooked', *dákṣiṇa*, 'right', and one or two others of questionable etymology.

c. Of the words in *una*, few are clearly referable to roots: thus, *karúṇa*, 'action', *dharúṇa*, 'bearing', *-cetúna*, 'showing'; *árjuna*, 'white', *táruṇa*, 'young', *váruṇa*, 'Varuna'. In meaning and in accent they vary like the derivatives in *ana*.

These are all the proper participial endings of the language. The gerundives, later and earlier, are in so great part evident secondary formations, that they will be noticed farther on, under the head of secondary derivation.

We will take up now the other suffixes forming agent-nouns and adjectives, beginning with those which have more or less a participial value.

1178. उ *u*. With this suffix are made a considerable body of derivatives, of very various character — adjectives, and agent-nouns of all genders, with different treatment of the root, and with different accent. It is especially used with certain conjugational stems, desiderative (particularly later) and denominative (mainly earlier), making adjectives with the value of present participles; and in such use it wins in part the aspect of a secondary suffix.

The root has oftenest a weak (or weakened) form; but it is sometimes vriddhied; least often (when capable of *guṇa*), it has the *guṇa*-strengthening — all without any apparent connection with either accent or meaning or gender. After final radical *ā* is usually addded *y* (**258**) before the suffix. A few derivatives are made from the reduplicated root.

Many words ending in *u* are not readily, or not at all, connectible with roots; examples will be given only of those that have an obvious etymology.

a. Examples of ordinary adjectives are: *urú*, 'wide', *ṛjú*, 'straight', *pṛthú*, 'broad', *mṛdú*, 'soft', *sādhú*, 'good', *svādú*, 'sweet', *tápu*, 'hot', *vásu*, 'good'; *jāyú*, 'conquering', *dārú*, 'bursting'; *çayú*, 'lying', *rekú*, 'empty'; *dhāyú*, 'thirsty', *pāyú*, 'protecting'. Final *ā* appears to be lost before the suffix in *-sthu* (*suṣṭhú*, *anuṣṭhú*).

b. Examples of nouns are: masc. *aṅçú*, 'ray', *ripú*, 'deceiver', *vāyú*, 'wind-god', *ásu*, 'life', *mánu*, 'man, Manu'; fem. *íṣu* (also masc.), 'arrow', *síndhu* (also masc.), 'river'; *tanú*, 'body'.

c. Derivatives from reduplicated roots are: *cikitú*, *jigyú*, *siṣṇu*, *-tatnu* (unless this is made with *nu* or *tnu*), *yáyu* or *yayú* and *yíyu* (with final *ā* lost), *pípru* (proper name), *-dīdhayu;* and *babhrú*, *-raru (aráru)*, *malimlú* (?) have the aspect of being similar formations.

d. A few derivatives are made from roots with prefixes, with various accentuation: for example, *upāyú*, 'on-coming', *pramayú*, 'going to destruction', *viklíndu*, a certain disease, *abhī́çu*, 'rein (directer)', *sáṁvasu*, 'dwelling together'.

e. From tense-stems, apparently, are made *tanyú*, 'thundering', and (with aoristic *s*) *dákṣu* and *dhákṣu* (all RV.).

f. Participial adjectives in *ú* from desiderative "roots" (stems with loss of their final *a*) are sufficiently numerous in the ancient language (RV. has more than a dozen of them, AV. not quite so many) to show that the formation was already a regular one, extensible at will; and later such adjectives may be made from every desiderative. Examples (older) are: *ditsú*, *dipsú*, *cikitsú*, *titikṣú*, *pipīṣú*, *mumukṣú*, *çiçlikṣú;* and, with prefix, *abhidipsú*.

These adjectives, both earlier and later, may take an object in the accusative (**271a**).

g. A few similar adjectives are made in the older language from causatives: thus, *dhārayú* ('persistent'), *bhājayú*, *bhāvayú*, *maṅhayú*, *mandayú*, *çramayú;* and *mṛgayú* from the caus.-denom. *mṛgáya*.

h. Much more numerous, however, are such formations from the more proper denominatives, especially in the oldest language (RV. has toward eighty of them; AV. only a quarter as many, including six or eight which are not found in RV.; and they are still rarer in the Brāhmaṇas). In a majority of cases, personal verbal forms from the same denominative stem are in use: thus, for example, to *aghāyú*, *arātīyú*, *ṛjūyú*, *caraṇyú*, *manasyú*, *saniṣyú*, *uruṣyú*, *saparyú;* in others, only the present participle in *yánt*, or the abstract noun in *yā́* (**1149**), or nothing at all. A few are made upon denominative stems from pronouns: thus, *tvāyú* (beside *tvāyánt* and *tvāyā́*), *yuvayú* or *yuvāyú*, *asmayú*, *svayú*, and the more anomalous *ahaṁyú* and *kiṁyú*. Especially where no other denominative forms accompany the adjective, this has often the aspect of being made directly from the noun with the suffix *yu*, either with a meaning of 'seeking or desiring', or with a more general adjective sense: thus, *yavayú*, 'seeking grain', *varāhayú*, 'boar-hunting', *stanasyú*, 'desiring the breast'; *ūrṇāyú*, 'woolen', *yuvanyú*, 'youthful', *bhīmayú*, 'terrible'. And so the "secondary suffix *yu*" wins a degree of standing and application as one forming derivative adjectives (as in *ahaṁyú* and *kiṁyú*, above, and doubtless some others, even of the RV. words). In three RV. cases, the final *as* of a noun-stem is even changed to *o* before it: namely, *aṅhoyú*, *duvoyú* (and *duvoyā́;* beside *duvasyú*), *áskṛdhoyu*.

None of the words in *yu* show in the Veda resolution into *iu*.

1179. ऊ *ū*. The long *ū* is a vastly rarer suffix than the other long simple vowels, already described (**1149**, **1155**). It makes a small number of feminines corresponding to masculines in *u*, a very few independent feminines, and two or three very rare masculines: as to all which, see above, **355 c**.

1180. उक *uka*. With this suffix are made derivatives having the meaning and construction (**271 g**) of a present participle. The root is strengthened, and has the accent.

The derivatives in *uka* are hardly known in the Veda; but they become frequent in the Brāhmaṇas, of whose language they are a marked characteristic; and they are found occasionally in the later language. In all probability, they are originally and properly obtained by adding the secondary suffix *ka* (**1222**) to a derivative in *u;* but they have gained fully the character of primary formations, and in only an instance or two is there found in actual use an *u*-word from which they should be made.

The root is only so far strengthened that the radical syllable is a heavy (**79**) one; and it has the accent, whether the derivative is made from a simple root or from one with prefix.

a. Examples, from the Brāhmaṇa language, are: *vā́duka*, *nā́çuka*, *upakrā́muka*, *prapā́duka*, *upasthā́yuka* (**258**), *vyā́yuka*, *véduka*, *bhā́vuka*, *kṣódhuka*, *hā́ruka*, *vā́rṣuka*, *samā́rdhuka*, *dā́ṅçuka*, *ālambuka*, *çikṣuka* (GB.: RV. has *çikṣú*), *pramā́yuka* (ṢB. has *pramāyu*).

b. Exceptions as regards root-form are: *nirmā́rguka* (with *vṛddhi*-strengthening, as is usual with this root: **627**), *-kasuka*. AV. accents *sáṁkasuka* (ÇB. has *saṁkásuka*) and *víkasuka:* RV. has *sānuká* (which is its only example of the formation, if it be one; AV. has also *ghā́tuka* from √*han*, and *ápramāyuka*); *vasuká* (TS. et al.) is probably of another character. *Açanā́yuka* (PB. et al.) is the only example noticed from a conjugation-stem.

c. A formation in *ūka* (a suffix of like origin, perhaps, with *uka*) may be mentioned here: namely, from reduplicated roots, *jāgarū́ka*, 'wakeful', *dandaçū́ka*, 'biting', *yāyajū́ka*, 'sacrificing much', *vāvadūka* (later), 'talkative'; *salalū́ka* is questionable.

1181. अक *aka*. Here, as in the preceding case, we seem to have a suffix made by secondary addition of क *ka* to a derivative in अ *a;* but it has, for the same reason as the other, a right to be mentioned here. Its free use in the manner of a primary suffix is of still later date than that of *uka;* it has very few examples in the older language.

a. In RV. is found (besides *pāvaká*, which has a different accent, and which, as the metre shows, is usually to be pronounced *pavāka*) only *sā́yaka*, 'missile'; AV. adds *pī́yaka* and *vádhaka*, and VS. *abhikróçaka*. But in the later language such derivatives are common, usually with raising of the root-syllable by strengthening to heavy quantity: thus, *nāyaka*, *dāyaka* (**258**), *pācaka*, *grāhaka*, *drāvaka*, *bodhaka*; but also *janaka*, *khanaka*. They are declared by the grammarians to have the accent on the radical syllable. They often occur in copulative composition with gerundives of the same root: thus, *bhakṣyabhakṣaka*, 'eatable and eater', *vācyavācaka*, 'designated and designation', and so on.

That the derivatives in *aka* sometimes take an accusative object was pointed out above (**271c**).

The corresponding feminine is made sometimes in *akā* or in *akī*, but more usually in *ikā*: thus, *nāyikā* (with *nāyakā*), *pācikā*, *bodhikā*, *drāvikā*; compare secondary *aka*, below, **1222d**.

b. Derivatives in *āka* are said to be made from a few roots: thus, *jalpāka*, *bhikṣāka*; but they are not found in the Veda (unless in "*pāvaka*": see above), and appear to be very rare at every period. With *āku* is made in RV. *mṛdayā́ku*, from the causative stem: *pṛ́dāku* and the proper name *íkṣvāku* are of obscure connection.

Derivatives in *ika* and *īka* will be treated below, in connection with those in *ka* (**1186**).

1182. तृ *tṛ* (or तर् *tar*). The derivatives made by this suffix, as regards both their mode of formation and their uses, have been the subject of remark more than once above (see **369** ff., **942** ff.). Agent-nouns are formed with it at every period of the language; these in the oldest language are very frequently used participially, governing an object in the accusative (**271d**); later they enter into combination with an auxiliary verb, and, assuming a future meaning, make a periphrastic future tense (**942**).

Their corresponding feminine is in *trī*.

a. The root has uniformly the *guṇa*-strengthening. A union-vowel *i* (very rarely, one of another character) is often taken: as regards its presence or absence in the periphrastic future forms, see above (**943**).

Without *guṇa*-change is only *uṣṭṛ́*, 'plough-ox' (no proper agent-noun: apparently *ukṣ-tṛ́*: compare the nouns of relationship further on). The root *grah* has, as usual, *ī* — thus, *-grahītṛ́*; and the same appears in *-tarītṛ́* and *-marītṛ́*. An *u*-vowel is taken instead by *tárutṛ* and *tarutṛ́*, *dhánutṛ*, and *sánutṛ*; long in *varūtṛ́*; strengthened to *o* in *manótṛ* and *manotṛ́*. From a reduplicated root comes *vāvā́tṛ*.

b. The accent, in the older language, is sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the root; or, from roots combined with prefixes, sometimes on the suffix and sometimes on the prefix.

In general, the accent on the root or prefix accompanies the participial use of the word; but there are exceptions to this: in a very few instances (four), a word with accented suffix has an accusative object; very much more often, accent on the root appears along with ordinary noun value. The accent, as well as the form, of *manótṛ* is an isolated irregularity.

Examples are: *jétā dhánāni*, 'winning treasures'; *yūyám mártaṁ çrótāraḥ*, 'ye listen to a mortal'; but, on the other hand, *yaṁtā́ vásūni vidhaté*, 'bestowing good things on the pious'; and *jétā jánānām*, 'conqueror of peoples'.

c. The formation of these nouns in *tṛ* from conjugation-stems, regular and frequent in the later language, and not very rare in the Brāhmaṇas, is met with but once or twice in the Veda (*bodhayitṛ́* and *codayitrī́*, RV.). In *néṣṭṛ*, a certain priest (RV. and later), is apparently seen the aoristic *s*.

d. The words of relationship which, in whatever way, have gained the aspect of derivatives in *tṛ*, are *pitṛ́*, *mātṛ́*, *bhrā́tṛ*, *yā́tṛ*, *duhitṛ́*, *náptṛ*, *jā́mātṛ*. Of these, only *mātṛ́* and *yā́tṛ* are in accordance with the ordinary rules of the formation in *tṛ*.

e. Instead of *tṛ* is found *tur* in one or two RV. examples: *yaṁtúr*, *sthātúr*.

f. Apparently formed by a suffix *ṛ* (or *ar*) are *usṛ́*, *savyaṣṭhṛ*, *nánāndṛ*, *devṛ́*, the last two being words of relationship. For other words ending in *ṛ*, see **369**.

1183. इन् *in*. This is another suffix which has assumed a primary aspect and use, while yet evidently identical in real character with the frequent secondary suffix of the same form denoting possession (below, **1230**).

How far it had gained a primary value in the early language, is not easy to determine. Most of the words in *in* occurring in RV. and AV. are explainable as possessives; in many the other value is possible, and in a few it is distinctly suggested: thus, *kevalādín*, *bhadravādín*, *nitodín*, *āçārāiṣín*, *ánāmin*, *vivyādhín;* with aoristic *s*, *sakṣín;* and, with reduplication, *niyayín*. As the examples indicate, composition, both with prefixes and with other elements, is frequent; and, in all cases alike, the accent is on the suffix.

Later, the primary employment is unquestionable, and examples of it, chiefly in composition, are frequent. The radical syllable is usually strengthened, a medial *a* being sometimes lengthened and sometimes remaining unchanged. Thus, *satyavādin*, 'truth-speaking', *abhibhāṣin*, 'addressing', *manohārin*, 'soul-winning'. In *bhāvin* has established itself a prevailingly future meaning: 'about to be'.

The use of an accusative object with words in *in* was noticed above (**271 b**).

1184. ईयस् *īyas* and इष्ठ *iṣṭha*. These, which, from forming intensive adjectives corresponding to the adjective of root-form, have come to be used, within somewhat narrow limits, as suffixes of adjective comparison, have been already sufficiently treated above, under the head of comparison (**466—470**).

It may be further noticed that *jyéṣṭha* has in the older language (only two or three times in RV.) the accent also on the final, *jyeṣṭhá;* and that *pár̥ṣiṣṭha* is made from a secondary from of root, with aoristic *s* added.

When the comparative suffix has the abbreviated form *yas* (**470**), its *y* is never to be read in the Veda as *i*.

No other suffixes make derivatives having participial value otherwise than in rare and sporadic cases; those that remain, therefore, will be taken up mainly in the order of their frequency and importance.

1185. त्र *tra*. With this suffix are formed a very few adjectives, and a considerable number of nouns, mostly neuter, and often having a specialized meaning, as signifying the means or instrument of the action expressed by the root. The latter has usually the *guṇa*-strengthening, but sometimes remains unchanged. The accent is various, but more often on the radical syllable.

Here, as in certain other cases above, we have probably a suffix originally secondary, made by adding *a* to the primary *tr̥* or *tar* (**1182**); but its use is like that of a primary suffix.

a. Examples of neuter nouns are: *gátra*, 'limb', *páttra,* 'wing', *pátra*, 'cup', *yóktra*, 'bond', *vástra,* 'garment', *çrótra*, 'ear'; *astrá*, 'missile', *stotrá*, 'song of praise', *potrá,* 'vessel'; of more general meaning, *dáttra*, 'gift', *kṣétra*, 'field', *mútra*, 'urine', *hotrá,* 'sacrifice'. The words accented on the final have often an abstract meaning: thus, *kṣatrá*, 'authority', *rāṣṭrá,* 'kingdom', *çāstrá*, 'doctrine', *sattrá*, 'sacrificial session' (also *jñātrá*, 'knowledge').

b. Masculines are: *dáṅṣṭra*, 'tusk', *mántra,* 'prayer', *attrá* (or *atrá*: **232**), 'devourer', *úṣṭra*, 'buffalo, camel', and a few of questionable etymology, as *mitrá*, 'friend', *putrá*, 'son', *vr̥trá*, 'foe'. *Mitrá* and *vr̥trá* are sometimes neuters even in the Veda, and *mitra* comes later to be regularly of that gender.

c. Feminines (in *trā*) are: *áṣṭrā*, 'goad', *mátrā*, 'measure', *hótrā*, 'sacrifice' (beside *hotrá*), *daṅṣṭrā* (later, for *dáṅṣṭra*); *nāṣṭrá*, 'destroyer'.

d. Not seldom, a "union-vowel" appears before the suffix; but this is not usually the equivalent of the union-vowel used with *tr̥* (above, **1182 a**).

For the words in *itra* have the accent on *i:* thus, *arítra*, 'impelling, oar', *khanítra*, 'shovel', *pavítra*, 'sieve'; *janítra*, 'birth-place', *sanítra*, 'gift', etc.: the combination *ítra* has almost won the character of an independent suffix. The preceding vowel is also sometimes *a* (sometimes apparently of the present-stem): thus, *yájatra*, 'venerable', *kṛntátra*, 'shred', *gāyatrá* (f. *-trī́*), 'song', *pátatra*, 'wing'; but also *ámatra*, 'violent', *-kṛtatrá*, 'cutting-place', *vádhatra*, 'deadly weapon', and *varatrá*, 'strap'. *Tárutra*, 'overcoming', corresponds to *tarutṛ́*.

The words still used as adjectives in *tra* are mostly such as have union-vowels before the suffix. A single example from a reduplicated root is *johū́tra*, 'crying out'.

e. A word or two in *tri* and *tru* may be added here, as perhaps of kindred formation with those in *tra:* thus, *áttri*, 'devouring', *arcátri*, 'beaming'; *çátru* (*çáttru:* **232**), 'enemy'.

1186. क *ka.* The suffix क *ka* is of very common use in secondary derivation (below, **1222**); whether it is directly added to roots is almost questionable: at any rate, extremely few primary derivatives are made with it.

The words which have most distinctly the aspect of being made from roots are *çúṣka*, 'dry', *çlóka* (√*çru*, 'hear'), 'noise, report', etc., and *-sphāka*, 'teeming'; and *stúkā*, 'flake', and *stoká*, 'drop', seem to belong together to a root *stu.* Other words in *ka* are of obscure connections, for the most part.

But *ka* enters, in its value as secondary, into the composition of certain suffixes reckoned as primary: see *aka* and *uka* (above, **1180, 1181**).

A few words in which *ika* and *īka* seem added to a root, though they are really of a kindred formation with the preceding, may be most conveniently noticed here: thus, *vṛ́çcika* (√*vraçc*), 'scorpion'; *ánīka* (?), 'face', *dṛ́çīka*, 'aspect', *mṛḍīká*, 'grace', *vṛdhīká*, 'increaser', *á́çarīka* and *víçarīka*, 'gripes', *-ṛjīka*, 'beaming'; and, from reduplicated root, *parpharī́ka*, 'scattering' (?). Compare secondary suffix *ka* (below, **1222**).

1187. य *ya.* It is altogether probable that a part of the derivatives made with this suffix are not less entitled to be ranked as primary than many of those which are above so reckoned. Such, however, are with so much doubt and difficulty to be separated from the great mass of secondary derivatives made with the same suffix that it is preferred to treat them all together under the head of secondary formation (below, **1210—13**).

1188. र *ra.* With this suffix are made a considerable number of adjectives, almost always with weak root-form, and usually with accent on the suffix. Also, a few words used as nouns, of various gender.

In some cases, the suffix is found with a preceding vowel, having the aspect of a union-vowel.

a. Examples of adjectives in *ra* of obvious derivation are: *kṣiprá*, 'quick', *chidrá*, 'split', *turá*, 'strong', *bhadrá*, 'pleasing', *çakrá*, 'mighty', *çukrá*, 'bright', *hiṅsrá*, 'injurious'; — with accent on the root, *gṛ́dhra*, 'greedy', *dhī́ra*, 'wise' (secondary?), *vípra*, 'inspired'.

b. From roots with prefixes come only an example or two: thus, *nicirá*, 'attentive', *nímṛgra*, 'joining on'.

c. Nouns in *ra* are, for example: masc. *vīrá*, 'man', *vájra*, 'thunderbolt', *çū́ra*, 'hero'; neut. *kṣīrá*, 'milk', *riprá*, 'defilement'; fem. *dhā́rā*, 'stream', *súrā*, 'intoxicating drink'.

The forms of this suffix with preceding vowel may best be considered here, although some of them have nearly gained the value of independent endings. Thus:

d. With *ara* are made a few rare words: the adjectives *dravará*, 'running', *patará*, 'flying', (with prefix) *nyocará*, 'suiting'; and the neuters *gambhára*, 'depth', *tásara*, 'shuttle', *sánara*, 'gain': *bhārvará* and *vāsará* are doubtless of secondary formation; and the same thing may be plausibly conjectured of others.

e. With *ira* are made a few words, some of which are in common use: thus, *ajirá*, 'quick', *iṣirá*, 'lively', *madirá*, 'pleasing', *dhvasirá*, 'stirring up', *badhirá*, 'deaf'; perhaps *sthávira*, 'firm'; and *sthirá*, 'hard', and *sphirá*, 'fat', with displacement of final radical *ā*; also *sarirá*, 'wave' (usually *salilá*), and one or two other words of obscure derivation.

With *īra* are made *gabhīrá* or *gambhīrá*, 'profound', and *çávīra*, 'mighty'; and perhaps *çárīra*, 'body'.

f. With *ura* are made a few words, of which the secondary character is still more probable: thus, *aṅhurá* (*aṅhu-ra?*), 'narrow', *ásura* (*ásu-ra?*), 'living', *vithurá*, 'tottering', *yā́dura*, 'embracing'.

With *ūra*, apparently, is made *sthūrá*, 'stout' (compare *sthávira*).

1189. ल *la.* This suffix is only another form of the preceding, exchanging with it in certain words, in others prevalently or solely used from their first appearance.

Conspicuous examples of the interchange are *çuklá, sthūlá, -miçla, çithilá, salilá.*

Examples of the more independent use are: *pālá*, 'protecting', *ánila* (or *aníla*), 'wind', *tṛpála*, 'joyous'; later *capala* and *tarala* (said to be accented on the final), and *harṣula* (the same). Many words ending in *la* are of obscure etymology.

1190. व *va.* Very few words of clear derivation are made with this suffix — too few to be worth classifying. They are of various meaning and accent, and generally show a weak root-form.

Examples are: *ṛkvá*, 'praising', *pakvá*, 'ripe', *çikvá*, 'artful', *raṇvá*, 'joyful', *ūrdhvá*, 'lofty'; *vákva*, 'twisting'; *ūrvá*, 'stall', *sruvá*, 'spoon'; *éva*, 'quick, course', *áçva*, 'horse'.

The words in *va* exhibit only in sporadic cases resolution of the ending into *ua*.

1191. रि *ri*. With this suffix are formed, directly or with preceding *u*, a small number of derivatives.

Thus, for example: *çubhrí*, 'beautiful', *bhū́ri*, 'abundant'; and, with *uri*, *jásuri*, 'exhausted', *dā́çuri*, 'pious', *sáhuri*, 'mighty'; *aṅgúri* (or *aṅgúli*), 'finger'.

1192. रु *ru*. This suffix makes a few adjectives and neuter nouns, either directly or with a preceding vowel.

Thus: *dhārú*, 'sucking', *bhīrú*, 'timid', *cā́ru*, 'pleasant'; — with preceding *a*-vowel: *patáru*, 'flying', *vandā́ru*, 'praising', *píyāru*, 'scoffing', and (from causative stem, with *l* for *r*) *patayālú*, 'flying', *spṛhayālú*, 'desiring' (late); — with preceding *e*, *maderú*, 'rejoicing', *sanéru*, 'obtaining', and *péru* (of doubtful meaning).

1193. वि *vi*. By this suffix are made:

Two or three derivatives from reduplicated roots: *jā́gṛvi*, 'awake', *dā́dhṛvi*, 'sustaining', *dī́divi*, 'shining'; and a very few other words; *ghṛ́ṣvi*, 'lively', *dhruví*, 'firm' (and perhaps *jívri*, 'worn out', for *jirvi*: BR.).

Here may be mentioned *cikitvít* (RV., once), apparently made with a suffix *vit* from a reduplicated root-form.

1194. स्नु *snu*. With this suffix, with or without a union-vowel, are made a few adjective derivatives from roots, but still more from causative stems.

a. From simple roots: direct, *jiṣṇú*, 'victorious', *daṅkṣṇú*, 'biting', *bhūṣṇu*, 'thriving', *ni-ṣatsnú*, 'sitting down', *sthāsnu*, 'fixed'; with union-vowel *i*, *cariṣṇú*, 'wandering', *rociṣṇú*, 'shining', *gamiṣṇú* (TB.), 'going', *-mariṣṇu*, 'mortal', *pra-janiṣṇú*, 'generating'.

b. From causative stems: for example, *cyāvayiṣṇú* (AV.), 'setting in motion', *pārayiṣṇú*, 'rescuing', *poṣayiṣṇú*, 'causing to thrive', *abhi-çocayiṣṇú* 'attacking with heat', *pra-janayiṣṇu* (K.), 'generating'.

c. It seems not unlikely that the *s* of this suffix is originally that of a stem, to which *nu* is added. Such a character is still apparent in *kraviṣṇú* 'craving raw flesh (*kravis*)'; and also in *vadhasnu*, 'murderous', and *vṛdh-asnú* (?), 'thriving'.

1195. स्न *sna*. Extremely few words have this ending.

It is seen in *tīkṣṇá*, 'sharp', and perhaps in *çlakṣṇá*, and *-rūkṣṇa*; and in *deṣṇá* (usually trisyllabic: *daïṣṇa*), 'gift'. Unless in the last, it is not found preceded by *i*; but it has (like *snu*, above) *a* before it in *vadhasná*, 'deadly weapon', *karásna*, 'fore-arm'.

1196. तु *tnu.* This suffix is used nearly in the same way with स्नु *snu* (above, **1194**).

a. As used with simple roots, the *t* is generally capable of being considered the adscititious *t* after a short root-final, to which *nu* is then added: thus, *kṛtnú*, 'active', *hatnú*, 'deadly', *-tatnu*, 'stretching'; and, from reduplicated roots, *jigatnú*, 'hasting', and *jighatnú*, 'harming'; but also *dartnú*, 'bursting'. Also, with union-vowel, *dravitnú*, 'running'.

b. With causative stems: for example, *drāvayitnú*, 'hasting', *mādayitnú*, 'intoxicating', *stanayitnú*, 'thunder', *-āmayitnú*, 'sickening'.

c. With preceding *a*, in *pīyatnú*, 'scoffing', *ā-rujatnú*, 'breaking into'; and *kavatnú*, 'miserly' (obscure derivation).

1197. स *sa.* The words ending in suffixal स *sa,* with or without preceding union-vowel, are a heterogeneous group, and in considerable part of obscure derivation. A few examples are:

a. With *sa* simply: *jeṣá*, 'winning' (aoristic *s?*), *rukṣá*, 'shining'; *útsa*, n., 'fountain'; *bhīṣā́*, f., 'fear' (rather from the secondary root *bhīṣ*).

b. With preceding *i*-vowel: *taviṣá* (f. *táviṣī*), 'strong', *mahiṣá* (f. *máhiṣī*), 'mighty', *bhariṣá* (?), 'seeking booty'; *manīṣā́*, f., 'devotion'.

c. With preceding *u*-vowel: *aruṣá* (f. *áruṣī*), 'red', *açúṣa*, 'ravenous', *táruṣa*, 'overcomer', *púruṣa* and *mánuṣa* (*-us-a?*), 'man'; *pīyū́ṣa*, 'biestings'.

1198. असि *asi.* A few words in the oldest language are made with a suffix having this form (perhaps made by the addition of *i* to *as*).

Thus, *atasí*, 'vagabond', *dharṇasí*, 'firm', *sānasí*, 'winning'; and *dhāsí*, m., 'drink', f., 'station'.

1199. अभ *abha.* A few names of animals, for the most part of obscure derivation, show this ending.

Thus, *vṛṣabhá* and *ṛṣabhá*, 'bull', *çarabhá*, a certain fabulous animal, *çerabha*, a certain snake, *gardabhá* and *rāsabhá*, 'ass'. AV. has the adjective *sthūlabhá*, equivalent to *sthūlá*.

1200. a. अत् *at,* इत् *it,* उत् *ut,* ऋत् *ṛt.* All the words with these endings were mentioned above (**383 d**). They have traceable root-connection only in part: those in *at* are probably related to the participles in *ant.*

b. अद् *ad.* The words in *ad* are also given above (ibid.).

c. अज् *aj,* इज् *ij,* उज् *uj.* The words with these endings were given at the same place (to be added is *bhiṣáj,* 'healer', of which the etymology is disputed): *tṛṣṇáj* appears to be a secondary derivative, from *tṛ́ṣṇā,* 'thirst'.

1201. A number of other primary suffixes are either set up by the grammarians and supported with examples of questionable value, or doubtfully deducible from isolated words traceable to known roots, or from words of obscure connection.

A few such may be mentioned here: *aṇḍa* in *karaṇḍa* and *vâraṇḍa* and certain unquotable words (prakritized *a*-forms from the present participle); *era* and *ora* in unquotable words, and *elima* (above, **966d**: perhaps a further derivative with secondary *ima* from *era*); *mara* (*ma* or *man* with secondary *ra* added) in *ghasmara* etc.; — *sara* in *matsarâ*, *kara* in *pûṣkara* and other obscure words, *pa* in *pûṣpa* and a number of other obscure words; and so on.

B. Secondary Derivatives.

1202. Words of secondary derivation are made by the addition of further suffixes to stems already ending in evident suffixes.

But also, as pointed out above (**1137—8**), to pronominal roots, and to verbal prefixes and a few other indeclinable words.

1203. Changes of the stem. The stem to which the suffix is added is liable to certain changes of form.

a. Before a suffix beginning with a vowel or with *y* (which in this respect is treated as if it were *i*), final *a* and *i*-vowels are regularly lost altogether, while a final *u*-vowel has the *guṇa*-strengthening and becomes *av; ṛ* and *o* and *āu* (all of rare occurrence) are treated in accordance with usual euphonic rule.

An *u*-vowel also sometimes remains unstrengthened.

b. A final *n* is variously treated, being sometimes retained and sometimes lost, even along with a preceding *a;* and sometimes an *a* is lost, while the *n* remains: thus, *vṛṣaṇvant, vṛṣaṇa, vṛṣa, vṛṣatva, vṛṣṇya,* from *vṛṣan*. Of a stem ending in *ant*, the weak form, in *at*, is regularly taken: thus, *vāivasvata (vivasvant)*.

Other alterations of a final are sporadic only.

1204. The most frequent change in secondary derivation is the *vṛddhi*-strengthening of an initial syllable of the stem to which a suffix is added.

The strengthened syllable may be of any character: radical, of a prefix, or of the first member of a compound: thus, *āçviná (açvín), sāumyá (sóma), pā́rthiva (pṛthivī́), āmitrá (amítra), sā́mrājya (samrā́j), sāúkṛtya (sukṛtá), māitrāvaruṇá (mitrā́váruṇā), āuccāiḥçravasá (uccā́iḥçravas)*. As to the accompanying accent, see the next paragraph.

a. If a stem begins with a consonant followed by *y* or *v*, the semivowel is usually vriddhied, as if it were *i* or *u*, and the resulting *āi* or *āu* has *y* or *v* further added before the succeeding vowel.

This is most frequent where the *y* or *v* belongs to a prefix — as *ni, vi, su* — altered before a following initial vowel: thus, *nāiyāyika* from

nyāya (as if *niyāya*), *vāiyaçvá* from *vyàçva* (as if *víyaçva*), *sāúvaçvya* from *sváçva* (as if *suvaçva*); but it occurs also in other cases, as *sāuvará* from *svára*, *çāuva* from *çvan*, against *svāyambhuva* (*svayambhū*), and so on.

AV. has irregularly *kāverakā́* from *kúvera* (as if from *kvèra*, without the euphonic *y* inserted).

b. This strengthening takes place especially, and very often, before the suffixes *a* and *ya;* also regularly before *i*, *āyana* (with *āyani* and *kāyani*), *eya* (with *ineya*), and later *īya;* before the compound *aka* and *ika*, and later *aki;* and, in single sporadic examples, before *na*, *ena*, *īna*, *ra*, and *tva* (?): see these various suffixes below.

c. In a few exceptional cases, both members of a compound word have the initial *vṛddhi*-strengthening: thus, for example, *sāumāpāuṣṇá* (VS.: *somāpūṣán*), *kāúrupāñcāla* (ÇB., GB.: *kurupañcāla*), *cāturvāidya* (*caturveda*), *āihalāukika* (*ihaloka*). Again, the second member of a compound instead of the first is occasionally thus strengthened: for example, *çatáçārada* (RV., AV.), *pañcaçāradī́ya* (TB. etc.), *somārāudra* (TS.), *trisāhasrī*, *daçasāhasra*, *pūrvavārṣika* (not quotable), *caturādhyāya*, *gurulāghava.*

The *guṇa*-strengthening (except of a final *u*-vowel: above, **1203 a**) is nowhere an accompaniment of secondary derivation: for an apparent exception or two, see **1209 h, i**.

1205. Accent. The derivatives with initial *vṛddhi*-strengthening always have their accent on either the first or the last syllable. And usually, it is laid, as between these two situations, in such a way as to be furthert removed from the accent of the primitive; yet, not rarely, it is merely drawn down upon the suffix from the final of the latter; much less often, it remains upon an initial syllable without change. Only in the case of one or two suffixes is the distinction between initial and final accent connected with any difference in the meaning and use of the derivatives (see below, suffix *eya:* **1216**).

No other general rules as to accent can be given. Usually the suffix takes the tone, or else this remains where it was in the primitive; quite rarely, it is thrown back to the initial syllable (as in derivation with initial *vṛddhi*); and in a single case (*tā:* **1237**), it is drawn down to the syllable preceding the suffix.

1206. Meaning. The great mass of secondary suffixes are adjective-making: they form from nouns adjectives indicating appurtenance or relation, of the most indefinite and varied character. But, as a matter of course, this indefiniteness often undergoes specialization: so, particularly, into designation of procedure or descent, so that distinctive patronymic and metronymic and gentile words are the result; or, again, into the designation of possession. Moreover, while the masculines and feminines of such adjectives are employed as appellatives, the neuter is also widely used as an abstract, denoting the quality

expressed attributively by the adjective; and neuter abstracts are with the same suffixes made from adjectives. There are also special suffixes (very few) by which abstracts are made directly, from adjective or noun.

A few suffixes make no change in the part of speech of the primitive, but either change its degree (diminution and comparison), or make other modifications, or leave its meaning not sensibly altered.

1207. The suffixes will be taken up below in the following order. First, the general adjective-making suffixes, beginning with those of most frequent use (*a, ya* and its connections, *i, ka*); then, those of specific possessive value (*in*, *vant* and *mant*, and their connections); then, the abstract-making ones (*tā* and *tva*, and their connections); then, the suffixes of comparison etc.; and finally, those by which derivatives are made only or almost only from particles.

1208. अ *a*. With this suffix are made a very large class of derivatives, from nouns or from adjectives having a noun-value. Such derivatives are primarily and especially adjectives, denoting 'having a relation or connection (of the most various kind) with' that denoted by the more primitive word. But they are also freely used substantively; the masculine and feminine as appellatives, the neuter, especially and frequently, as abstract. Often they have a patronymic or gentile value.

The regular and greatly prevailing formation is that which is accompanied with *vṛddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable of the primitive word, simple or compound. Examples of this formation are:

a. From primitives ending in consonants: with the usual shift of accent, *āyasá*, 'of metal' (*áyas*), *mānasá*, 'relating to the mind' (*mánas*), *sāumanasá*, 'friendliness' (*sumánas*), *brāhmaṇá*, 'priest' (*bráhman*), *hāimavatá*, 'from the Himalaya' (*himávant*), *āṅgirasá*, 'of the Angiras family' (*áṅgiras*); *hā́stina*, 'elephantine' (*hastín*), *mā́ruta*, 'pertaining to the Maruts' (*marút*); — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the suffix, *çāradá*, 'autumnal', *vāirājá*, 'relating to the *virā́j*', *pāuṣṇá*, 'belonging to Pushán'; *gairikṣitá*, 'son of Girikshít'; — with accent unchanged, *mā́nuṣa*, 'descendant of Mánus'.

The suffix is added (as above instanced) to the middle stem-form of stems in *vant;* it is added to the weakest in *mā́ghona* and *vā́rtraghna;* the ending *in* remains unchanged; *an* usually does the same, but sometimes loses

its *a*, as in *pāuṣṇá*, *trāivṛṣṇá*, *dāçarājñá;* and sometimes its *n*, as in *brāhmá*, *āukṣá*, *bārhatsāma.*

b. From primitives in *ṛ:* *jāítra*, 'victorious' (*jetṛ́* or *jétṛ*, 'conqueror'), *tvāṣṭrá*, 'relating to Tváshtar', *sāvitrá*, 'descendant of the sun' (*savitṛ́*).

c. From primitives in *u:* usually with *guṇa*-strengthening of the *u*, as *vāsavá*, 'relating to the Vásus', *ārtavá*, 'concerning the seasons' (*ṛ́tu*), *dānavá*, 'child of Danu' (*dā́nu*), *sāindhavá*, 'from the Indus' (*síndhu*); — but sometimes without, as *mā́dhva*, 'full of sweets' (*mádhu*), *pārçvá*, 'side' (*párçu*, 'rib'), *pāidvá*, 'belonging to Pedú', *tā́nva*, 'of the body' (*tanū́*).

d. From primitives in *i* and *ī*, which vowels are supplanted by the added suffix: *pā́rthiva*, 'earthly' (*pṛthivī́*), *sārasvatá*, 'of the Sárasvatī', *āindrāgná*, 'belonging to Indra and Agni' (*indrāgnī́*); *pā́ñkta*, 'five-fold' (*pañktí*), *nāirṛtá*, 'belonging to *Nírṛti*':— but *āvayá*, 'barrenness' (if from *a-vī*).

e. From primitives in *ā*, which in like manner disappears: *yāmuná*, 'of the Yamunā', *sāraghá*, 'honey' etc. (*sarághā*, 'bee'), *kānīná*, 'natural child' (*kanī́nā*, 'girl').

f. A large number (nearly as many as all the rest together) from primitives in *a*, of which the final is replaced by the suffix: for example, with the usual shift of accent, *āmitrá*, 'inimical' (*amítra*, 'enemy'), *vāruṇá*, 'of Váruṇa', *vāiçvadevá*, 'belonging to all the gods' (*viçvádeva*), *nāirhastá*, 'handlessness' (*nírhasta*), *vāiyaçvá*, 'descendant of Vyàçva'; *gā́rdabha*, 'asinine' (*gardabhá*), *dāíva*, 'divine' (*devá*), *mā́dhyandina*, 'meridional' (*madhyándina*), *pāútra*, 'grandchild' (*putrá*, 'son'), *sāúbhaga*, 'good fortune' (*subhága*), *vā́dhryaçva*, 'of Vadhryaçvá's race'; — with unchanged accent (comparatively few), *vāsantá*, 'vernal' (*vasantá*, 'spring'), *māitrá*, 'Mitrá's', *ātithigvá*, 'of Atithigvá's race', *dāívodāsa*, 'Dívodasa's'.

The derivatives of this form are sometimes regarded as made by internal change, without added suffix. Considering, however, that other final vowels are supplanted by this suffix, that *a* disappears as stem-final also before various other suffixes of secondary derivation, and that no examples of derivation without suffix are quotable from primitives of any other final than *a*, it seems far too violent to assume here a deviation from the whole course of Indo-European word-making.

1209. The derivatives made by adding अ *a* without *vṛddhi*-change of the initial syllable are not numerous, and are in considerable part, doubtless, of inorganic make, results of the transfer to an *a*-declension of words of other finals.

a. A number of examples of stems in *a* made by transfer were noticed above (**399**). The cases of such transition occur most frequently in composition: thus, further, *apa-* (for *ap* or *āp*, 'water'), *-ṛca*, *-nara*, *-patha*, *-gava*, *-diva;* from stems in *an*, *-adhva*, *-astha*, *-aha*, *-vṛṣa*, but also *-ahna* and *-vṛṣṇa* and *vṛ́ṣaṇa;* from stems in *i*, *-añgula* and *-rātra;* from the weakest forms of *añc*-stems (**407**) *uccá*, *nīcá*, *parācá*.

b. Also occurring especially in composition, yet likewise as simple words

often enough to have an independent aspect, are derivatives in *a* from nouns in *as* (rarely *is*, *us*): thus, for example, *tamasá*, *rajasá*, *payasá*, *brahmavarcasá*, *sarvavedasá*, *devāinasá*, *paruṣá*, *tryāyuṣá*.

c. Similar derivatives from adjectives in *in* are reckoned by the grammarians as made with the suffix *ina:* thus, *malina*, 'polluted', *çṛñgina*, 'horned' (not quotable). The only Vedic instance noted is *parameṣṭhína* (AV.).

d. From *añc*-stems (**407**) are made a few nouns in *ka:* thus, *ánūka*, *ápāka*, *upā́ka*, *prátīka*, *parākā́*, etc.

e. From stems in *ṛ*, *neṣṭrá*, *potrá*, *praçāstrá*, from titles of priests.

f. Other scattering cases are: *savidyutá*, *āvyuṣá*, *vī́rudha*, *kákuda*, *kakubhá*.

g. The Vedic gerundives in *tva* (*tua*) have been already (**966 a**) pointed out as made by addition of *a* to abstract noun-stems in *tu*.

h. *Trayá* and *dvayá* come with *guṇa*-strengthening from numeral stems; *náva*, 'new', perhaps in like manner from *nú*, 'now'; and *ántara* from *antár* (?).

i. *Bheṣajá*, 'medicine', is from *bhiṣáj*, 'healer', with *guṇa*-change; and perhaps *devá*, 'heavenly, divine, god', in like manner from *div* (compare *āvayá*, above, **1208 d**).

One or two cases have been noticed above, in which the addition of *a* to another suffix has made a seemingly independent suffix.

1210. य *ya*. With this suffix are made a very large class of words, both in the old language and later.

The derivatives in *ya* exhibit a great and perplexing variety of form, connection, and application; and the relations of the suffix to others containing a *ya*-element — *iya*, *īya*, *eya*, *āyya*, *eyya*, *enya* — are also in part obscure and difficult. In the great majority of instances in the oldest language, the *ya* when it follows a consonant is dissyllabic in metrical value, or is to be read as *ia*. Thus, in RV., 266 words (excluding compounds) have *ia*, and only 75 have *ya* always; 46 are to be read now with *ia* and now with *ya*, but many of these have *ya* only in isolated cases. As might be expected, the value *ia* is more frequent after a heavy syllable: thus, in RV., there are 188 examples of *ia* and 27 of *ya* after such a syllable, and 78 of *ia* and 96 of *ya* after a light syllable (the circumflexed *yà* — that is to say, *ía* — being, as will be pointed out below, more liable to the resolution than *ya* or *yá*). It must be left for further researches to decide whether in the *ya* are not included more than one suffix, with different accent, and different quantity of the *i*-element; or with an *a* added to a final *i* of the primitive. It is also matter for question whether there is a primary as well as a secondary suffix *ya;* the suffix at least comes to be used as if primary, in the formation of gerundives: but it is quite impossible to separate the derivatives into two such classes, and it has seemed preferable therefore to treat them all together here.

The derivatives made with *ya* may be first divided into those which do and those which do not show an accompanying *vṛddhi*-increment of the initial syllable.

1211. Derivatives in य *ya* with initial *vṛddhi*-strengthening follow quite closely, in form and meaning, the analogy of those in अ *a* (above, **1208**). They are, however, decidedly less common than the latter (in Veda, about three fifths as many).

Examples are: with the usual shift of accent, *dāívya*, 'divine' (*devá*), *pā́litya*, 'grayness' *(palitá)*, *grāívya*, 'cervical' *(grīvā́)*, *ā́rtvijya*, 'priestly office' *(ṛtvíj)*, *gā́rhapatya*, 'householder's' *(gṛhápati)*, *jā́narājya*, 'kingship' *(janarā́j)*, *sā́ṅgrāmajitya*, 'victory in battle' *(saṅgrāmajít)*, *sāúvaçvya*, 'wealth in horses' *(sváçva)*, *āúpadraṣṭrya*, 'witness' *(upadraṣṭṛ́)*; *ādityá*, 'Aditya' *(áditi)*, *sāumyá*, 'relating to *sóma*', *ātithyá*, 'hospitality' *(átithi)*, *prājāpatyá*, 'belonging to Prajápati', *vāimanasyá*, 'mindlessness' *(vímanas)*, *sā́hadevya*, 'descendant of Sahadeva'; — with accent thrown forward from the final upon the ending, *lāukyá*, 'of the world' *(loká)*, *kāvyá*, 'of the Kaví-race', *ārtvyá*, 'descendant of Ritú', *vāyavyá*, 'belonging to the wind' *(vāyú)*, *rāivatyá*, 'wealth' *(revánt)*: — with unchanged accent (very few), *ā́dhipatya*, 'lordship' *(ádhipati)*, *çrāíṣṭhya*, 'excellence' *(çréṣṭha)*, *vāíçya*, 'belonging to the third class' (*víç*, 'people'), *pāúṅsya*, 'manliness' *(púṅs)*.

The AV. has once *nāirbādhyà*, with circumflexed final; if not an error, it is doubtless made through *nāirbādha*; *vāiṣṇavyāù* (VS. i. 12) appears to be dual fem. of *vāiṣṇavī́*.

1212. Derivatives in य *ya* without initial *vṛddhi*-strengthening are usually adjectives, much less often (neuter, or, in या *yā*, feminine) abstract nouns. They are made from every variety of primitive, and are very numerous (in Veda, three or four times as many as the preceding class).

The general mass of these words may be best divided according to their accent, into: **a.** Words retaining the accent of the primitive; **b.** Words with retracted accent; **c.** Words with acute *yá (iá)*; **d.** Words with circumflexed *yà (ìa)*. Finally may be considered the words, gerundives and action-nouns, which have the aspect of primary derivatives.

a. Examples of derivatives in *ya* retaining the accent of their primitives are: *áçvya*, 'equine' *(áçva)*, *áñgya*, 'of the limbs' *(áñga)*, *múkhya*, 'foremost' (*múkha*, 'mouth'), *ávya*, 'ovine' *(ávi)*, *gávya*, 'bovine' *(gó)*, *víçya*, 'of the people' *(víç)*, *dúrya*, 'of the door' *(dúr)*, *nárya*, 'manly' *(nṛ́)*, *vṛ́ṣṇya*, 'virile' *(vṛ́ṣan)*, *svarā́jya*, 'autocracy' *(svarā́j)*, *suvī́rya*, 'wealth in retainers' *(suvī́ra)*, *viçvádevya*, 'of all the gods' *(viçvádeva)*, *mayū́raçepya*, 'peacock-tailed'.

In the last word, and in a few others, the *ya* appears to be used (like *ka*, **1222** c, 2; *yà*, **1212** d, 5) as a suffix simply helping to make a possessive compound: so *suhástya* (beside the equivalent *suhásta*), *mádhuhastya*, *dáçamāsya*, *miçrádhānya*.

b. Examples with retraction of the accent to the first syllable (as in derivation with *vṛddhi*-increment) are: *kánṭhya*, 'guttural' *(kaṇṭhá)*, *skándhya*, 'humeral' *(skandhá)*, *vrátya*, 'of a ceremony' *(vratá)*, *méghya*, 'in the clouds' *(meghá)*, *pítrya*, 'of the Fathers' *(pitṛ́)*, *prátijanya*, 'adverse' *(pratijaná)*. *Hiraṇyáya*, 'of gold' *(híraṇya)*, is anomalous both in drawing the accent forward, and in retaining the final *a* of the primitive.

c. Examples with acute accent on the suffix are: *divyá*, 'heavenly' *(div)*, *satyá*, 'true' *(sánt)*, *vyāghryá*, 'tigrine' *(vyāghrá)*, *kavyá*, 'wise' *(kaví)*; *grāmyá*, 'of the village' *(grā́ma)*, *somyá*, 'relating to the *sóma*', *bhūmyá*, 'earthly' *(bhū́mi)*, *sakhyá*, friendship' *(sákhi)*, *jāspatyá*, 'headship of a family' *(jā́spati)*.

d. Of derivatives ending in circumflexed *yà* (which in the Veda are considerably more numerous than all the three preceding classes together), examples are as follows:

1. From consonant-stems: *viçyà*, 'of the clan' (RV.: *víç*), *hṛdyà*, 'of the heart' *(hṛ́d)*, *vidyutyà*, 'of the lightning' *(vidyút)*, *rājanyà*, 'of the royal class' *(rā́jan)*, *doṣaṇyà*, 'of the arm' *(doṣán)*, *çīrṣaṇyà*, 'of the head' *(çīrṣán)*, *karmaṇyà*, 'active' *(kárman)*, *dhanvanyà*, 'of the plain' *(dhánvan)*, *namasyà*, 'reverend' *(námas)*, *tvacasyà*, 'cuticular' *(tvácas)*, *barhiṣyà*, 'of *barhís*', *āyuṣyà*, 'giving life' *(ā́yus)*, *bhasadyà*, 'of the buttocks' *(bhasád)*, *prācyà*, 'eastern' *(prā́ñc)*, etc. Of exceptional formation is *aryamyà* 'intimate' *(aryamán)*.

2. From *u*-stems: *hanavyà*, 'of the jaws' *(hánu)*, *vāyavyà*, 'belonging to Vāyú', *paçavyà*, 'relating to cattle' *(paçú)*, *iṣavyà*, 'relating to arrows' *(íṣu)*; *çaravyā̀*, f., 'arrow' (*çáru*, do.); and there may be added *nāvyà*, 'navigable' (especially in fem., *nāvyā̀*, 'navigable stream': *nāú*, 'boat').

Under this head belong, as was pointed out above (chap. XIV., **964**), the so-called gerundives in *tavyà* (later *távya*), as made by the addition of *yà* to the infinitive noun in *tu*. They are wholly wanting in the oldest language, and hardly found in later Vedic, although still later *tavya* wins the value of a primary suffix, and makes numerous derivatives. The RV. has *prāçavyà*, 'to be partaken of' *(pra + √aç)*, without any corresponding noun *prāçu*; and also *ūrjavyà*, 'rich in nourishment' *(ūrj)*, without any intermediate *ūrju*.

3. From *i* and *ī*-stems hardly any examples are to be quoted. VS. has *dundubhyà* from *dundubhí*.

4. From *a*-stems: *svargyà*, 'heavenly' *(svargá)*, *devatyà*, 'relating to a deity' *(devátā)*, *prapathyà*, 'guiding' *(prapathá)*, *budhnyà*, 'fundamental' *(budhná)*, *jaghanyà*, 'hindmost' *(jaghána)*, *varuṇyà*, 'Váruna's', *vīryà*, 'might' *(vīrá)*, *udaryà*, 'abdominal' *(udára)*, *utsyà*, 'of the fountain' *(útsa)*; and from *ā*-stems, *urvaryà*, 'of cultivated land' *(urvárā)*, *svāhyà*, 'relating to the exclamation *svā́hā*'.

The circumflexed *yà* is more generally resolved (into *ía*) than the other forms of the suffix: thus, in RV. it is never to be read as *ya* after a heavy syllable ending with a consonant; and even after a light one it becomes *ía* in more than three quarters of the examples.

5. There are a few cases in which *yà* appears to be used to help make

a compound with governing preposition (next chapter, **1310**): thus, *apikakṣyà*, 'about the arm-pit', *upapakṣyà*, 'upon the sides', *udāpyà*, 'up stream'; and perhaps *upatṛṇyà*, 'lying in the grass' (occurs only in voc.). But, with other accent, *ánvāntrya*, 'through the entrails', *úpamāsya*, 'on each month'; *abhinabhyá*, 'up to the clouds', *ádhigartya*, 'on the chariot floor'.

1213. The derivatives in य *ya* as to which it may be questioned whether they are not, a least in part, primary derivatives from the beginning, are especially the gerundives, together with action-nouns coincident with these in form; in the later language, the gerundive-formation (above, **963**) comes to be practically a primary one.

a. In RV. occur about 40 instances of gerundives in *ya*, of tolerably accordant form: the root usually unstrengthened (but *cétya*, *bhávya*, *-hávya*, *márjya*, *yódhya;* also *-mā́dya*, *-vā́cya*, *bhāvyá);* the accent on the radical syllable when the word is simple, or compounded with prepositions: thus, *praçásya*, *upasádya*, *vihávya* (but usually on the final after the negative prefix: thus, *anāpyá*, *anapavṛjyá)* — exceptions are only *bhāvyá* and the doubtful *ākāyyà;* the *ya* resolved into *ia* in the very great majority of occurrences; a final short vowel followed by *t* (in *-ítya*, *-kṛtya*, *-çrútya*, *-stútya*, and the reduplicated *carkṛ́tya*, beside *carkṛ́ti:* not in *návya* and *-hávya)*, and *ā* changed to *e* (in *-deya* only). If regarded as secondary, they might be made with *ya*, in accordance with other formations by this suffix, in part from the root-noun, as *anukṛ́t-ya*, in part from derivatives in *a*, as *bhāvyá* (from *bhāva*).

b. The AV. has a somewhat smaller number (about 25) of words of a like formation; but also a considerable group (fifteen) of derivatives in *yà* with the same value: thus, for example, *ādyà*, 'eatable', *kāryà*, to be done', *samāpyà*, 'to be obtained', *atitāryà*, 'to be overpassed', *nīvibhāryà*, 'to be carried in the apron', *prathamavāsyà*, 'to be first worn'. These seem more markedly of secondary origin: and especially such forms as *parivargyà*, 'to be avoided', *avimokyá*, 'not to be gotten rid of', where the guttural reversion clearly indicates primitives in *ga* and *ka* (**216**. 6).

c. Throughout the older language are of common occurrence neuter abstract nouns of the same make with the former of these classes. They are rarely found except in composition (in AV., only *cítya* and *stéya* as simple), and are often used in the dative, after the manner of a dative infinitive. Examples are: *brahmajyéya*, *vasudéya*, *bhāgadhéya*, *pū́rvapéya*, *çataséya*, *abhibhū́ya*, *devahū́ya*, *mantraçrútya*, *karmakṛ́tya*, *vṛtratū́rya*, *hotṛvū́rya*, *ahihátya*, *sattrasádya*, *çīrṣabhídya*, *brahmacárya*, *nṛṣáhya*. Of exceptional form are *ṛtódya* (√*vad*) and *sahaçéyya* (√*çī*); of exceptional accent, *sadhástutya*. And AV. has one example, *raṇyà*, with circumflexed final.

d. Closely akin with these, in meaning and use, is a small class of feminines in *yā́:* thus, *kṛtyā́*, *vidyā́*, *ityā́*, *muṣṭihatyā́*, *devayajyā́*, and a few others.

e. There remain, of course, a considerable number of less classifiable words, both nouns and adjectives, of which a few from the older language may be mentioned, without discussion of their relations: thus, *sū́rya* (with fem. *sūryā́*), *ā́jya*, *púṣya*, *nā́bhya*; *yújya*, *gṛ́dhya*, *írya*, *aryá* and *ā́rya*, *márya*, *mádhya*.

The suffixes apparently most nearly akin with *ya* may best be next taken up.

1214. इय *iya*. This suffix is virtually identical with the preceding, being but another written form of the same thing. It is used only after two consonants, where the direct addition of *ya* would create a combination of difficult utterance.

It has the same variety of accent with *ya*. Thus:

a. With accent *íya* (= *ía* or *yà*): for example, *abhríya*, 'from the clouds' (*abhrá*), *kṣatríya*, 'having authority' (*kṣatrá*), *yajñíya*, 'reverend' (*yajñá*), *hotríya*, 'libational' (*hótrā*).

b. With accent *iyá* (= *yá*): for example, *agriyá*, 'foremost' (*ágra*), *indriyá*, 'Indra's' (later, 'sense': *índra*), *kṣetriyá*, 'of the field' (*kṣétra*).

c. With accent on the primitive: *çrótriya*, 'learned' (*çrótra*).

1215. ईय *īya*. This suffix also is apparently by origin a *ya* (*īa*) of which the first element has maintained its long quantity by the interposition of a euphonic *y*. It is accented always on the *ī́*.

a. In RV. occur, of general adjectives, only *ārjikī́ya* and *gṛhamedhī́ya*, and examples in the later Vedic are very few: e. g. *parvatī́ya*, 'mountainous' (AV., beside RV. *parvatyà*). In the Brāhmaṇas, a number of adjectives from phrases (first words of verses and the like) are made in *ī́ya*: thus, *kayāçubhīya*, *svāduṣkilīya*, *āpohiṣṭhīya*, etc.

b. It was pointed out above (**965**) that derivative adjectives in *īya* from action-nouns in *ana* begin in later Veda and in Brāhmaṇa to be used gerundivally, and are a recognized formation as gerundives in the classical language.

c. Derivatives in *īya* with initial *vṛddhi* are sometimes made in the later language: e. g. *svāsrīya*, *pārvatīya*.

d. The pronominal possessives *madī́ya* etc. (**516**) do not occur either in Veda or Brāhmaṇa; but the ordinals *dvitī́ya* etc. (**487**: with fractionals *tṛ́tīya* and *túrīya*: **488**), are found from the earliest period.

1216. एय *eya*. With this suffix, along with *vṛddhi*-increment of an initial syllable, are made adjectives, often having a patronymic or metronymic value. Their neuter is sometimes used as abstract noun.

The accent rests usually on the final in adjectives of descent, and on the first syllable in others.

a. Thus, *ārṣeyá*, 'descendant of a sage' *(ṛ́ṣi)*, *sārameyá*, 'of Sarámā's race', *çātavaneyá*, 'Çatavani's descendant', *rāthajiteyá*, 'son of Rathajit'; *ā́sneya*, 'of the blood' *(asán)*, *vā́steya*, 'of the bladder' *(vastí)*, *pāúruṣeya*, 'coming from man' *(púruṣa)*, etc.

A more than usual proportion of derivatives in *eya* come from primitives in *i;* and possibly the suffix first gained its form by addition of *ya* to a gunated *i*, though afterward used independently.

The gerundive etc. derivatives in *ya* (above, **1213**) from *ā*-roots end in *éya;* and, besides such, RV. etc. have *sabhéya* from *sabhā́*, and *didṛkṣéya*, 'worth seeing', apparently from the desiderative noun *didṛkṣā́*, after their analogy.

b. Derivatives in the so-called suffix *ineyá* — as *sāubhāgineyá, kālyāṇineyá* (neither quotable) — are doubtless made upon proximate derivatives in *-inī* (fem.).

c. In *eyya* (i. e. *eyia*) end, besides the neuter abstract *sahaçéyya* (above, **1213 c**), the adjective of gerundival meaning *stuṣéyya* (with aoristic *s* added to the root), and *çapatheyyà*, 'curse-bringing' (or 'accursed'), from *çapátha*.

1217. एन्य *enya.* This suffix is doubtless secondary in origin, made by the addition of य *ya* to derivatives in a *na*-suffix; but, like others of like origin, it is applied in some measure independently, chiefly in the older language, where it has nearly the value of the later *anīya* (above, **1215 b**), as making gerundival adjectives.

The *y* of this suffix is almost always to be read as vowel, and the accent is (except in *várenya*) on the *e:* thus, *-énia*.

The gerundives have been all given above, under the different conjugations to which they attach themselves (**1019**, **1038**, **1068**); except *īḍénya*, 'praiseworthy', and *váreṇya*, 'desirable', they are of only isolated occurrence (once or twice each). The RV. has also two non-gerundival adjectives, *vīréṇya*, 'manly' *(vīrá)*, and *kīrténya*, 'famous' *(kīrtí)*, and TS. has *anabhiçastenyá* *(abhíçasti)*; *vijenyà* (RV.) is a word of doubtful connections.

1218. आय्य *āyya.* With this suffix are made gerundival adjectives, almost only in RV. They have been noticed above (**966 c**). The ending is everywhere to be read as *ā́yia*.

A few adjectives without gerundival value, and neuter abstracts, also occur: thus, *bahupā́yya*, 'protecting many', *nṛpā́yya*, 'men-guarding'; *kuṇḍapā́yya* and *purumā́yya*, proper names; *pūrvapā́yya*, 'first drink', *mahayā́yya*, 'enjoyment'; — and *rasā́yya*, 'nervous', and *uttamā́yya*, 'summit', contain no verbal root. *Alā́yya* is doubtful; also *ākāyyà*, which its accent refers to a different formation, along with *prahāyyà* (AV.: √*hi*), 'messenger', and *pravāyyà* (AV.), of doubtful value.

1219. आयन *āyana.* In the Brāhmaṇas and later, patronymics made by this suffix are not rare. They come from stems in अ *a,* and have *vṛddhi*-strengthening of the first syllable, and accent on the final.

In RV., the only example of this formation is *kāṇvāyana* (voc.: *kā́ṇva*); AV. has in metrical parts *dākṣāyaṇá* and the fem. *rāmāyaṇī́;* and *āmuṣyāyaṇá,* 'son of so-and-so' (**516**), in its prose. The RV. name *ukṣaṇyā́yana* is of a different make, elsewhere unknown.

1220. आयी *āyī.* Only one or two words are made with this suffix, namely *agnā́yī (agni),* 'Agni's wife', and *vṛṣākapāyī,* 'wife of Vrishákapi'.

They seem to be feminines of a derivative in *a* made with *vṛddhi*-increment of the final *i* of the primitive.

1221. इ *i.* Derivatives made with this suffix are patronymics from nouns in *a.* The accent rests on the initial syllable, which has the *vṛddhi*-strengthening.

a. In RV. are found half-a-dozen patronymics in *i:* for example, *ā́gniveçi, pā́urukutsi, prā́tardani, sā́ṁvaraṇi;* AV. has but one, *prā́hrādi;* in the Brāhmaṇas they are more common: thus, in AB., *sā́uyavasi, jā́naṁtapi, āruṇi, jānaki,* etc. A single word of other value — *sā́rathi,* 'charioteer' *(sarā́tham)* — is found from RV. down.

b. The words made with the so-called suffix *aki* — as *vāiyāsaki,* 'descendant of Vyāsa', are doubtless properly derivatives in *i* from others in *ka* or *aka.*

That the secondary suffix *ika* is probably made by addition of *ka* to a derivative in *i* is pointed out below (**1222 e**).

c. RV. has *tā́puṣi,* apparently from *tā́pus* with a secondary *i* added.

1222. क *ka.* This is doubtless originally one of the class of suffixes forming adjectives of appurtenance. And that value it still has in actual use; yet only in a small minority of occurrences. It has been, on the one hand, specialized into an element forming diminutives; and, on the other hand, and much more widely, attenuated into an element without definable value, added to a great many nouns and adjectives to make others of the same meaning — this last is, even in the Veda, and still more in the later language, its chief office.

Hence, *ka* easily associates itself with the finals of deriv-

atives to which it is attached, and comes to seem along with them an integral suffix, and is further used as such. Of this origin are doubtless, as was seen above (**1180**, **1181**), the so-called primary suffixes *uka* and *aka;* and likewise the secondary suffix *ika* (below, **e**).

The accent of derivatives in *ka* varies — apparently without rule, save that the words most plainly of diminutive character have the tone usually on the suffix.

a. Examples (from the older language) of words in which the suffix has an adjective-making value are: *ántaka (ánta)*, 'end-making', *bálhika (bálhi)*, 'of Balkh', *āṇḍī́ka (āṇḍá)*, 'egg-bearing', *sūcī́ka (sūcí)*, 'stinging', *urvārukā́*, 'fruit of the gourd' *(urvārú)*, *paryāyikā́ (paryāyá)*, 'strophic'; from numerals, *ekakā́*, *dvakā́*, *trikā́*, *áṣṭaka; tṛ́tīyaka*, 'of the third day'; from pronoun-stems, *asmā́ka*, 'ours', *yuṣmā́ka*, 'yours', *mámaka*, 'mine' (**516**); from prepositions, *ántika*, 'near', *ánuka*, 'following' (later, *ádhika*, *útka*, *ávakā*); and, with accent retracted to the initial syllable (besides *áṣṭaka* and *tṛ́tīyaka*, already given), *rū́paka (rūpá)*, 'with form', *bábhruka* (*babhrú*, 'brown'), a certain lizard.

b. Of words in which a diminutive meaning is more or less probable: *açvakā́*, 'nag', *kanī́naka* and *kumārakā́*, 'boy', *kanīnakā́* or *kanī́nikā*, 'girl', *pādakā́*, 'little foot', *putrakā́*, 'little son', *rājakā́*, 'princeling', *çakuntakā́*, 'birdling'. Sometimes a contemptuous meaning is conveyed by such a diminutive: for formations with this value from pronominal stems, see above, **521**; another example is *anyakā́* (RV.).

The diminutives in *ka* have the gender of their primitives.

c. The derivatives in *ka* with unchanged meaning are made from primitives of every variety of form, simple and compound, and have the same variety of accent as the adjective derivatives (with which they are at bottom identical). Thus:

1. From simple nouns and adjectives: *ástaka*, 'home', *nā́sikā*, 'nostril', *mákṣikā*, 'fly', *avikā́*, 'ewe', *iṣukā́*, 'arrow', *dūrakā́*, 'distant', *sarvakā́*, 'all', *dhénukā (dhenú)*, 'cow', *nágnaka (nagná)*, 'naked', *báddhaka (baddhá)*, 'captive', *vamrakā́*, 'ant', *arbhakā́*, 'small', *çiçukā́*, 'young', *aṇī́yaska*, 'finer', *ejatkā́*, 'trembling', *patayiṣṇukā́*, 'flying'.

Such derivatives in the later language are innumerable: from almost any given noun or adjective may be made an equivalent, ending in *ka* or *kā* (according to the gender).

2. From compound primitives: *svalpakā́*, 'very small', *vímanyuka*, 'removing wrath', *vikṣiṇatkā́*, 'destroying', *pravartamānakā́*, 'moving forward', *vikṣīṇakā́*, 'destroyed'.

In the Brāhmaṇas and later, *ka* is often added to a possessive adjective compound (**1307**), sometimes redundantly, but usually in order to obtain a more manageable stem for inflection: thus, *anakṣíka*, 'eyeless', *atvákka*, 'skinless', *aretáska*, 'without seed', *vyasthaka*, 'boneless', *saçiraska*, 'along with the head', *ekagāyatrīka*, 'containing a single *gāyatrī*-verse', *gṛhītávasatīvarīka*, 'one who has taken yesterday's water', *sapatnīka*, 'with his spouse', *abhinavavayaska*, 'of youthful age', *aṅguṣṭhamātraka*, 'of thumb size'.

d. The vowel by which the *ka* is preceded has often an irregular character; and especially, a feminine in *ikā* is common beside a masculine in *aka* (as is the case with the so-called primary *aka:* above, **1181**).

In RV. are found beside one another only *iyattakā́* and *iyattikā́;* but AV. has several examples, and they become much more numerous later.

e. Two suffixes made up of *ka* and a preceding vowel — namely, *aka* and *ika* — are given by the grammarians as independent secondary suffixes, requiring initial *vṛddhi*-strengthening of the primitive. Both of them are doubtless in reality made by addition of *ka* to a final *i* or *a,* though coming to be used independently.

1. Of *vṛddhi*-derivatives in *aka* no examples have been noted from the older language (unless *māmakā́,* 'mine', is to be so regarded); and they are not common in the later: thus, *āúmaka* (not quotable), 'flaxen', *mā́nojñaka* (not quotable), 'attractiveness', *rāmaṇīyaka,* 'delightfulness'.

2. Of *vṛddhi*-derivatives in *ika,* the Veda furnishes a very few cases: *vā́santika,* 'vernal', *vā́rṣika,* 'of the rainy season', *hāímantika,* 'wintry' (none of them in RV.); AV. has *kairātikā́,* 'of the Kirātas', apparent fem. to a masc. *kāirātaka,* which is not found till later. Examples from a more recent period (when they become abundant) are: *vāidika,* 'relating to the Vedas', *dhārmika,* 'religious', *āhnika,* 'daily', *vāinayika,* 'well-behaved', *dāuvārika,* 'doorkeeper', *nāiyāyika,* 'versed in the Nyāya'.

1223. Several suffixes, mostly of rare occurrence and questionable character, contain a न् *n* as consonantal element, and may be grouped together here.

a. With *āna* are made, apparently, a pair of derivatives in RV. from primitives in *u:* thus, *bhṛ́gavāna, vā́savāna.*

b. With *ānī* (which is perhaps the corresponding feminine) are made a number of wife-names: thus, *indrāṇī́, varuṇānī́* (these, with *uçīnárāṇī, purukútsānī, mudgalā́nī,* are found in RV.), *rudrāṇī, mātulānī,* 'maternal uncle's wife', *kṣatriyāṇī,* 'wife of a *kshatriya*' (not quotable).

c. The feminines in *nī* and *knī* from masculine stems in *ta* have been already noticed above (**1176 d**). From *páti,* 'master, husband', the feminine is *pátnī,* both as independent word, 'spouse', and as final of an adjective compound: thus, *devápatnī,* 'having a god for husband', *síndhupatnī,* 'having the Indus as master'. And the feminine of *paruṣá,* 'rough', is in the older language sometimes *páruṣṇī.*

d. With *īna* are made a full series of adjective derivatives from the words with final *añc* (**407** ff.); they are accented usually upon the penult, but sometimes on the final; and the same word has sometimes both accents: for example, *apācī́na, nīcī́na, prācī́na, arvācī́na* and *arvācīná, pratīcī́na* and *pratīcīná, samīcīná.* Besides these, a number of other adjectives, earlier and later: examples are *saṁvatsarī́na,* 'yearly', *prāvṛṣī́ṇa,* 'of the rainy season', *viçvajanī́na,* 'of all people', *jñātakulī́na,* 'of known family', *adhvanīna,* 'traveller' (*ádhvan,* 'way'), *āçvīna,* 'day's journey on horseback' (*áçva,* 'horse').

e. With *ena* is made *sāmidhená,* from *samídh,* with initial strengthening.

f. A few words in *ina*, having possessive meaning — as *malina*, *çṛṅgina*, (said to be accented on the final) — are doubtless transfers of adjectives in *in* (**1230**) to the *a*-declension; compare **1209 c.**

g. The adjectives made with simple *na* fall under another head (below, **1245 d**), except the almost isolated *strāíṇa*, 'woman's', from *strī́*, with initial strengthening (its correlative, *pāuṅsna*, occurs late).

1224. Certain suffixes containing a म् *m* may be similarly grouped.

a. With *ima* are made a small number of adjectives from nouns in *tra:* thus, *khanítrima*, 'made by digging', *kṛtríma*, 'artificial', *pūtríma*, 'purified'. Also *agrimá*, 'foremost', (RV.: the *ma* having perhaps an ordinal value).

b. The uses of simple *ma* in forming superlatives (**474**) and ordinals (**487**) have been already noticed, and the words thus made specified; *ādimá* is further given by the grammarians, but is not quotable until a very recent period.

c. A few neuter abstracts end in *mna:* thus, *dyumná*, 'brightness', *nṛmṇá*, 'manliness'; and, from particles, *nimná*, 'depth', and *sumná*, 'welfare'. The suffix comes perhaps from *man* with an added *a*.

d. For the words showing a final *min*, see below, **1231.**

1225. मय *maya*. With this suffix are formed adjectives signifying 'made or composed or consisting of'.

The accent is always on the penult. Before the *m*, the final of the primitive is in general treated as in external combination: thus, *mṛnmáya*, 'made of earth' *(mṛd)*, *vāṅmáya*, consisting of utterance' *(vāc)*, *tejomáya*, 'made up of brightness', *adomáya*, 'of the nature of what is yonder' (ÇB.); but in the Veda are found *manasmáya* and *nabhasmáya*, with *ayasmáya*, which is allowed in the later language alongside *ayomáya*. RV. has *sūmáya*, 'of good make' (*sú*, 'well'), and *kimmáya*, 'made of what?'

The suffix *maya* is perhaps by origin a derivative noun ($\sqrt{}$*mā*) in composition, but it has at any rate the full value of a suffix from the earliest period of the language.

1226. र *ra*. A few derivative adjectives are made with this suffix. Accent and treatment of the primitive are various.

a. With simple addition of *ra* are made, for example: *pāṅsurá*, 'dusty', *-çrīra* (also *-çlīla*) in *açrīrá*, 'ugly', *dhūmrá*, 'dusky' (*dhūmá*, 'smoke'), *madhura* (late), 'sweet'.

In an example or two, there appears to be accompanying initial strengthening: thus, *ā́gnīdhra*, 'of the fire-kindler' *(agnī́dh)*, *çāṅkurá*, 'stake-like' *(çaṅkú)*.

b. With an inorganic vowel before the ending are made, for example, *médhira*, 'wise', *rathirá*, 'in a chariot'; *karmā́ra*, 'smith'; *dantura* (late), 'tusked'; and others of obscure connections.

c. The use of *ra* in forming a few words of comparative meaning was noticed above (**474**), and the words so made were given.

1227. ल *la.* This and the preceding suffix are really but two forms of the same. In some words they exchange with one another, and ल *la* is usually, but not always, the later form in use.

Examples are: *bahulá*, 'abundant', *madhulá* (later *madhura*) and *madhūla*, 'sweet', *bhīmala*, 'fearful', *jīvalá*, 'lively', *açlīlá* (and *açrīrá*), 'wretched; with *ā*, *vācāla*, 'talkative' (late); with *i*, *phenila*, 'foamy' (late: *phéna*); with *u*, *vātula* and *vātūla*, 'windy' (late: *vā́ta*); and *mātula*, 'maternal uncle', is a somewhat irregular formation from *mātṛ́*, 'mother'.

The later language has a few adjectives in *lu*, as *kṛpālu* and *dayālu*, 'compassionate'.

1228. व *va.* A small number of adjectives have this ending (accented, added to an unaltered primitive).

a. Thus, *arṇavá*, 'billowy', *keçavá*, 'hairy'; *rāsnāvá*, 'girded'; *añjivá*, 'slippery', *çantivá*, 'tranquillizing', *çraddhivá*, 'credible'.

b. There are a very few adjectives in *vala* and *vaya* which may be noticed here: thus, *kṛṣīvalá*, 'peasant' (*kṛṣi*, 'ploughing'), *çikhāvala* and *dantāvala* (late); *druváya*, 'wooden dish'.

c. With *°vya* are made two or three words from names of relationship: thus, *pítṛvya*, 'paternal uncle', *bhrā́tṛvya*, 'nephew, enemy'.

1229. श *ça.* A very few adjectives appear to be made by an added ending of this form.

Thus, *romaçá* or *lomaçá*, 'hairy', *étaça*, 'hasting', *babhluçá* or *babhruçá*, 'brownish', *yuvaçá*, 'youthful'.

Many of the adjective derivatives already treated have sometimes a possessive value, the general meaning of 'being concerned with, having relation to' being specialized into that of 'being in possession of'. But there are also a few distinctively possessive suffixes; and some of these, on account of the unlimited freedom of forming them and the frequency of their occurrence, are very conspicuous parts of the general system of derivation. These will be next considered.

1230. इन् *in.* Possessive adjectives of this ending may be formed almost unlimitedly from stems in अ *a* or आ *ā*, and are sometimes (but very rarely) made from stems with other finals.

A final vowel disappears before the suffix. The accent is

always *in*. As to the inflection of these adjectives see above, **438** ff. They are to be counted by hundreds in the older language, and are equally or more numerous in the later.

a. Examples from *a*-stems are: *açvín*, 'possessing horses', *dhanín*, 'wealthy', *pakṣín*, 'winged', *balín*, 'strong', *bhagín*, 'fortunate', *vajrín*, 'wielding the thunderbolt', *çikhaṇḍín*, 'crested', *hastín*, 'possessing hands', *ṣoḍaçín*, 'of sixteen', *gardabhanādín*, 'having an ass's voice', *brahmavarcasín*, 'of eminent sanctity', *sādhudevín*, 'having luck at play', *kūcidarthín*, 'having errands everywhither'; — from *ā*-stems, *manīṣín*, 'wise', *çikhín*, 'crested', *ṛtāyín*, 'pious'.

b. The examples from other stems are only sporadic: thus, from *i*-stems, *abhimātín*, 'plotting against', *arcín*, 'gleaming', *ūrmín*, 'billowy', *khādín*, 'spangled', and perhaps *atithín*, 'wandering'; in *surabhíntara*, the nasal is rather a euphonic insertion, to break the succession of light syllables; — from stems in *an*, *varmín*, 'cuirassed'; — from stems in *as*, *retín*, 'rich in seed', probably *varcín*, n. pr.: and *çavasín* and *sahasin* (unless these come through stem-forms in *-sa*).

c. It was noticed above (**1183**) that derivatives of this form often have a value equivalent to that of present participles; and that the suffix is used, both earlier and later, in the manner of a primary suffix, making words of such value directly from roots. The originally secondary character of the whole formation is shown, on the one hand, by the frequent use in the same manner of words bearing an unmistakably secondary form, as *praçnín*, *garbhín*, *jūrṇín*, *dhūmín*, *paripanthín*, *pravepanín*, *matsarín*; and, on the other hand, by the occurrence of reverted palatals (**216**) before the *in*, which could only be as *in* replaced *a*: thus, *arkín*, *-bhaṅgín*, *-saṅgín*, and *-rokín*.

d. In three or four sporadic cases, a *y*, preceded by *ā*, appears before *in*: thus, *svadhāyín* (VS.: TB. *-vín*; the *y* is here evidently an insertion: **258**), *sṛkāyín*, *dhanvāyín*, and *ātatāyín* (VS.: TS. *-vín*), which is found also in the later language. RV. has only *marāyín* (value?) and *ṛtāyín* (apparently through a *ṛtāyā́* [**1149**] from the denominative *ṛtāy*). To assume for these a suffix *yin* is quite needless.

1231. मिन् *min*. With this suffix are made an extremely small number of possessive adjectives.

In the old language, the words in *min* have the aspect of derivatives in *in* from nouns in *ma*, although in two or three cases — *iṣmín*, *ṛgmín*, *krudhmín* in RV., *vāgmín* in ÇB. — no such nouns are found in actual use beside them. In the later language, *min* is used as independent element in a very few words: thus, *gomin*, 'possessing cattle', *svāmin* (Sūtras and later), 'master, lord' (*sva*, 'own').

1232. विन् *vin*. The adjectives made with this suffix are also not at all numerous. They have the same meanings with those in इन् *in*.

The RV. has ten adjectives in *vin* (*ayudhvín*, so-called, is doubtless a

gerund in *tvī: a-yudh-tvī*); they become rather more common later. Though for them may be suspected a similar origin to those in *yin* and *min* (above), signs of it are much less clearly traceable.

The majority have *vin* added after *as:* thus, *namasvín*, 'reverential', *tapasvín*, 'heated', *tejasvín*, 'brilliant', *yaçasvín*, 'beautiful'; and *çatasvín*, 'possessing hundreds' (RV.), has an inserted *s*, by analogy with them. Others have *ā* (sometimes, by lengthening): thus, *medhāvín*, *māyāvín*, *aṣṭrāvín*, 'obedient to the goad', *dvayāvín*, 'double-minded', *ubhayāvín*, 'possessing of both kinds'. More rarely, *vín* is added after another consonant than *s;* thus, *vāgvín*, *dhṛṣadvín*. The doubtful word *vyaçnuvín* (VS., once: TB. *vyáçniya*) appears to add the ending (or *in*, with euphonic *v*) to a present tense-stem.

1233. वन् *vant.* Very numerous possessive adjectives are made by this suffix, from noun-stems of every form, both in the earlier language and in the later.

The accent generally remains upon the primitive, without change; but an accent resting on a stem-final, if this be anything but *á* or *ā́*, is in the majority of cases thrown forward upon the suffix.

A final vowel — oftenest *a*, very rarely *u* — is in many words lengthened in the older language (**247**) before this ending, as in composition. Nouns in *an* retain the *n*.

a. Examples of the normal formation are: with unchanged accent, *kéçavant*, 'hairy', *putrávant*, 'having a son', *prajánanavant*, 'procreative', *puṇḍárīkavant*, 'rich in lotuses', *híraṇyavant*, 'rich in gold', *apūpávant*, 'having cakes'; *prajā́vant*, 'having progeny', *ū́rṇāvant*, 'wooly', *dákṣiṇāvant*, 'rich in sacrificial gifts'; *sákhivant*, 'having friends', *saptarṣívant*, 'accompanied by the seven sages'; *çácīvant*, 'powerful', *táviṣīvant*, 'vehement', *pátnīvant*, 'with spouse', *dhī́vant*, 'devoted', *dyā́vāpṛthivī́vant* (**94**), 'with heaven and earth'; *víṣṇuvant*, 'accompanied by Vishnu'; *ā́vṛtvant*, 'hither turned', *ā́çīrvant*, 'mixed with milk', *svàrvant*, 'splendid', *çarádvant*, 'full of years', *páyasvant*, 'rich', *támasvant*, 'dark', *bráhmaṇvant*, 'accompanied with worship', *rómaṇvant*, 'hairy'; but also *lómavant* and *vṛtrahavant* (PB.); — with accent on the suffix, *agnivánt*, 'having fire', *rayivánt*, 'wealthy', *nṛvánt*, 'manly', *padvánt*, 'having feet', *nasvánt*, 'with nose', *āsanvánt*, 'having a mouth', *çīrṣaṇvánt*, 'headed'.

b. With final stem-vowel lengthened: for example, *áçvāvant* (beside *áçvavant*), 'possessing horses', *sutā́vant*, 'having *soma* expressed', *vṛ́ṣṇyāvant*, 'of virile force' (about thirty such cases occur in V.); *çáktīvant*, 'mighty', *svádhitīvant*, 'having axes', *ghṛ́ṇīvant*, 'hot'; *viṣūvánt*, 'dividing' (*víṣu*, 'apart').

c. A few special irregularities are: *índrasvant*, with *s* added to the primitive; *kṛçanā́vant*, with anomalous accent (if from *kṛ́çana*, 'pearl'); and, from particles, *antárvant*, 'pregnant', and *viṣūvánt* (just quoted).

d. By the same suffix are made from pronominal roots and stems adjectives in which is shown another specialized meaning, that of 'like to, resembling'. They were given above (**517**: to be added are *ī́vant* and *kī́vant*).

And derivatives from nouns in the older language are perhaps occasionally to be understood in the same way: e. g. *índrasvant*, 'like Indra'.

It has also been pointed out (**1107**) that the adverb of comparison in *vát* is doubtless to be understood as accusative neuter of a derivative of this class.

e. In *vivásvant* or *vívasvant*, 'shining' (also proper name), is seen a side-formation to *vivásvan* (**1169**), having the aspect of a primary derivative.

f. For the derivatives in *vat* from prepositions, which appear to have nothing to do with this suffix, see below, **1245 f.**

None of the suffixes beginning with *v* show in the Veda resolution of *v* to *u*.

1234. वन् *van.* The secondary derivatives in this suffix belong to the older language, and are a small number, of which extremely few have more than an occurrence or two.

They have the aspect of being produced under the joint influence of primary *van* and secondary *vant.* A final short vowel is usually lengthened before the suffix. The accent is various, but oftenest on the penult of the stem. The feminine (like that of the derivatives in primary *van:* **1169**, end) is in *varī.*

The Vedic examples are: from *a*-stems, *ṛṇāván* or *ṛṇaván*, *ṛtávan* (and f. *-varī*), *ṛ́ghāvan*, *dhitávan*, *satyávan*, *sumnāvárī*, and *maghávan;* from *ā*-stems, *sūnṛ́tāvarī*, *svadhávan* (and f. *-varī*); from *i*-stems, *amatīván*, *arātīván*, *çruṣṭīván*, *muṣīván*, and *kṛṣīvan* (only in the further derivative *kā́rṣīvaṇa*); from consonant-stems, *átharvan*, *samádvan*, *sáhovan* (bad AV. variant to RV. *sahávan*). Somewhat anomalous are *sahávan* and *sahasāvan*, *índhanvan* (for *índhanavan?*), and *saníivan* (for *sánitivan?*). The only words of more than sporadic occurrence are *ṛtávan*, *maghávan*, *átharvan.*

1235. मत् *mant.* This is a twin-suffix to वत् *vant* (above, **1233**); their derivatives have the same value, and are to some extent exchangeable with one another. But possessives i मत् *mant* are much less frequent (in the older language, about a third as many), and are only very rarely made from *a*-stems.

If the accent of the primitive word is on the final, it is in the great majority of instances (three quarters) thrown forward upon the added suffix; otherwise, it maintains its place unchanged. A final vowel before the suffix is in only a few cases made long. Examples are:

a. With the accent of the primitive unchanged: *káṇvamant*, and *yávamant*, 'rich in barley' (these alone from *a*-stems, and the former only occurring once), *ávimant*, 'possessing sheep', *açánimant*, 'bearing the thunderbolt', *óṣadhīmant*, 'rich in herbs', *vā́çīmant*, 'carrying an axe', *vásumant*,

'possessing good things', *mádhumant*, 'rich in sweets', *tváṣṭṛmant*, 'accompanied by Tvashtar', *hótṛmant*, 'provided with priests', *ā́yuṣmant*, 'long-lived', *jyótiṣmant*, 'full of brightness'; — *ulkuṣī́mant*, 'accompanied with meteors', *pīlúmant(?)*, *prasū́mant*, 'having young shoots', *gómant*, 'rich in kine', *kakúdmant*, 'humped', *vidyúnmant* (with irregular assimilation of *t*: VS. has also *kakúnmant*), 'gleaming', *virúkmant*, 'shining', *havíṣmant*, 'with libations'.

b. With the accent thrown forward upon the ending: *agnimánt*, 'having fire', *iṣudhimánt*, 'with a quiver', *paçumánt*, 'possessing cattle', *vāyumánt*, 'with wind', *pitṛmánt* (AV. *pitṛ́mant*), 'accompanied by the Fathers', *mātṛmánt*, 'having a mother'; no long final vowels are found before the suffix in this division, and only once a consonant, in *dasmát* (RV., once).

c. Protraction of a final vowel is seen in *tvíṣīmant*, *dhrájīmant*, *hírīmant;* in *jyótiṣīmant* is irregularly inserted an *ī* (after the analogy of *táviṣīmant).*

1236. It has been seen above (especially in connection with the suffixes *a* and *ya*) that the neuter of a derivative adjective is frequently used as an abstract noun. There are, however, two suffixes which have in the later language the specific office of making abstract nouns from adjectives and nouns; and these are found also, more sparingly used, in the oldest language, each having there one or two other evidently related suffixes beside it.

For derivatives of the same value made with the suffix *iman*, see above, **1168**. 2.

1237. ता *tā*. With this suffix are made feminine abstract nouns, denoting 'the quality of being so and so', from both adjectives and nouns.

The form of the primitive is unchanged, and the accent is uniformly on the syllable preceding the suffix.

Examples (from the older language) are: *devátā*, 'divinity', *vīrátā*, 'manliness', *puruṣátā*, 'human nature', *bandhútā*, 'relationship', *vasútā*, 'wealth'; *nagnátā*, 'nakedness', *suvīrátā*, 'wealth in retainers', *anapatyátā*, 'lack of descendants', *agótā*, 'poverty in cattle', *abrahmátā*, 'lack of devotion', *aprajástā*, 'absence of progeny'; also doubtless *sūnṛ́tā* (from *sūnára*), although the word is a few times used as an adjective (like *çáṁtāti* and *satyatāti:* see next paragraph). In RV. is found *avī́ratā*, with exceptional accent.

1238. ताति *tāti*, तात् *tāt*. These suffixes are Vedic only, and the latter is limited to RV. Their relationship to the preceding is evident, but opinions are at variance as to its nature. The accent is as in the derivatives with *tā*.

The quotable examples in *tāti* are: *arishṭátāti*, 'uninjuredness', *ayakṣmátāti*, 'freedom from disease', *gṛbhītátāti*, 'the being seized', *jyeṣṭhátāti*, 'supremacy', *devátāti*, 'divinity', *vasútāti*, 'wealth', *çáṁtāti*, 'good-fortune',

sarvâtāti, 'completeness'; and, with exceptional accent, *ấstatāti*, 'home', and *dấkṣatāti*, 'cleverness'. Two words in *tāti* are used adjectively (inorganically, by apposition?): *çáṁtāti* (RV., twice; and AV. xix. 44. 1, in MSS.), and *satyatāti* (RV., once: voc.).

The words in *tāt* (apparently made by abbreviation from *tāti*) occur only in a case or two: they were all mentioned above (**383** d. 2).

1239. त्व *tva*. With this suffix are made neuter nouns, of the same value as the feminines in ता *tā* (above, **1237**).

The neuter abstracts in *tva* are in the older language considerably more common than the feminines in *tā*, although themselves also not very numerous. The accent is without exception on the suffix.

Examples (from the older language) are: *amṛtatvá*, 'immortality', *devatvá*, 'divinity', *subhagatvá*, 'good-fortune', *ahamuttaratvá*, 'struggle for precedency', *çucitvá*, 'purity', *patitvá*, 'husbandship', *taraṇitvá*, 'energy', *dīrghāyutvá*, 'long life', *çatrutvá*, 'enmity', *bhrātṛtvá*, 'brotherhood', *vṛṣatvá*, 'virility', *sātmatvá*, 'soulfulness', *maghavattvá*, 'liberality', *rakṣastvá*, 'sorcery'. In *anāgāstvá* and *aprajāstvá*, there is a lengthening of the final syllable of the primitive; and in *sāuprajāstvá* (AV., once) this appears to be accompanied by initial *vṛddhi* (*sāubhagatvá* is doubtless from *sāúbhaga*, not *subhága*). In *vasatīvaritvá* (TS.) there is shortening of final feminine *ī* before the suffix.

In *iṣitatvátā* (RV., once), 'incitedness', and *puruṣatvátā* (RV., twice), 'human quality', appears to be a combination of the two equivalent suffixes *tva* and *tā*.

The *v* of *tva* is to be read in Veda as *u* only once (*rakṣastuá*).

1240. त्वन *tvana*. The derivatives made with this suffix are, like those in *tva*, neuter abstracts. They occur only in RV., and, except in a single instance (*martiatvaná*), have beside them equivalent derivatives in *tva*. The accent is on the final, and the *tva* is never resolved into *tua*.

The words are: *kavitvaná*, *janitvaná*, *patitvaná*, *martiatvaná*, *mahitvaná*, *vasutvaná*, *vṛṣatvaná*, *sakhitvaná*.

1241. A few suffixes make no change in the character as part of speech of the primitive to which they are added, but either are merely formal appendages, leaving the value of the word what it was before, or make a change of degree, or introduce some other modification of meaning.

1242. The suffixes of comparison and ordinal suffixes have for the most part been treated already, and need only a reference here.

a. तर *tara* and तम *tama* are the usual secondary suffixes of adjective comparison: respecting their use as such, see above,

471—3; respecting the use of *tama* as ordinal etc. suffix, see **487**; respecting that of their accusatives as adverbial suffixes to prepositions etc., see **1111 c**.

In *vṛtratára* (RV., once: perhaps an error) the accent is anomalous; in *mṛḍayáttama*, it is drawn forward to the final of the participle, as often in composition (**1309**); *çaçvattamá* (RV.) has the ordinal accent; *saṁvatsaratamá* (ÇB.) is an ordinal; *dívātara* (RV., once: an error?) is an ordinary adjective, 'of the day'; in *açvatará*, 'mule', and *dhenuṣṭarī́*, 'cow losing her milk', the application of the suffix is peculiar and obscure; in *rathaṁtara*, name of a certain *sāman*, it is the same.

b. र *ra* and म *ma*, like *tara* and *tama*, have a comparative and superlative value; and the latter of them forms ordinals: see above, **474**, **487**.

c. थ *tha*, like *tama* and *ma*, forms ordinals from a few numerals: see **487**.

d. तिथ *titha* forms words of an ordinal character from *bahu* (*bahutitha*, 'many-eth') and *tāvant* (with loss of a *t* in the combination: *tāvatitha*, 'so-many-eth'); and, it is said, from other words meaning 'a number or collection' (*gaṇa, pūga, saṁgha*).

1243. Of diminutive suffixes there are none in Sanskrit with clearly developed meaning and use. The occasional employment of *ka*, in a somewhat indistinct way, to make diminutives, has been noticed above (**1222**).

1244. Of the ordinary adjective-making suffixes, given above, some occasionally make adjectives from adjectives, with slight or imperceptible modification of value. The only one used to any considerable extent in this way is *ka*: as to which, see **1222**.

1245. A few suffixes are used to make derivatives from certain limited and special classes of words, as numerals and particles. Thus:

a. तय *taya* makes a few adjectives, meaning 'of so many divisions or kinds' (used in the neuter as collectives), from numerals: thus, *dvitaya*, *tritaya*, *cátuṣṭaya* (AV.), *saptátaya* (ÇB.), *aṣṭā́taya* (AB.), *dáçataya* (RV.).

b. त्य *tya* makes a few adjectives from particles: thus, *nitya*, 'own', *niṣṭya*, 'strange', *amā́tya*, 'companion', *ápatya* (as neut. noun), 'descendants', *āvíṣṭya*, 'evident', *sánutya*, 'distant', *tatratya* (late), 'belonging there'; and, according to the grammarians, *ihatya* and *kvàtya*.

The *y* of *tya* is in RV. always to be read as *i* after a heavy syllable.

c. त *ta* forms *dvitá* and *tritá*, also *muhūrtá*, 'moment', and apparently *avatá*, 'well (for water)'.

d. With न *na* are made *purāṇá*, 'ancient', *víṣuṇa*, 'various', and perhaps *samāná*, 'like'.

e. With तन *tana* or त्न *tna* are made adjectives from adverbs, especially of time: thus, *pratná*, 'ancient', *nū́tana* or *nū́tna*, 'present', *sanātána* or *sanátna*, 'lasting', *prātastána*, 'early', *divātana* (late), 'of the day', *çvastana* (late), 'of the morrow'; PB. has also *tvattana*, 'belonging to thee'. In the late language the suffix is used sometimes with an adjective of time: thus, *ciratna*.

f. वत् *vat* makes from particles of direction the feminine nouns mentioned above (**383 d**. 1).

g. कट *kaṭa*, properly a noun in composition, is reckoned by the grammarians as a suffix in *utkaṭa*, *nikaṭa*, *prakaṭa*, *vikaṭa* (RV., once, voc.), and *saṁkaṭa* (all said to be accented on the final).

h. Occasional derivatives made with the ordinary suffixes of primary and secondary derivation from numerals and particles have been noted above: thus, see *ana* (**1150. 2d**), *ti* (**1157**. 4), *ant* (**1172**), *u* (**1178 h**), *āyya* (**1218**), *ka* (**1222 a**), *mna* (**1224**), *maya* (**1225**), *vant* (**1233 c**).

CHAPTER XVIII.

FORMATION OF COMPOUND STEMS.

1246. THE frequent combination of declinable stems with one another to form compounds which then are treated as if simple, in respect to accent, inflection, and construction, is a conspicuous feature of the language, from its earliest period.

There is, however, a marked difference between the earlier and the later language as regards the length and intricacy of the combinations allowed. In Veda and Brāhmaṇa, it is quite rare that more than two stems are compounded together — except that to some much used and familiar compound, as to an integral word, a further element is sometimes added. But the later the period, and, especially, the more elaborate the style, the more a cumbrous and difficult aggregate of elements, abnegat-

ing the advantages of an inflective language, takes the place of the due syntactical union of formed words into sentences.

1247. Sanskrit compounds fall into three principal classes:

I. Copulative or aggregative compounds, of which the members are syntactically coördinate: a joining together into one of words which in an uncompounded condition would be connected by the conjunction 'and'.

Examples are: *índrāváruṇāu*, 'Indra and Varuna', *satyānṛté*, 'truth and falsehood', *kṛtākṛtám*, 'done and undone', *devagandharvamānuṣoragarakṣasās*, 'gods and Gandharvas and men and serpents and demons'.

The members of such a compound may obviously be of any number, two or more than two. No compound of any other class can contain more than two members — of which, however, either or both may be compound, or decompound (below, **1248**).

II. Determinative compounds, of which the former member is syntactically dependent on the latter, as its determining or qualifying adjunct: being either, 1. a noun limiting it in a case-relation, or, 2. an adjective or adverb describing it. And, according as it is the one or the other, may be distinguished the two sub-classes: **A.** Dependent compounds; and **B.** Descriptive compounds; their difference is not an absolute one.

Examples are: of dependent compounds, *amitrasenā́*, 'army of enemies', *pādodaka*, 'water for the feet', *āyurdā́*, 'life-giving', *hástakṛta*, 'made with the hands'; of descriptive compounds, *maharṣí*, 'great sage', *priyasakhi*, 'dear friend', *amítra*, 'enemy', *súkṛta*, 'well done'.

These two classes are of primary value; they have undergone no unifying modification in the process of composition; their character as parts of speech is determined by their final member, and they are capable of being resolved into equivalent phrases by giving the proper independent form and formal means of connection to each member. That is not the case with the remaining class, which accordingly is more fundamentally distinct from them than they are from one another.

III. Secondary adjective compounds, the value of

which is not given by a simple resolution into their component parts, but which, though having as final member a noun, are themselves adjectives. These, again, are of two sub-classes: **A**. Possessive compounds, which are noun-compounds of the preceding class, with the idea of 'possessing' added, turning them from nouns into adjectives; **B**. Compounds in which the second member is a noun syntactically dependent on the first: namely, 1. Prepositional compounds, of a governing preposition and following noun; 2. Participial compounds (only Vedic), of a present participle and its following object.

The sub-class **B.** is comparatively quite small, and its second division (participial compounds) is hardly met with even in the later Vedic.

Examples are: *vīrasena*, 'possessing a hero-army', *prajākāma*, 'having desire of progeny', *tigmáçṛṅga*, 'sharphorned', *háritasraj*, 'wearing green garlands'; *atimātrá*, 'excessive'; *yāvayáddveṣas*, 'driving away enemies'.

The adjective compounds are, like simple adjectives, liable to be used, especially in the neuter, as abstract and collective nouns, and in the accusative as adverbs; and out of these uses have grown apparent special classes of compounds, reckoned and named as such by the Hindu grammarians. The relation in detail of the classification given above to that presented in the native grammar, and widely adopted from the latter by the European grammars, will be made clear as we go on to treat the classes in detail.

1248. A compound may, like a single word, become a member in another compound, and this in yet another — and so on, without definite limit. The analysis of any compound, of whatever length (unless it be a copulative), must be made by a succession of bisections.

Thus, the dependent compound *pūrvajanmakṛta*, 'done in a previous existence', is first divisible into *kṛta* and the descriptive *pūrvajanman*, then this into its elements; the dependent *sakalanītiçāstratattvajña*, 'knowing the essence of all books of behavior', has first the root-stem *jña* (for √*jñā*), 'knowing', separated from the rest, which is again dependent; then this is divided into *tattva*, 'essence', and the remainder, which is descriptive; this, again, divides into *sakala*, 'all', and *nītiçāstra*, 'books of behavior', of which the latter is a dependent compound and the former a possessive (*sa* and *kalā*, 'having its parts together').

1249. The final of a stem is combined with the initial of another stem in composition according to the general rules for external combination: they have been given, with their exceptions, in chap. III., above.

a. If a stem has a distinction of strong and weak forms, it regularly enters into composition as prior member in its weak form; or, if it has a triple distinction (**311**), in its middle form.

That is, especially, stems in *ṛ* or *ar*, *at* or *ant*, *ac* or *añc*, etc., show in composition the forms in *ṛ*, *at*, *ac*, etc.; while those in *an* and *in* usually lose their final *n*, and are combined as if *a* and *i* were their proper finals.

b. Occasionally, a stem is used as prior member of a compound, which does not appear, or not in that form, as an independent word: examples are *mahā*, 'great' (apparently used independently in V. in accusative), *tuvi*, 'mighty' (V.), *dvi*, 'two'.

c. Not infrequently, the final member of a compound assumes a special form: see below, **1315**.

1250. But a case-form in the prior member of a compound is by no means rare, from the earliest period of the language. Thus:

a. Quite often, an accusative, especially before a root-stem, or a derivative in *a* of equivalent meaning: for example, *pataṁgá*, 'going by flight', *dhanaṁjayá*, 'winning wealth', *abhayaṁkará*, 'causing absence of danger', *puṣṭimbhará*, 'bringing prosperity', *vācamīṅkhayá*, 'inciting the voice'; but also sometimes before words of other form, as *hṛdaṁsáni*, 'heart-winning', *áçvamiṣṭi*, 'horse-desiring', *çubhaṁyā́van*, 'going in splendor', *subhāgaṁkáraṇa*, 'making happy'.

b. Much more rarely, an instrumental: for example, *girāvṛ́dh*, 'increasing by praise', *vācā́stena*, 'stealing by incantation', *krátvāmagha*, 'gladly bestowing', *bhā́sāketu*, 'bright with light', *vidmanā́pas*, 'active with wisdom'.

c. Not seldom, a locative; and this also especially with a root-stem or *a*-derivative: for example, *agregá*, 'going at the head', *divikṣít*, 'dwelling in the sky', *vaneṣáh*, 'prevailing in the wood', *aṅgeṣṭhā́*, 'existing in the limbs', *proṣṭheçayá*, 'lying on a couch', *sutḗkara*, 'active with the soma', *divícara*, 'moving in the sky'; *āréçatru*, 'having enemies far removed', *sumnáāpi*, 'near in favor', *máderaghu*, 'hasting in excitement'; *apsujá*, 'born in the waters', *hṛtsvás*, 'hurling at hearts'.

d. Least often, a genitive: thus, *rāyáskāma*, 'desirous of wealth'. But the older language has a few examples of the putting together of a genitive with its governing noun, both members of the combination keeping their own accent: see below, **1267 d.**

e. Excepting occasionally, where case-forms are used, there is no designation of plural meaning by plural form; but a feminine word, where clearness requires it, sometimes keeps its distinctive feminine form.

1251. The accent of compounds is very various, and liable to considerable irregularity even within the limits of the same

formation; and it must be left to be pointed out in detail below. All possible varieties are found to occur. Thus:

a. Each member of the compound retains its own separate accent. This is the most anomalous and infrequent method. It appears in certain Vedic copulative compounds chiefly composed of the names of divinities (so-called *devatā-dvandvas:* **1255** ff.), and in a small number of aggregations partly containing a genitive case-form as prior member (**1267 d**).

b. The accent of the compound is that of its prior member. This is especially the case in the great class of possessive compounds; but also in determinatives having the participle in *ta* or *na* as final member, in those beginning with the negative *a* or *an*, and in other less numerous and important classes.

c. The accent of the compound is that of the final member. This is not on so large a scale the case as the preceding; but it is nevertheless quite common, being found in many compounds having a verbal noun or adjective as final member, in compounds beginning with the numerals *dvi* and *tri* or the prefixes *su* and *dus*, and elsewhere in not infrequent exceptions.

d. The compound takes an accent of its own, independent of that of either of its constituents, on its final syllable (not always, of course, to be distinguished from the preceding case). This method is largely followed: especially, by the regular copulatives, and by the great mass of dependent and descriptive noun-compounds, by those having a root-stem as final, by most possessives beginning with the negative prefix; and by others.

e. The compound has an accent which is altered from that of one of its members. This is everywhere an exceptional and sporadically occurring case, and the instances of it, noted below under each formation, do not require to be assembled here. Examples are: *medhásāti (médha)*, *tilámiçra (tíla)*, *khā́dihasta (khādí)*, *yāvayáddveṣas (yāvā́yant)*; *çakadhū́ma (dhūmá)*, *amṛ́ta (mṛtá)*, *suvī́ra (vīrá)*, *tuvigrī́va (grīvā́)*. A few words — as *víçva*, *pū́rva*, and sometimes *sárva* — take usually a changed accent as prior members of compounds.

I. Copulative Compounds.

1252. Two or more nouns — much less often adjectives, and, in an instance or two, adverbs — having a coördinate construction, as if connected by 'and', are sometimes combined into compounds.

This is the class to which the Hindu grammarians give the name of *dvandva*, 'pair, couple'; a *dvandva* of adjectives, however, is not recognized by them.

1253. The noun-copulatives fall, as regards their inflective form, into two classes:

a. The compound has the gender and declension of its final member, and is in number a dual or a plural, according to its logical value, as denoting two or more than two individual things.

Examples are: *prāṇāpānāú*, 'inspiration and expiration', *vrīhiyavāú*, 'rice and barley', *ṛksāmé*, 'verse and chant', *kapotolūkāú*, 'dove and owl', *candrādityāu*, 'moon and sun', *hastyaçvāu*, 'the elephant and horse'; *ajāváyas*, 'goats and sheep', *devāsurā́s*, 'the gods and demons', *atharvāñgirásas*, 'the Atharvans and Angirases', *sambādhatandryàs*, 'anxieties and fatigues', *hastyaçvās*, 'elephants and horses'; of more than two members (no examples quotable from the older language), *çayāsanabhogās*, 'lying, sitting, and eating', *brāhmaṇakṣatriyaviṭçūdrās*, 'a Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaiçya, and Çūdra', *rogaçokaparītāpabandhanavyasanāni*, 'disease, pain, grief, captivity, and misfortune'.

b. The compound, without regard to the number denoted, or to the gender of its constituents, becomes a neuter singular collective.

Examples are: *iṣṭāpūrtám*, 'what is offered and bestowed', *ahorātrám*, 'a day and night', *kṛtākṛtám*, 'the done and undone', *bhūtabhavyám*, 'past and future', *keçaçmaçrú*, 'hair and beard', *ahinakulam*, 'snake and ichneumon', *yūkāmakṣikamatkuṇam*, 'lice, flies, and bugs'.

1254. a. A stem in *ṛ* as prior member sometimes takes its nominative form, in *ā*: thus, *pitāputrāu*, 'father and son', *hotāpotārāu*, 'the invoker and purifier (priests)'.

b. A consonant-stem as final member sometimes adds an *a* to make a neuter collective: thus, *chattropānaham*, 'an umbrella and a shoe'.

c. The grammarians give rules as to the order of the elements composing a copulative compound: thus, that a more important, a briefer, a vowel-initial member should stand first; and that one ending in *a* should be placed last. Violations of them all, however, occur.

1255. In the oldest language (RV.), copulative compounds such as appear later are quite rare, the class being chiefly represented by dual combinations of the names of divinities and other personages, and of personified natural objects.

a. In these combinations, each name has regularly and usually the dual form, and its own accent; but, in the very rare instances (only 3 occurrences out of more than 300) in which other cases than the nom.-acc.-voc. are formed, the final member only is inflected.

Examples are: *índrāsómā, índrāvíṣṇū, índrābṛ́haspátī, agnī́ṣómāu, turváçāyádū, dyā́vāpṛthivī́, uṣā́sānáktā, sū́ryāmā́sā.* The only plural is *indrāmarutas* (voc.). The cases of other than nominative form are *mitrā́váruṇābhyām* and *mitrā́váruṇayos*, and *índrāváruṇayos* (each once only).

From *dyā́vāpṛthivī́* is made the very peculiar genitive *divás-pṛthivyós* (4 times: AV. has *dyā́vāpṛthivī́bhyām* and *dyā́vāpṛthivyós*).

b. In one compound, *parjányavā́tā*, the first member does not have the dual ending along with the double accent (*indranāsatyā*, voc., is doubtful as to accent). In several, the double accent is wanting, while yet the double designation of number is present; thus, *indrāpūṣṇós* (beside *índrāpūṣáṇā*), *somāpūṣábhyām* (*somāpūṣaṇā* occurs only as voc.), *vātāparjanyā́, sūryācandramásā*, and *indrāgnī́* (with *indrāgníbhyām* and *indrāgnyós*): *somārudrāú* is accented only in ÇB. And in one, *indravāyū́*, form and accent are both accordant with the usages of the later language.

c. Of other copulatives, like those made later, the RV. has the plural *ajāváyas*, the duals *ṛksāmé, satyānṛté, sāçanānaçané;* also the neuter collective *iṣṭāpūrtám*, and the substantively used neuter of a copulative adjective, *nīlalohitám*. Further, the neuter plurals *ahorātrā́ṇi*, 'nycthemera', and *ukthārkā́*, 'praises and songs', of which the final members as independent words are not neuter. No one of these words has more than a single occurrence.

1256. In the later Vedic (AV.), the usage is much more nearly accordant with that of the classical language, save that the class of neuter singular collectives is almost wanting.

a. The words with double dual form are only a small minority (a quarter, instead of three quarters, as in RV.); and half of them have only a single accent, on the final: thus, besides those in RV., *bhavārudrāú, bhavāçarvāú; agnāviṣṇū*, voc., is of anomalous form. The whole number of copulatives is more than double that in RV.

b. The only proper neuter collectives, composed of two nouns, are *keçaçmaçrú*, 'hair and beard', *āñjanābhyañjanám*, 'salve and ointment', and *kaçipūpabarhaṇám*, 'mat and covering', unified because of the virtual unity of the two objects specified. Neuter singulars, used in a similar collective way, of adjective compounds, are (besides those in RV.): *kṛtākṛtám*, 'what is done and undone' (instead of 'what is done and what is undone'), *cittākūtám*, 'thought and desire', *bhadrapāpám*, 'good and evil', *bhūtabhavyám*, 'past and future'.

1257. Copulative compounds composed of adjectives which retain their adjective character are made in the same manner, but are in comparison very rare.

Examples are: *çuklakṛṣṇa*, 'light and dark', *sthalajāudaka*, 'terrestrial and aquatic', used distributively; and *vṛttapīna*, 'round and plump', *çāntānukūla*, 'tranquil and propitious', *hṛṣitasragrajohīna*, 'wearing fresh garlands and free from dust', *niṣekādi-*

çmaçānānta, 'beginning with conception and ending with burial', used cumulatively.

In the Veda, the only examples noted are the cumulative *nīlalohitá* and *iṣṭāpūrtá* etc., used in the neut. sing. as collectives (as pointed out above), with *tāmradhūmrá*, 'dark tawny'; and the distributive *dakṣiṇasavyá*, 'right and left', *saptamāṣṭamá*, 'seventh and eighth', and *bhadrapāpá*, 'good and bad' (beside the corresponding neut. collective). Such combinations as *satyānṛté*, 'truth and falsehood', *priyāpriyáṇi*, 'things agreeable and disagreeable', where each component is used substantively, are, of course, not to be separated from the ordinary noun-compounds.

1258. In accentuated texts, the copulative compounds have uniformly the accent (acute) on the final of the stem.

Exceptions are only a case or two in AV., where doubtless the reading is false: thus, *vātāparjanyà* (once: beside *-nyáyos*), *devamanuṣyà̀s* (once), *brahmarājanyà̀bhyām* (once: part of the MSS.).

1259. An example or two are met with of adverbial copulatives: thus, *áhardivi*, 'day by day', *sāyámprātar*, 'at evening and in the morning'. They have the accent of their prior member.

1260. Repeated words. In all ages of the language, nouns and adjectives and particles are not infrequently repeated, to give an intensive, or a distributive, or a repetitional meaning.

Though these are not properly copulative compounds, there is no better connection in which to notice them than here. They are, as the older language shows, a sort of compound, of which the prior member has its own independent accent, and the other is without accent. Thus: *jahy èṣāṁ váraṁ-varam*, 'slay of them each best man'; *divé-dive* or *dyávi-dyavi*, 'from day to day'; *prá-pra yajñápatim tira*, 'make the master of the sacrifice live on and on'; *bhū́yo-bhūyaḥ çváḥ-çvaḥ*, 'further and further, tomorrow and again tomorrow'; *ékayāi-'kayā*, 'with in each case one'.

Such combinations are called by the native grammarians *āmreḍita*, 'repeated'.

1261. Finally may be noticed in passing the compound numerals, *ékādaça*, '11', *dvā́viṅçati*, '22', *tríçata*, '103', *cátuḥsahasram*, '1004', and so on (**476** ff.), as a special and primitive class of copulatives. They are accented on the prior member.

II. Determinative Compounds.

1262. A noun or adjective is often combined into a compound with a preceding determining or qualifying word — a noun, or adjective, or adverb. Such a compound is conveniently called determinative.

1263. This is the class of compounds which is of most general and frequent occurrence in all branches of Indo-European language. Its two principal divisions have been already pointed out: thus, **A.** Dependent compounds, in which the prior member is a substantive word (noun or pronoun or substantively used adjective), standing to the other member in the relation of a case dependent on it; and **B.** Descriptive compounds, in which the prior member is an adjective, or other word having the value of an adjective, qualifying a noun; or else an adverb or its equivalent, qualifying an adjective. Each of these divisions then falls into two sub-divisions, according as the final member, and therefore the whole compound, is a noun or an adjective.

The whole class of determinatives is called by the Hindu grammarians *tatpuruṣa* (the term is a specimen of the class, meaning 'his man'); and the second division, the descriptives, has the special name of *karmadhāraya* (of obscure application: the literal sense is something like 'office-bearing'). After their example, the two divisions are in European usage generally known by these two names respectively.

A. Dependent Compounds.

1264. Dependent Noun-compounds. In this division, the case-relation of the prior member to the other may be of any kind; but, in accordance with the usual relations of one noun to another, it is oftenest genitive, and least often accusative.

Examples are: of genitive relation, *devasenā́*, 'army of gods', *yamadūtá*, 'Yama's messenger', *jīvaloká*, 'the world of the living', *indradhanús*, 'Indra's bow', *brahmagavī́*, 'the Brahman's cow', *viṣagirí*, 'poison-mount', *mitralābha*, 'acquisition of friends', *mūrkhaçatāni*, 'hundreds of fools', *vīrasenasuta*, 'Vīrasena's son', *rājendra*, 'chief of kings', *asmatputrās*, 'our sons', *tadvacas*, 'his words'; — of dative, *pādodaka*, 'water for the feet', *māsanicaya*, 'accumulation for a month'; — of instrumental, *ātmasādṛçya*, 'likeness with self', *dhānyārtha*, 'wealth acquired by grain', *dharmapatnī*, 'lawful spouse', *pitṛbandhú*, 'paternal relation'; — of ablative, *apsarahsambhava*, 'descent from a nymph', *madviyoga*, 'separation

from me', *cāurabhaya,* 'fear of a thief': — of locative, *jalakrīḍā,* 'sport in the water', *grāmavāsa,* 'abode in the village'; — of accusative, *nagaragamana,* 'going to the city'.

1265. Dependent Adjective-compounds. In this division, only a very small proportion of the compounds have an ordinary adjective as final member; but usually a participle or a derivative of agency with the value of a participle. The prior member stands in any case-relation which is possible in the independent construction of such words.

Examples are: of locative relation, *sthālīpakva,* 'cooked in a pot', *açvakovida,* 'knowing in horses', *vayaḥsama,* 'alike in age', *yudhiṣṭhira,* 'steadfast in battle', *tanúçubhra,* 'beautiful in body'; — of instrumental, *mātṛsadṛça,* 'like his mother'; — of dative, *gohita,* 'good for cattle'; — of ablative, *bhavadanya,* 'other than you', *taraṅgacañcalatara,* 'more mobile than the waves'; — of genitive, *bharataçreṣṭha,* 'best of the Bharatas', *dvijottama,* 'foremost of Brahmans': — with participial words, in accusative relation, *vedavíd,* 'Veda-knowing', *annādá,* 'food-eating', *tanūpā́na,* 'body-protecting', *satyavādín,* 'truth-speaking', *pattragata,* 'committed to paper' (lit'ly 'gone to a leaf'); — in instrumental, *madhupū́,* 'cleansing with honey', *svayáṁkṛta,* 'self-made', *índragupta,* 'protected by Indra', *vidyāhīna,* 'deserted by (= destitute of) knowledge'; — in locative, *hṛdayāvídh,* 'piercing in the heart', *ṛtvíj,* 'sacrificing in due season', *divícara,* 'moving in the sky'; — in ablative, *rājyabhraṣṭa,* 'fallen from the kingdom', *vṛkabhīta,* 'afraid of a wolf'; — in dative, *çaraṇāgata,* 'come for refuge'.

1266. We take up now some of the principal groups of compounds falling under these two heads, in order to notice their specialities of formation and use, their relative frequency, their accentuation, and so on.

1267. Compounds having as final member ordinary nouns (such, namely, as do not distinctly exhibit the character of verbal nouns, of action or agency) are quite common. They are regularly and usually accented on the final syllable, without reference to the accent of either constituent. Examples were given above (**1264**).

a. A principal exception with regard to accent is *páti,* 'master, lord', compounds with which usually retain the accent of the prior member: thus, *prajā́pati, vásupati, átithipati, gópati* (compare the verbal nouns in *ti,* below, **1274**). But in a few words *páti* retains its own accent: thus, *viçpáti, paçupáti,* etc.; and the more general rule is followed in *apsarāpatí* and *vrājapatí* (in AV.).

b. Other exceptions are sporadic only: for example, *janarā́jan, devavárman, hiraṇyatéjas, pṛtanā́hāva, çakadhū́ma* (but *dhūmá*); *vācā́stena*.

c. The appearance of a case-form in such compounds is rare: examples are *vācā́stena, uccā́iḥçravas, uccā́irghoṣa, dūrébhās* (the three last in possessive application).

d. A number of compounds are accented on both members: thus, *çácīpáti, sádaspáti, bṛ́haspáti, vánaspáti, ráthaspáti, jā́spáti* (also *jā́spati*), *nárāçáṅsa, tánūnápāt* (*tanū́* as independent word), *çúnaḥçépa*.

1268. The compounds having an ordinary adjective as final member are (as already noticed) comparatively few.

So far as can be gathered from the scanty examples occurring in the older language, they retain the accent of the prior member: thus, *gáviṣṭhira* (AV. *gavíṣṭhira*), *máderaghu, yajñádhīra, sā́mavipra, tilā́miçra* (but *tíla*); but *kṛṣṭapacyá*, 'ripening in cultivated soil'.

1269. The adjective dependent compounds having as final member the bare root — or, if it end in a short vowel, generally with an added *t* — are very numerous in all periods of the language, as has been already repeatedly noticed (thus, **383** ff., **1147**). They are accented on the root.

a. In a very few instances, the accent of words having apparently this origin is otherwise laid: thus, *áṅsatra, ánarviç, svā́vṛj*.

b. Before a final root-stem appears not very seldom a case-form: for example, *pataṁgá, girāvṛ́dh, dhiyājúr, akṣṇayādrúh, hṛdispṛ́ç, divispṛ́ç, vanesáh, diviṣád, aṅgeṣṭhā́, hṛtsvás, pṛtsutúr, apsujá*.

c. The root-stem has sometimes a middle or passive value: for example, *manoyúj*, 'yoked (yoking themselves) by the will', *hṛdayāvídh*, 'pierced to the heart'.

1270. Compounds made with verbal derivatives in *a*, both of action and of agency, are numerous, and take the accent usually on their final syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: **1148**. 5).

Examples are: *hastagrābhá*, 'hand-grasping', *devavandá*, 'god-praising', *haviradá*, 'devouring the offering', *bhuvanacyavá*, 'shaking the world', *vrātyabruvá*, 'calling one's self a *vrātya*'; *akṣaparājayá*, 'failure at play', *vaṣaṭkārá*, 'utterance of *vashat*', *gopoṣá*, 'prosperity in cattle', *aṅgajvará*, 'pain in the limbs'.

a. In a few instances, the accent is (as in compounds with ordinary adjectives: above, **1268**) that of the prior member: thus, *marúdvṛdha, sutékara* (and other more questionable words). And *dúgha*, 'milking, yielding', is so accented as final: thus, *madhudúgha, kāmadúgha*.

b. Case-forms are especially frequent in the prior members of compounds with adjective derivatives in *a*, showing *guṇa*-strengthening of the root: thus, for example, *abhayaṁkará, yudhiṁgamá, dhanaṁjayá, puraṁdará, viçvambhará, divākará, talpeçayá, diviṣṭambhá*.

1271. Compounds with verbal nouns and adjectives in *ana* are very numerous, and have the accent always on the radical syllable (as in the case of compounds with verbal prefixes: **1150**. 1 **c**).

Examples are: *keçavárdhana*, 'hair-increasing', *āyuṣpratáraṇa*, 'life-lengthening', *tanūpā́na*, 'body-protecting', *devahéḍana*, 'hatred of the gods', *puṁsúvana*, 'giving birth to males'.

a. A very few apparent exceptions as regards accent are really cases where the derivative has lost its verbal character: thus, *yamasādaná*, 'Yama's realm', *āchádvidhāna*, 'means of protection'.

b. An accusative-form is sometimes found before a derivative in *ana:* thus, *sarūpaṁkáraṇa*, *ayakṣmaṁkáraṇa*, *subhāgaṁkáraṇa*, *vanaṁkáraṇa*.

1272. a. The action-nouns in *ya* (**1213**) are not infrequent in composition as final member, and retain their own proper accent (as in combination with prefixes).

Sufficient examples were given above (**1213**).

b. The same is true of the equivalent feminines in *yā́:* see above, **1213 d**.

c. The gerundives in *ya* (**1213**) hardly occur in the older language in combination with other elements than prefixes. The two *nīvibhāryà* and *prathamavāsyà* (the latter a descriptive) have the accent of the independent words of the same form; *balavijñāyá* and *áçvabudhya* (?) are inconsistent with these and with one another.

1273. Compounds made with the passive participle in *ta* or *na* have the accent of their prior member (as do the combinations of the same words with prefixes: **1085 a**).

Examples are: *hástakṛta*, 'made with the hand', *vīrájāta*, 'born of a hero', *ghóṣabuddha*, 'awakened by noise', *prajā́patisṛṣṭa*, 'created by Prajapati'; and, of participles combined with prefixes, *índraprasūta*, 'incited by Indra', *bṛ́haspátipraṇutta*, 'driven away by Brihaspati', *ulkā́bhihata*, 'struck by a thunderbolt'.

a. AV. has the anomalous *apsúsaṁçita*.

b. A number of exceptions occur, in which the final syllable of the compound has the accent: for example, *agnitaptá*, *indrotá*, *pitṛvittá*, *rathakrītá*, *kavipraçastá*.

c. One or two special usages may be noticed. The participle *gata*, 'gone to', as final of a compound, is used in a loose way in the later language to express relation of various kinds: thus, *jagatīgata*, 'existing in the world', *tvadgata*, 'belonging to thee', *sakhīgata*, 'relating to a friend', etc. The participle *bhūta*, 'been, become', is used in composition with a noun as hardly more than a grammatical device to give it an adjective form: thus, *idaṁ tamobhūtam*, 'this creation, being darkness (existing in the condition of darkness)'; *tāṁ ratnabhūtāṁ lokasya*, 'her, being the pearl of the world'; and so on.

The other participles do not occur as finals of compounds except in rare and sporadic cases: thus, *gāutamabruvāṇá*, 'calling himself Gautama'.

1274. Compounds with derivatives in *ti* have (like combinations with the prefixes: **1157. 1d**) the accent of the prior member.

Examples are: *dhánasāti*, 'winning of wealth', *sómapīti*, 'soma-drinking', *deváhūti*, 'invocation of the gods', *námaükti*, 'utterance of homage', *havyádāti*, 'presentation of offerings'.

In *nemádhiti*, *medhásāti*, *vanádhiti* (all RV.), the accent of the prior member is changed from penult to final.

Where the verbal character of the derivative is lost, the general rule of final accent (**1267**) is followed: thus, *devahetí*, 'weapon of the gods', *devasumatí*, 'favor of the gods'.

In *sarvajyāní*, 'loss of everything', the accent is that of compounds with ordinary nouns.

1275. Compounds with a derivative in *in* as final member have (as in all other cases) the accent on the *in*.

Thus, *ukthaçansín*, 'psalm-singing', *vratacārín*, 'vow-performing', *ṛṣabhadāyín*, 'bullock-giving', *satyavādín*, 'truth-speaking', *çroṇipratodín*, 'thigh-pounding'.

1276. There is a group of compounds with derivatives in *i*, having the accent on the penult or radical syllable.

Thus, *pathirákṣi*, 'road-protecting', *havirmáthi*, 'sacrifice-disturbing', *ātmadū́ṣi*, 'soul-harming', *pathiṣádi*, 'sitting in the path', *sahobhári*, 'strength-bearing', *vasuváni*, 'winning good things', *dhanasáni*, 'gaining wealth'; and, from reduplicated root, *urucákri*, 'making room'.

Compounds with *-sáni* and *-váni* are especially frequent in Veda and Brāhmaṇa. As independent words, nouns, these are accented *saní* and *vaní*. Combinations with prefixes do not occur in sufficient numbers to establish a distinct rule, but they appear to be oftenest accented on the suffix (**1155. 2d**).

From √*han* are made in composition *-ghni* and *-ghnī*, with accent on the ending: thus, *sahasraghní*, *ahighnī́*, *çvaghnī́*; *-dhi* from √*dhā* (**1155. 2e**) has the accent in its numerous compounds: thus, *iṣudhí*, *garbhadhí*, *puchadhí*: *óṣadhi* and *púraṁdhi* are probably of other derivation.

1277. Compounds with derivatives in *van* have (like combinations with prefixes: **1169. 1b**) the accent of the final member — namely, on the radical syllable.

Thus, *somapávan*, 'soma-drinking', *baladávan*, 'strength-giving', *pāpakṛ́tvan*, 'evil-doing', *bahusū́van*, 'much-yielding', *talpaçī́van*, 'lying on a couch', *druṣádvan*, 'sitting on a tree', *agrétvarī*, f., 'going at the head'.

a. The accent of the (somewhat obscure) words *mātaríçvan* and *mātaríbhvan* is anomalous.

b. The few compounds with final *man* appear to follow the same rule

as those with *van:* thus, *svādukṣádman*, 'sharing out sweets', *āçuhéman*, 'steed-impelling'.

1278. Compounds with other derivatives, of rare or sporadic occurrence, may be briefly noticed: thus, in *u*, *rāṣṭradipsú, devapīyú, govindú, vanargú* (?): compare **1178 d**; — in *nu* or *tnu*, *lokakṛtnú, surūpakṛtnú:* compare **1196**; — in *tṛ*, *nṛpā́tṛ, mandhā́tṛ, haskartṛ́* (*vasudhā́taras*, AV., is doubtless a false reading). The derivatives in *as* are of infrequent occurrence in composition (as in combination with prefixes: above, **1151.4**), and appear to be treated as ordinary nouns: thus, *yajñavacás* (but *hiraṇyatéjas*, AV.).

B. Descriptive Compounds.

1279. In this division of the class of determinatives, the prior member stands to the other in no distinct case-relation, but qualifies it adjectively or adverbially, according as it (the final member) is noun or adjective.

Examples are: *nīlotpala*, 'blue lotus', *sarvaguṇa*, 'all good quality', *priyasakha*, 'dear friend', *maharṣi*, 'great sage', *rajatapātrá*, 'silver cup'; *ájñāta*, 'unknown', *súkṛta*, 'well done', *duṣkṛ́t*, 'ill-doing', *puruṣṭutá*, 'much praised', *púnarṇava*, 'renewed'.

a. The prior member is not always an adjective before a noun, and an adverb before an adjective; other parts of speech are sometimes used adjectively and adverbially in that position.

b. The boundary between descriptive and dependent compounds is not an absolute one; in certain cases it is open to question, for instance, whether a prior noun, or adjective with noun-value, is used more in a case-relation, or adverbially.

c. Moreover, where the final member is a derivative having both noun and adjective value, it is not seldom doubtful whether an adjective compound is to be regarded as descriptive, made with final adjective, or possessive, made with final noun. Sometimes the accent of the word determines its character in this respect, but not always.

A satisfactorily simple and perspicuous classification of the descriptive compounds is not practicable; we cannot hold apart throughout the compounds of noun and of adjective value, but may better group both together, as they appear with prefixed elements of various kinds.

1280. The simplest case is that in which a noun as final member is preceded by a qualifying adjective as prior member.

In this combination, both noun and adjective may be of any kind. The accent is (as in the corresponding class of dependent noun-compounds: **1267**) on the final syllable.

Thus, *ajñātayakṣmá*, 'unknown disease', *mahādhaná*, 'great

wealth', *kṛṣṇaçakuní*, 'black bird', *dakṣiṇāgni*, 'southern fire', *urukṣití*, 'wide abode', *adharahanú*, 'lower jaw', *itarajaná*, 'other folks', *sarvātmán*, 'whole soul', *ekavīrá*, 'sole hero', *saptarṣí*, 'seven sages', *ekonaviṅçatí*, 'a score diminished by one', *jāgrat-svapná*, 'waking sleep', *yāvayatsakhá*, 'defending friend'.

a. There are some exceptions as regards accent. Especially, compounds with *víçva* (in composition, accented *viçvá*), which itself retains the accent: thus, *viçvádevās*, 'all the gods', *viçvámānuṣa*, 'every man'. For words in *ti*, see below, **1287 d**. Sporadic cases are *madhyándina*, *vṛṣákapi*, both of which show an irregular shift of tone in the prior member; and a few others.

b. Instead of an adjective, the prior member is in a few cases a noun used appositionally, or with a quasi-adjective value. Thus, *rājayakṣmá*, 'king-disease', *brahmarṣi*, 'priest-sage', *rājarṣi*, 'king-sage', *rājadanta*, 'king-tooth', *devajana*, 'god-folk', *duhitṛ-jana*, 'daughter-person', *çamīlatā*, 'creeper named *çamī*', *jayaçabda*, 'the word "conquer"', *ujjhitaçabda*, 'the word "deserted"'.

This group is of consequence, inasmuch as in possessive application it is greatly extended, and forms a numerous class of appositional compounds: see below, **1302**.

c. This whole subdivision, of nouns with preceding qualifying adjectives, is not uncommon; but it is greatly (in AV., for example, more than five times) exceeded in frequency by the sub-class of possessives of the same form: see below, **1298**.

1281. The adverbial words which are most freely and commonly used as prior members of compounds, qualifying the final member, are the verbal prefixes and the words of direction related with them, and the inseparable prefixes, *a* or *an*, *su*, *dus*, etc. (**1121**). These are combined not only with adjectives, but also, in quasi-adjectival value, with nouns; and the two classes of combinations will best be treated together.

1282. Verbal adjectives and nouns with preceding adverbs. As the largest and most important class under this head might properly enough be regarded the derivatives with preceding verbal prefixes. These, however, have been here reckoned rather as derivatives from roots combined with prefixes (**1141**), and have been treated under the head of derivation, in the preceding chapter. In taking up the others, we will begin with the participles.

1283. The participles belonging to the tense-systems — those in *ant* (or *at*), *māna*, *āna*, *vāṅs* — are only very rarely

compounded with any other adverbial element than the negative *a* or *an*, which then takes the accent.

Examples are: *ánadant*, *ádadat*, *ánaçnant*, *ásravant*, *álubhyant*, *ádāsyant*, *áditsant*, *ádevayant; ámanyamāna*, *áhiṅsāna*, *áchidyamāna; ádadivāṅs*, *ábibhīvāṅs;* and, with verbal prefixes, *ánapasphurant*, *ánāgamiṣyant*, *ávirādhayant*, *ávicācalat*, *ápratimanyūyamāna*.

a. Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: *arundhatī́*, *ajárantī*, *acodánt* (RV., once: doubtless a false reading; the simple participle is *códant*); AV. has *anipádyamāna* for RV. *ánipadyamāna* (and the published text has *asaṁyánt*, with a part of the MSS.).

b. Of other compounds than with the negative prefix have been noted in the Veda *-punardīyamāna* (in *ápunard-*) and *súvidvāṅs*. In *alalābhávant* and *jañjanābhávant* (RV.), as in *astaṁyánt* and *astameṣyánt* (AV.), we have participles of a compound conjugation (**1091**), in which, as has been pointed out, the accent is as in combinations with the verbal prefixes.

1284. The passive (or past) participle in *ta* or *na* is much more variously compounded, and in general (as in the case of the verbal prefixes: **1085 a**) the preceding adverbial element has the accent.

Thus, with the negative *a* or *an* (by far the most common case): *ákṛta*, *ádabdha*, *áriṣṭa*, *ánādhṛṣṭa*, *áparājita*, *ásaṁkhyāta*, *ánabhyārūḍha;* — with *su*, *sújāta*, *súhuta*, *súsaṁçita*, *svàraṁkṛta;* — with *dus*, *dúçcarita*, *dúrdhita* and *dúrhita;* — with other adverbial words, *dáṅsujūta*, *návajāta*, *sánaçruta*, *svayáṁkṛta*, *trípratiṣṭhita: áraṁkṛta* and *kakajákṛta* are rather participles of a compound conjugation.

a. Exceptions in regard to accent are: with *a* or *an*, *anāçastá*, *apraçastá*, and, with the accent of the participle retracted to the root, *amṛ́ta*, *adṛ́ṣṭa*, *acítta*, *ayúta* 'myriad', *atū́rta* (beside *átūrta*), *asū́rta* (? beside *sū́rta*); — with *su* (nearly half as numerous as the regular cases), *subhūtá*, *sūktá*, *supraçastá*, *svā́kta*, *sukṛtá* and *sujātá* (beside *súkṛta* and *sújāta*), and a few others; with *dus* (quite as numerous as the regular cases), *duritá*, *duruktá*, *duṣkṛtá*, *durbhūtá;* with *sa*, *sajātá;* with other adverbs, *amotá*, *ariṣṭutá*, *tuvijātá*, *prācīnopavītá*, and the compounds with *puru*, *purujātá*, *puruprajātá*, *purupraçastá*, *puruṣṭutá*, etc. The proper name *aṣāḍhá* stands beside *áṣāḍha;* and AV. has *abhinná* for RV. *ábhinna*.

1285. The gerundives occur almost only in combination with the negative prefix, and have usually the accent on the final syllable.

Examples are: *anāpyá*, *anindyá*, *asahyá*, *ayodhyá*, *amokyá; adviṣeṇyá; ahnavāyyá;* and, along with verbal prefixes, the cases are *asaṁkhyeyá*, *apramṛṣyá*, *anapavṛjyá*, *anatyudyá*, *anādhṛṣyá*, *avimokyá*, *anānukṛtyá* (the accent of the simple word being *saṁkhyéya* etc.).

a. Exceptions in regard to accent are: *ánedya*, *ádābhya*, *ágohya*, *ájoṣya*, *áyabhya*. The two *anavadharṣyà* and *anativyādhyà* (both AV.) belong to the

yà-division (**1213 b**) of gerundives, and have retained the accent of the simple word. And *ághnya* and *aghnyá* occur together.

b. The only compounds of these words with other adverbial elements in V. are *súyabhya* (accented like its twin *áyabhya*) and *prathamavāsyà* (which retains the final circumflex), and perhaps *ekavādyá*.

c. The neuter nouns of the same form (**1213 c**: except *sadhástutya*) retain their own accent after an adverbial prior member: thus, *purvapā́yya*, *pūrvapéya*, *amutrabhū́ya;* and *sahaçéyya*. And the negatived gerundives instanced above are capable of being viewed as possessive compounds with such nouns.

Some of the other verbal derivatives which have rules of their own as to accent etc. may be next noticed.

1286. The root-stem (pure root, or with *t* added after a short final vowel: **1147**) is very often combined with a preceding adverbial word, of various kinds; and in the combination it retains the accent.

Examples are: with inseparable prefixes, *adrúh*, 'not harming', *asū́*, 'not giving birth', *arúc*, 'not shining'; *sukṛ́t*, 'well-doing', *suçrút*, 'hearing well'; *duṣkṛ́t*, 'ill-doing', *dūḍā́ç* (**199 b**), 'impious'; *sayúj*, 'joining together', *samád*, 'conflict'; *sahajā́*, 'born together', *sahaváh*, 'carrying together'; — with other adverbs, *amājúr*, 'growing old at home', *uparispṛ́ç*, 'touching upward', *punarbhū́*, 'appearing again', *prātaryúj*, 'harnessed early', *sadyaḥkrī́*, 'bought the same day', *sākaṁvṛ́dh*, 'growing up together', *sadaṁdí*, 'ever-binding', *viṣūvṛ́t*, 'turning to both sides', *vṛthāsáh*, 'easily overcoming'; — with adjectives used adverbially, *uruvyác*, 'wide-spreading', *prathamajā́*, 'first-born', *raghuṣyád*, 'swift-moving', *navasū́*, 'newly giving birth', *ekajá*, 'only born', *çukrapíç*, 'brightly adorned', *dvijá*, 'twice born', *trivṛ́t*, 'triple', *svarā́j*, 'self-ruling'; — with nouns used adverbially, *çambhū́*, 'beneficent', *sūryaçvít*, 'shining like the sun', *īçānakṛ́t*, 'acting as lord', *svayambhū́*, 'self-existent'; and, with accusative case-form, *pataṁgá*, 'going by flight'.

a. When, however, a root-stem is already in composition, whether with a verbal prefix or an element of other character, the further added negative itself takes the accent (as in case of an ordinary adjective: below, **1288 a**): thus, for example, *ánāvṛt*, 'not turning back', *ávidviṣ*, 'not showing hostility', *áduṣkṛt*, 'not ill-doing', *ánaçvadā*, 'not giving a horse', *ápaçuhan*, 'not slaying cattle' (*anāgā́s* would be an exception, if it contained √*gā:* which is very unlikely). Similar combinations with *su* seem to retain the radical accent: thus, *supratúr*, *svābhū́*, *svāyúj:* *svā́vṛj* is an unsupported exception.

b. A few other exceptions occur, mostly of doubtful character, as *sadhástha*, *ádhrigu*, and the words having *añc* as final member (**407** ff.: if this element is not, after all, a suffix).

1287. Other verbal derivatives, requiring to be treated apart from the general body of adjectives, are few and of minor importance. Thus:

a. The derivatives in *a* are in great part of doubtful character, because of the possibility of their being used with substantive value to make a possessive compound. The least ambiguous, probably, are the derivatives from present-stems (**1148. 3 b**), which have the accent on the suffix: thus, *asunvá, apaçyá, akṣudhyá, avidasyá, anāmṛṇá, sadāpṛṇá, punarmanyá;* and with them belong such cases as *atṛpá, avṛdhá, araṁgamá, urukramá, evāvadá, satrāsahá, punaḥsará, puraḥsará;* and the nouns *sāyambhavá, sahacārá, prātaḥsāvá, mithoyodhá.* Differently accented, on the other hand, although apparently of the same formation, are such as *ánapasphura, ánavahvara* (compare the compounds noticed at **1286 a**), *sadā́vṛdha, súbharva, nyagródha, puroḍā́ça, sadhamā́da,* and others. Words like *adā́bha, durhā́ṇa, sukā́ra,* are probably possessives.

b. The derivatives in *van* keep in general the accent of the final member, on the root (compare **1169. 1 b, 1277**): thus, *āçupátvan,* 'swift-flying', *puroyā́van,* 'going in front', *sukṛ́tvan,* 'well-doing'; and *sutárman* and *suváhman* are probably to be classed with them. But the negative prefix has the accent even before these: thus, *áyajvan, árāvan, áprayutvan;* and *satyámadvan* (if it be not possessive) has the accent of its prior member.

c. A few words in *i* seem to have (as in dependent compounds: **1276**) the accent on the radical syllable: thus, *durgṛ́bhi, ṛjuváni, tuviṣváṇi.*

d. The derivatives in *ti* are variously treated: the negative prefix has always the accent before them: as *ácitti, ábhūti, ánāhūti;* with *su* and *dus*, the compound is accented now on the prefix and now on the final, and in some words on both (*súnīti* and *sunītí, dúṣṭuti* and *duṣṭutí*); with other elements, the accent of the prefix prevails: thus, *sáhuti, sadhástuti, puróhiti, pūrvápīti, pūrvyástuti.*

e. The derivatives in *in* have, as in general, the accent on the suffix: thus, *pūrvāsín, bahucārín, sādhudevín, savāsín, kevalādín.* But, with the negative prefix, *ánāmin, ávitārin.*

f. Other combinations are too various in treatment, or are represented by too few examples in accentuated texts, to justify the setting up of rules respecting them.

1288. Of the remaining combinations, those made with the inseparable prefixes form in some measure a class by themselves.

a. The negative prefix *a* or *an*, when it directly negatives the word to which it is added, has a very decided tendency to take the accent.

We have seen above (**1283**) that it does so even in the case of present and perfect and future participles, although these in combination with a verbal prefix retain their own accent (**1085**); and also in the case of a root-stem, if this be already compounded with another element (**1286 a**). And the same is true of its other combinations.

Thus, with various adjective words: *átandra, ádabhra, ádāçuri, ánṛju, ádevayu, átṛṣṇaj, átavyāṅs, ánāmin, ádvayāvin, ápracetas, ánapatyavant, ánupadasvant, ápramāyuka, ámamri, áprajajñi, ávidīdhayu, ánagnidagdha,*

ákāmakarçana, *ápaçcāddaghvan*. Further, with nouns, *ápati*, *ákumāra*, *ábrāhmaṇa*, *ávidyā*, *áçraddhā*, *ávrātya*.

But there are a number of exceptions, in which the accent is on the final syllable, without regard to the original accentuation of the final member: thus, for example, *acitrá*, *açrīrá*, *aviprá*, *ayajñiyá*, *anāsmāká*, *asthūrí*, *anāçú*, *ajarayú*, *anāmayitnú*; and in *amítra*, 'enemy', and *avī́ra*, 'unmanly', there is a retraction of the accent from the final syllable of the final member to its penult.

b. The prefixes *su* and *dus* have this tendency in a much less degree, and their compounds are very variously accented, now on the prefix, now on the final syllable, now on the accented syllable of the final member.

Thus, for example, *súbhadra*, *súvipra*, *súpakva*, *súbrāhmaṇa*, *súbhiṣaj*; *sutīrthá*, *suvasaná*, *suṣārathí*, *supāçá*, *sucitrá*; *suçéva*, *suhótṛ*: *suvī́ra* is like *avī́ra*; — *durmitrá*, *duṣvápnya*; and *duchúnā* (**168**), with irregular retraction of accent *(çuná)*.

c. The compounds with *sa* are too few to furnish occasion for separate mention; and those with the interrogative prefix in its various forms are also extremely rare in the Veda: examples are *kucará*, *katpayá*, *kábandha*, *kunannamá*, *kumārá*, *kúyava*, *kuṣáva*.

1289. The verbal prefixes are sometimes used in a general adverbial way, qualifying a following adjective or noun.

a. Examples of such combinations are not numerous in the Veda. Their accentuation is various, though the tone rests oftenest on the preposition. Thus, *ádhipati*, 'over-lord', *áparūpa*, 'mis-form', *prátiçatru*, 'opposing foe', *prápada*, 'fore part of foot', *práṇapāt*, 'great-grandchild', *vípakva*, 'quite done', *sámpriya*, 'mutually dear'; *upajíhvikā*, 'side tongue' (with retraction of the accent of *jihvā́*); *antardeçá*, 'intermediate direction', *pradív*, 'forward heaven', *prapitāmahá* (also *prápitāmaha*), 'great-grandfather', *pratijaná*, 'opponent', *vyadhvá*, 'midway'. These compounds are more frequent with possessive value (below, **1305**).

b. This use of the verbal prefixes is more common later, and some of them have a regular value in such compounds. Thus, *ati* denotes excess, as in *atidūra*, 'very far', *atibhaya*, 'exceeding fear', *átipūruṣa* (ÇB.), 'chief man'; *adhi*, superiority, as in *adhidanta*, 'upper tooth', *adhistrī*, 'chief woman'; *ā* signifies 'somewhat', as in *ākuṭila*, 'somewhat crooked', *ānīla*, 'bluish'; *upa* denotes something accessory or secondary, as in *upapurāṇa*, 'additional Purāna'; *pari*, excess, as in *paridurbala*, 'very weak'; *prati*, opposition, as in *pratipakṣa*, 'opposing side', *pratipustaka*, 'copy'; *vi*, variation or excess, as in *vidūra*, 'very far', *vipāṇḍu*, 'greyish', *vikṣudra*, 'respectively small'; *sam*, completeness, as in *sampakva*, 'quite ripe'.

1290. Other compounds with adverbial prior members are quite irregularly accented.

Thus, the compounds with *puru*, on the final (compare the participles

with *puru*, 1284 a); as, *purudasmá*, *purupriyá*, *puruçandrá;* those with *púnar*, on the prior member, as *púnarṇava*, *púnarvasu;* those with *satás*, *satīná*, *satyá*, the same, as *satómahant*, *satīnámanyu*, *satyámugra;* a few combinations of nouns in *tṛ* and *ana* with adverbs akin with the prefixes, on the final syllable, as *puraētṛ́*, *puraḥsthātṛ́*, *upariçayaná*, *prātaḥsavaná;* and miscellaneous cases are *mithóāvadyapa*, *háriçcandra*, *álpaçayu*, *sādhvaryá*, and *yāchreṣṭhá* and *yāvácchreṣṭhá*.

1291. The adjective *pūrva* is in the later language frequently used as final member of a compound in which its logical value is that of an adverb qualifying the other member (which is said to retain its own accent). Thus, *dṛṣṭapūrva*, 'previously seen', *pariṇītapūrva*, 'already married', *somapītapūrva*, 'having formerly drunk soma', *strīpūrva,* 'formerly a woman'.

III. Secondary Adjective Compounds.

1292. A compound having a noun as its final member very often wins secondarily the value of an adjective, being inflected in the three genders to agree with the noun which it qualifies, and used in all the constructions of an adjective.

This class of compounds, as was pointed out above (1247. III.), falls into the two divisions of **A**. Possessives, having their adjective character given them by addition of the idea of 'possessing'; and **B**. those in which the final member is syntactically dependent on or governed by the prior member.

A. Possessive Compounds.

1293. The possessives are noun-compounds of the preceding class, determinatives, of all its various subdivisions, to which is given an adjective inflection, and which take on an adjective meaning of a kind which is most conveniently and accurately defined by adding 'having' or 'possessing' to the meaning of the determinative.

Thus: the dependent *sūryatejás,* 'sun's brightness', becomes the possessive *sū́ryatejas*, 'possessing the brightness of the sun'; *yajñakāmá,* 'desire of sacrifice', becomes *yajñákāma,* 'having desire of sacrifice'; the descriptive *bṛhadratha,* 'great chariot', be-

comes the possessive *bṛhádratha*, 'having great chariots', *áhasta*, 'not hand', becomes *ahastá*, 'handless', *durgandhi*, 'ill savor', becomes *durgándhi*, 'of ill savor'; and so on.

a. Compounds of the copulative class do not appear to assume a possessive value — unless (as has been suggested with some plausibility) we are to regard those of singular collective form as neuters of secondary adjectives.

b. The name given by the native grammarians to the possessive compounds is *bahuvrīhi:* the word is an example of the class, meaning 'possessing much rice'.

c. The name "relative", instead of possessive, sometimes applied to this class, is evidently not to be approved; since, though the meaning of such a compound (as of any attributive word) is easily cast into a relative form, its essential character lies in the possessive verb which has nevertheless to be added, or in the possessive case of the relative which must be used: thus, *bṛhádratha*, 'who has a great chariot', or 'whose is a great chariot'.

1294. That a noun, simple or compound, should be added to another noun, in an appositive way, with a value virtually attributive, and that such nouns should occasionally gain by frequent association and application an adjective form also, is natural enough, and common in many languages; the peculiarity of the Sanskrit formation lies in two things. First, that such use should have become a perfectly regular and indefinitely extensible one in the case of compounded words, so that any compound with noun-final may be turned without alteration into an adjective, while to a simple noun must be added an adjective-making suffix in order to adapt it to adjective use: for example, that while *hasta* must become *hastin* and *bāhu* must become *bāhumant*, *hiraṇyahasta* and *mahābāhu* change from noun to adjective value with no added ending. And second, that the relation of the qualified noun to the compound should have come to be so generally that of possession, not of likeness, nor of appurtenance, nor of any other relation which is as naturally involved in such a construction: that we may only say, for example, *mahābāhuḥ puruṣaḥ*, 'man with great arms', and not also *mahābāhur maṇiḥ*, 'jewel for a great arm', or *mahābāhavaḥ çākhāḥ*, 'branches like great arms'.

There is, however, in the older language a little group of derivative adjectives involving the relation of appurtenance rather than of possession: thus, *viçvānara*, 'of or for all men, belonging to all'; and so *viçvákṛṣṭi*, *viçvácarṣaṇi;* also *viçváçārada*, 'of every autumn', *vipathá*, 'for bad roads', *dvirājá*, '[battle] of two kings'. And some of the so-called *dvigu*-compounds, as *dvigu* itself in the adjective sense 'worth two cows', *dvināu*, 'bought for two ships' (**1312**), may be compared with them (compare also the words in *ana*, **1296**, end). It is at least open to question whether these are not survivals of an application independent of the possessive, and originally of an equal rank with it, rather than instances of a possessive modified to its opposite.

1295. The possessive compound is distinguished from its substrate, the determinative, generally by a difference of accent.

This difference is not of the same nature in all the divisions of the class; but oftenest, the possessive has as a compound the natural accent of its prior member (as in most of the examples given above).

1296. Possessively used dependent compounds, or possessive dependents, are very much less common than those corresponding to the other division of determinatives.

Further examples are: *mayū́raroman*, 'having the plumes of peacocks', *agnítejas*, 'having the brightness of fire', *jñātímukha*, 'wearing the aspect of relatives', *pátikāma*, 'desiring a husband', *hastipāda*, 'having an elephant's feet'.

The accent is, as in the examples given, regularly that of the prior member, and exceptions are few and of doubtful character. A few compounds with derivatives in *ana* have the accent of the final member: thus, *indrapā́na*, 'serving as drink for Indra', *devasā́dana*, 'serving as seat for the gods', *rayisthā́na*, 'being source of wealth'; but they contain no implication of possession, and are perhaps in character, as in accent (**1271**), dependent. Also a few in *as*, as *nṛcā́kṣas*, 'men-beholding', *nṛvā́has*, 'men-bearing', *kṣetrasā́dhas*, 'field-prospering', are probably to be judged in the same way.

1297. Possessively used descriptive compounds, or possessive descriptives, are extremely numerous and of every variety of character; and some kinds of combination which are rare in proper descriptive use are very common as possessives.

They will be taken up below in order, according to the character of the prior member — whether the noun-final be preceded by a qualifying adjective, or noun, or adverb.

1298. Possessive compounds in which a noun is preceded by a qualifying ordinary adjective are (as pointed out above, **1280 c**) very much more common than descriptives of the same form.

a. They regularly and usually have the accent of their prior member: thus, *anyárūpa*, 'of other form', *ugrábāhu*, 'having powerful arms', *jīvā́putra*, 'having living sons', *dīrghā́çmaçru*, 'long-bearded', *bṛhā́chravas*, 'of great renown', *bhū́rimūla*, 'many-rooted', *mahā́vadha*, 'bearing a great weapon', *viçvárūpa*, 'having all forms', *çukrávarṇa*, 'of bright color', *çivā́bhimarçana*, 'of propitious touch', *satyásaṁdha*, 'of true promises', *sárvāñga*, 'whole-limbed', *sváyaças*, 'having own glory', *háritasraj*, 'wearing yellow garlands'.

b. Exceptions, however, in regard to accent are not rare (a seventh or eighth of the whole number, perhaps). Thus, the accent is sometimes that

of the final member; especially with derivatives in *as*, as *tuvirā́dhas*, *puru-péças*, *pṛthupā́kṣas*, and others in which (as above, **1296**, end) a determinative character may be suspected: thus, *urujrā́yas* beside *urujrí*, *uruvyā́cas* beside *uruvyā́c*, and so on; but also with those of other final, as *ṛjuhásta*, *çitikákṣa*, *kṛṣṇakárṇa*, *citradṛ́çīka*/*tuviçúṣma*, *ṛjukrátu*, *pṛthupárçu*, *puruvártman*, *raghu-yā́man*, *vīḍupátman*. In a very few cases, the accent is retracted from the final to the first syllable of the second member: thus, *aṅhubhéda*, *tuvigrī́va*, *puruvī́ra*, *pururū́pa*, *çitibā́hu* (also *çitibāhú*). The largest class is that of compounds which take the accent upon their final syllable (in part, of course, not distinguishable from that of those which retain the accent of the final member): for example, *bahvanná*, *nīlanakhá*, *puruputrá*, *viçvāṅgá*, *svapatí*, *tuvipratí*, *pṛçniparṇī́* f., *darçataçrī́*, *pūtirajjú*, *asitajñú*, *pṛthugmán*, *bahuprajā́s*.

c. The adjective *víçva*, 'all', as prior member of a compound (and also in derivation), changes its accent regularly to *viçvá*; *sárva*, 'whole, all', does the same in a few cases.

1299. Possessive compounds with a participle preceding and qualifying the final noun-member are numerous, although such a compound with simple descriptive value is almost unknown.

The accent is, with few exceptions, that of the prior member.

a. The participle is oftenest the passive one, in *ta* or *na*. Thus, *chinnápakṣa*, 'with severed wing', *dhṛtárāṣṭra*, 'of firmly held royalty', *hatá-mātṛ*, 'whose mother is slain', *iddhā́gni*, 'whose fire is kindled', *uttānáhasta*, 'with outstretched hand', *práyatadakṣiṇa*, 'having presented sacrificial gifts'; and, with prefixed negative, *áriṣṭavīra*, 'whose men are unharmed', *átapta-tanu*, 'of unburned substance', *ánabhimlātavarṇa*, 'of untarnished color'.

Exceptions in regard to accent are very few: there have been noticed only *paryastākṣá*, *vyastakeçī́* f., *achinnaparṇá*.

b. A few examples occur of a present participle in the same situation. In about half the instances, it gives its own accent to the compound: thus, *dyutádyāman*, *dhṛṣádvarṇa* etc., *çucádratha*, *rúçadvatsa* etc., *bhrā́jajjanman* etc., *saṁyádvīra*, *stanáyadama*, *sā́dhadiṣṭi*; in the others, the accent is drawn forward to the final syllable of the participle (as in the compounds with governing participle: below, **1309**): thus, *dravátpāṇi* etc. (*dravát* also occurs as adverb), *rapçádūdhan*, *svanádratha*, *arcáddhūma*, *bhandádiṣṭi*, *krandádiṣṭi*. With these last agrees in form *jarádaṣṭi*, 'attaining old age, long-lived'; but its make-up, in view of its meaning, is anomalous.

c. The RV. has two compounds with the perfect middle participle as prior member: thus, *yuyujānásapti*, 'with harnessed coursers' (perhaps rather 'having harnessed their coursers'), and *dadṛçānápavi* (with regular accent, instead of *dádṛçāna*, as elsewhere irregularly in this participle), 'with conspicuous wheel-rims'.

d. Of a nearly participial character is the prior element in *çrútkarṇa* (RV.), 'of listening ear'; and with this are perhaps accordant *dī́dyagni* and *sthā́raçman* (RV., each once).

1300. Possessive compounds having a numeral as prior member are very common, and for the most part follow the same rule of accent which is followed by compounds with other adjectives: excepted are in general those beginning with *dvi* and *tri*, which accent the final member.

a. Examples with other numerals than *dvi* and *tri* are: *ékacakra*, *éka-çīrṣan*, *ékapad*, *cáturaṅga*, *cátuṣpakṣa*, *páñcāṅguri*, *páñcāudana*, *ṣáḍaçva*, *ṣátpad*, *saptájihva*, *saptámātṛ*, *aṣṭā́pad*, *aṣṭā́putra*, *návapad*, *návadvāra*, *dáçaçākha*, *dáçaçīrṣan*, *dvā́daçāra*, *triṅçádara*, *çatáparvan*, *çatádant*, *sahásra-ṇāman*, *sahásramūla*.

b. Exceptions in regard to accent are but few, and have the tone on the final syllable, whatever may be that belonging originally to the final member; they are mostly stems in final *a*, used by substitution for others in *an*, *i*, or a consonant: thus, *caturakṣá* etc. (*akṣán* or *ákṣi*: **431**), *ṣaḍahá* etc. (*áhan* or *áhar*: **430 a**), *daçavṛṣá* etc. (*vṛ́ṣan*), *ekarātrá* etc. (*rā́tri* or *rā́trī*), *ekarcá* etc. (*ṛ́c*); but also a few others, as *ṣaḍyogá*, *aṣṭāyogá*, *çatārghá*, *sahasrārghá*, *ekapará* (?).

c. The compounds with *dvi* and *tri* for the most part have the accent of their final member: thus, for example, *dvijánman*, *dvidhā́ra*, *dvibándhu*, *dvivartaní*, *dvipád*, *tritántu*, *trinā́bhi*, *triçóka*, *trivárūtha*, *tricakrá*, *triçīrṣán*, *tripád*. A number of words, however, follow the general analogy, and accent the numeral: thus, for example, *dvípakṣa*, *dvíçavas*, *dvyā̀sya*, *tríṣandhi*, *tryā̀ra*, *tryā̀çir*, and sometimes *dvípad* and *trípad* in AV. As in the other numeral compounds, a substituted stem in *a* is apt to take the accent on the final: thus, *dvivṛṣá* and *trivṛṣá*, *dvirājá*, *dvirātrá*, *tryāyuṣá*, *tridivá*; and a few of other character with *tri* follow the same rule: thus, *trikaçá*, *trināká*, *tribandhú*, *tryudhán*, *tribarhís*, etc.

d. The neuter, or also the feminine, of numeral compounds is often used substantively, with a collective or abstract value, and the accent is then regularly on the final syllable: see below, **1312**.

1301. Possessive compounds having as prior member a noun which has a quasi-adjective value in qualifying the final member are very frequent, and show certain specialities of usage.

Least peculiar is a noun of material as prior member (hardly to be reckoned as regular possessive dependents, because the relation of material is not expressed by a case): thus, *híraṇyahasta*, 'gold-handed', *híraṇyasraj*, 'with golden garlands', *áyaḥsthūṇa*, 'having brazen supports', *rajatánābhi*, 'of silver navel'.

1302. Especially common is the use of a noun as prior member to qualify the other appositionally, or by way of equivalence (the occasional occurrence of determinatives of this character has been noticed above, **1280 b**). These may conveniently be called a p p o s i t i o n a l p o s s e s s i v e s. Their accent is that of the prior member, like the ordinary possessive descriptives.

a. Examples are: *áçvaparṇa*, 'horse-winged', or 'having horses as wings'

(said of a chariot), *bhúmigṛha*, 'having the earth as house', *índrasakhi*, 'having Indra for friend', *agníhotṛ*, 'having Agni as priest', *gandharvápatnī*, 'having a Gandharva for spouse', *çúrāputra*, 'having hero-sons', *jarámṛtyu*, 'having old age as mode of death, living till old age', *agnívāsas*, 'fire-clad', *tadanta*, 'ending with that', *cāracakṣus*, 'using spies for eyes', *viṣṇuçarmanāman*, 'named Vishnuçarman'; and, with pronoun instead of noun, *tvádūta*, 'having thee as messenger', *tádapas*, 'having this for work'.

Exceptions in regard to accent occur here, as in the more regular descriptive formation: thus, *agnijihvá*, *vṛṣaṇaçvá*, *dhūmaçikhá*, *pavīnasá*, etc.

b. Not infrequently, a substantively used adjective is the final member in such a compound: thus, *índrajyeṣṭha*, 'having Indra as chief', *mánaḥṣaṣṭha*, 'having the mind as sixth', *somaçreṣṭha*, 'of which soma is best', *ekapará*, 'of which the ace is highest' (?), *ásthibhūyas*, 'having bone as the larger part, chiefly of bone', *abhirūpabhūyiṣṭha*, 'chiefly composed of worthy persons', *daçāvara*, 'having ten as the lowest number', *cintāpara*, 'having meditation as highest object or occupation, devoted to meditation', *niḥçvāsaparama*, 'much addicted to sighing'.

c. Certain words are of especial frequency in the compounds here described, and have in part won a peculiar application.

1. Thus, with *ādi* or *ādika* or *ādya*, 'first', are made compounds signifying the person or thing designated along with others, such a person or thing *et cetera*. For example, *devā indrādayaḥ*, 'the gods having Indra as first', that is, 'the gods Indra etc.', *marīcyādīn munīn*, 'Marici and the other sages', *svāyambhuvādyāḥ saptāi 'te manavaḥ*, 'those seven Manus, Svayambhuva etc.', *agniṣṭomādhikān makhān*, 'the sacrifices Agnishtoma and so on'. Or the qualified noun is omitted, as in *annapānendhanādīni*, 'food, drink, fuel, etc.', *dānadharmādikaṁ caratu bhavān*, 'let your honor practise liberality, religious rites, and the like'. The particles *evam* and *iti* are also sometimes used by substitution as prior members: thus, *evamādi vacanam*, 'words to this and the like effect'; *ato 'ham bravīmi kartavyaḥ saṁcayo nityam ityādi*, 'hence I say "accumulation is ever to be made" etc.'

Used in much the same way, but less often, is *prabhṛti*, 'beginning': thus, *viçvāvasuprabhṛtibhir gandharvāiḥ*, 'with the Gandharvas Viçvavasu etc.'; especially adverbially, in measurements of space and time, as *tatprabhṛti*, 'thenceforward'.

2. Words like *pūrva*, *pūrvaka*, *puraḥsara*, *purogama*, meaning 'foregoer, predecessor', are employed in a similar manner, and especially adverbially, to denote accompaniment.

3. The noun *mātrā*, 'measure', stands as final of a compound which is used adjectively or in the substantive neuter to signify a limit that is not exceeded, and obtains thus the virtual value of 'mere, only': thus, *jalamātreṇa vartayan*, 'living by water only' (lit'ly, 'by that which has water for its measure or limit'), *garbhacyutimātreṇa*, 'by merely issuing from the womb', *prāṇayātrikamātraḥ syāt*, 'let him be one possessing what does not exceed the preservation of life'; *uktamātre tu vacane*, 'but the words being merely uttered'.

4. The noun *artha*, 'object, purpose', is used at the end of a compound, oftenest in the substantive neuter, to signify 'for the sake of' or the like: thus, *yajñasiddhyartham*, 'in order to the accomplishment of the sacrifice', *damayantyartham*, 'for Damayanti's sake'.

5. Other examples are *ābhā*, *kalpa*, in the sense of 'like, approaching': thus, *hemābha*, 'gold-like', *mṛtakalpa*, 'nearly dead', *pratipannakalpa*, 'almost accomplished'; — *vidhā*, in the sense of 'kind, sort': thus, *tvadvidha*, 'of thy sort', *púruṣavidha*, 'of human kind'; — *prāya*, in the sense of 'mostly, often', and the like: thus, *duḥkhaprāya*, 'full of pain', *tṛṇaprāya*, 'abounding in grass', *nirgamanaprāya*, 'often going out'; — *antara* (in substantive neuter), in the sense of 'other': thus, *deçāntara*, 'another region' (lit'ly, 'that which has a difference of region'), *janmāntarāṇi*, 'other existences', *çākhāntare*, 'in another text'.

1303. In appositional possessive compounds, the second member, if it designates a part of the body, sometimes logically signifies that part to which what is designated by the prior member belongs, that on or in which it is.

Thus, *ghṛtápṛṣṭha*, 'butter-backed', *mádhujihva*, 'honey-tongued', *niṣká-grīva* and *maṇigrīva*, 'necklace-necked', *pā́trahasta*, 'vessel-handed', *vájra-bāhu*, 'lightning-armed', *ásṛṅmukha*, 'blood-faced', *kīlā́lodhan*, 'mead-uddered', *vā́jajaṭhara*, 'sacrifice-bellied'; with irregular accent, *dhūmākṣī́* f., 'smoke-eyed', *açrumukhī́* f., 'tear-faced'; and *khā́dihasta*, 'ring-handed' (*khādí*). In the later language, such compounds are not infrequent with words meaning 'hand': thus, *çastrapāṇi*, 'having a sword in the hand', *laguḍahasta*, 'carrying a staff'.

1304. Of possessive compounds having an adverbial element as prior member, the most numerous by far are those made with the inseparable prefixes. Their accent is various. Thus:

a. In compounds with the negative prefix *a* or *an* (in which the latter logically negatives the imported idea of possession), the accent is prevailingly on the final syllable, without regard to the original accent of the final member. For example: *anantá*, 'having no end', *abalá*, 'not possessing strength', *arathá*, 'without chariot', *açraddhá*, 'faithless', *amaṇí*, 'without ornament', *açatrú*, 'without a foe', *avarmán*, 'not cuirassed', *adánt*, 'toothless', *apád*, 'footless', *atejás*, 'without brightness', *anārambhaṇá*, 'not to be gotten hold of', *apratimāná*, 'incomparable', *aduchuná*, 'bringing no harm'.

But a number of examples (few in proportion to those already instanced) have the prefix accented (like the simple descriptives: **1288 a**): thus, *ákṣiti*, 'indestructible', *águ*, 'kineless', *ágopā*, 'without shepherd', *ájīvana*, 'lifeless', *ánāpi*, 'without friends', *áçiçvī* f., 'without young', *ámṛtyu*, 'deathless', *ábrahman*, 'without priest', *ávyacas*, 'without extension', *áhavis*, 'without oblation', and a few others: AV. has *áprajas*. but ÇB. *aprajás*. A very few have the accent on the penult: namely, *açéṣas*, *ajā́ni*, and *avī́ra* (with retraction, from *vīrá*); and AV. has *abhrā́tṛ*, but RV. *abhrātṛ́*.

b. In compounds with the prefixes of praise and dispraise, *su* and *dus*,

the accent is in the great majority of cases that of the final member: thus, *sukálpa*, 'of easy make', *subhága*, 'well portioned', *sunákṣatra*, 'of propitious star', *suputrá*, 'having excellent sons', *sugopā́*, 'well-shepherded', *sukīrtí*, 'of good fame', *sugándhi*, 'fragrant', *subāhú*, 'well-armed', *suyáṁtu*, 'of easy control', *sukrátu*, 'of good capacity', *suhā́rd*, 'good-hearted', *susráj*, 'well-garlanded', *suvárman*, 'well-cuirassed', *suvā́sas*, 'well-clad', *suprâṇīti*, 'well guiding'; *durbhága*, 'ill-portioned', *durdṛ́çīka*, 'of evil aspect', *durdhára*, 'hard to restrain', *durgándhi*, 'ill-savored', *durādhī́*, 'of evil designs', *durdhártu*, 'hard to restrain', *duṣṭárītu*, 'hard to excel', *duratyétu*, 'hard to cross', *durdhúr*, 'ill-yoked', *durṇā́man*, 'ill-named', *durvā́sas*, 'ill-clad'.

There are, however, a not inconsiderable number of instances in which the accent of these compounds is upon the final syllable: thus, *suçiprá*, 'well-lipped', *svapatyá*, 'of good progeny', *susaṁkāçá*, 'of good aspect', *svaṅgurí*, 'well-fingered', *sviṣú*, 'having good arrows', *supīvás*, 'well fatted'; and compounds with derivatives in *ana*, as *suvijñāná*, 'of easy discernment', *sūpasarpaṇá*, 'of easy approach', *duçcyavaná*, 'hard to shake'; and AV. has *suphalá* and *subandhú* against RV. *suphála* and *subándhu*. Like *avī́ra*, *suvī́ra* shows retraction of accent. Only *dū́rāçir* has the tone on the prefix.

On the whole, the distinction by accent of possessive from determinative is less clearly shown in the words made with *su* and *dus* than in any other body of compounds.

c. The associative prefix *sa* or (less often) *sahá* is treated like an adjective element, and itself takes the accent in a possessive compound: thus, *sákratu*, 'of joint will', *sánāman*, 'of like name', *sárūpa*, 'of similar form', *sáyoni*, 'having a common origin', *sávācas*, 'of assenting words', *sátoka*, 'having progeny along, with one's progeny', *sábrāhmaṇa*, 'along with the Brahmans', *sámūla*, 'with the root', *sā́ntardeça*, 'with the intermediate directions'; *sahágopa*, 'with the shepherd', *sahávatsa*, 'accompanied by one's young', *sahápatnī*, 'having her husband with her', *sahápūruṣa*, 'along with our men'.

In RV. (save in a doubtful case or two), only *saha* in such compounds gives the meaning of 'having along with one, accompanied by'; and, since *saha* governs the instrumental, the words beginning with it might be of the prepositional class (below, **1310**). But in AV. both *sa* and *saha* have this value (as illustrated by examples given above); and in the later language, the combinations with *sa* are much the more numerous.

There are a few exceptions, in which the accent is that of the final member: thus, *sajóṣa*, *sajóṣas*, *sadṛ́ça*, *saprâthas*, *sabā́dhas*; and AV. shows the accent on the final syllable in *sāṅgá* (ÇB. *sā́ṅga*) and the substantivized (**1312**) *savidyutá*.

d. Possessive compounds with the exclamatory prefixes *ka* etc. are too few in the older language to furnish ground for any rule as to accent: *kábandha* is perhaps an example of such.

1305. Possessive compounds in which a verbal prefix is used as prior member with adjective value, qualifying a noun as final member, are found even in the oldest language, and

are rather more common later (compare the descriptive compounds, above, **1289**; and the prepositional, below, **1310**). They usually have the accent of the prefix.

Most common are those made with *pra*, *vi*, and *sam:* thus, for example, *prámahas*, 'having exceeding might', *práçravas*, 'widely famed'; *vígrīva*, 'of wry neck', *vyàñga*, 'having limbs away or gone, limbless', *víjāni*, 'wifeless', *víparva* and *víparus*, 'jointless', *vyàdhvan*, 'of wide ways', *vímanas*, both 'of wide mind' and 'mindless', *vívācas*, 'of discordant speech'; *sámpatnī*, 'having one's husband along', *sámmanas*, 'of accordant mind', *sáṁsahasra*, 'accompanied by a thousand', *sámokas*, 'of joint abode'. Examples of others are: *átyūrmi*, 'surging over', *ádhivastra*, 'having a garment on', *ádhyardha*, 'with a half over', *ádhyakṣa*, 'overseer', *ápodaka*, 'without water', *abhírūpa*, 'of adapted character', *ávatoka*, 'that has aborted', *ā́manas*, 'of favorable mind', *údojas*, 'of exalted power', *nímanyu*, 'of assuaged fury', *nírmāya*, 'free from guile', *nírhasta*, 'handless'.

In a comparatively small number of cases, the accent is otherwise; and generally on the final: thus, *avakeçá*, *upamanyú*, *viçaphá*, *viçikhá* (AV. *víçikha*), *vikarṇá*, *sammātṛ́*, etc.; in an instance or two, that of the final member; thus, *samçíçvarī*, 'having a common young'.

1306. Possessive compounds with an ordinary adverb as prior member are also found in every period of the language. They usually have the accent which belongs to the adverb as independent word.

Examples are: *ántyūti*, 'bringing near help', *avódeva*, 'calling down the gods', *itáūti*, 'helping on this side', *ihácitta*, 'with mind directed hither', *dakṣiṇatáskaparda*, 'wearing the braid on the right side', *nā́nādharman*, 'of various character', *purudhápratīka*, 'of manifold aspect', *viçvátomukha*, 'with faces on all sides', *sadyáūti*, 'of immediate aid', *víṣurūpa*, 'of various form', *smádūdhan*, 'with udder'.

An instance or two of irregular accent are met with: thus, *puroratʰá*, 'whose chariot is foremost'.

1307. It was pointed out in the preceding chapter (**1222 c. 2**) that the indifferent suffix *ka* is often added to a pure possessive compound, to help the conversion of the compounded stem into an adjective; especially, where the final of the stem is less usual or manageable in adjective inflection.

Also, the compound possessive stem occasionally takes further a possessive-making suffix, *in* (**1230**).

The frequent changes which are undergone by the final of a stem occurring at the end of a compound will be noticed further on (**1315**).

1308. The possessive compounds are not always used in the later language with the simple value of qualifying adjective; often they have a pregnant sense, and become the equivalents of dependent clauses; or the 'having' which is implied in

them obtains virtually the value of our 'having' as sign of past time.

Thus, for example, *prāptayāuvana*, 'possessing attained adolescence', i. e. 'having arrived at adolescence'; *anadhigataçāstra*, 'with unstudied books', i. e. 'who has neglected study'; *kṛtaprayatna*, 'possessing performed effort', i. e. 'on whom effort is expended'; *an̄gulīyakadarçanāvasāna*, 'having the sight of the ring as termination', i. e. 'destined to end on sight of the ring'; *uddhṛtaviṣādaçalyaḥ*, 'having an extracted despair-arrow', i. e. 'when I shall have extracted the barb of despair'; *çrutavistāraḥ kriyatām*, 'let him be made with heard details', i. e. 'let him be informed of the details'.

B. Compounds with Governed Final Member.

1309. Participial Compounds. This group of compounds, in which the prior member is a present participle and the final member its object, is a small one (toward thirty examples), and exclusively Vedic — indeed, almost limited to the oldest Vedic (of the Rig-Veda).

The accent is on the final syllable of the participle, whatever may have been the latter's accent as an independent word.

Examples are: *vidádvasu*, 'winning good things', *kṣayádvīra*, 'governing (*kṣáyant*) heroes', *taráddveṣas*, 'overcoming (*tárant*) foes', *ābharádvasu*, 'bringing good things', *codayánmati*, 'inciting (*codáyant*) devotion', *mandayátsakha*, 'rejoicing friends', *dhārayátkavi*, 'sustaining sages', *man̄hayádrayi*, 'bestowing wealth'.

In *sādádyoni*, 'sitting in the lap' (*sādat* quite anomalously for *sīdat* or *sadat*), and *spṛhayádvarṇa*, 'emulous of color', the case-relation of the final member is other than accusative. In *patayán mandayátsakham* (RV. i. 4. 7), *patayát*, with accent changed accordingly, represents *patayátsakham*, the final member being understood from the following word. *Vidádaçva* is to be inferred from its derivative *vāídadaçvi*. Of this formation appear to be *jamádagni*, *pratádvasu* (*prathád?*), and *trasádasyu* (for *trasáddasyu?*). It was noticed above (**1299 c**) that *yuyujānásapti* is capable of being understood as a unique compound of like character, with a perfect instead of present participle; *sā́dhadiṣṭi*, on account of its accent, is probably possessive.

1310. Prepositional Compounds. By this name may be conveniently called those combinations in which the prior member is a particle having true prepositional value, and the final member is a noun governed by it.

Such combinations, though few in number as compared with other classes of compounds, are not rare, either in the earlier language or the later.

Their accent is so various that no rule can be set up respecting it.

a. Examples are: *átyavi*, 'passing through the wool', *atirātrá*, 'overnight', *atimātrá*, 'exceeding measure'; *ádhiratha*, 'lying on the chariot', *adhigavá*, 'belonging to the cow'; *adhaspadá*, 'under the feet', *adhoakṣá*, 'below the axle'; *ánupatha*, 'following the road', *ánuvrata*, 'according to direction' (but perhaps possessive?), *anupūrvá*, 'following the one preceding, one after another', *anusatyá*, 'in accordance with truth', *anukū́la*, 'down stream', etc.; *ántaspatha* (with anomalously changed accent of *antár*), 'within the way', *antardāvá*, 'within the flame' (?), *antarhastá*, 'in the hand'; *ántigṛha*, 'near the house'; *ápavrata*, 'out of due course' (possessive?); *apiprā́ṇa*, 'accompanying the breath', *ápivrata*, 'concerned with the ceremony', *apiçarvará*, 'bordering on the night', *apikarṇá*, 'next the ear'; *abhijñú*, 'reaching to the knee', *abhívīra* and *abhísatvan*, 'overcoming heroes'; *ā́pathi*, 'on the road', *ā́deva*, 'going to the gods', *ājarasá*, 'reaching old age', *ādvādaçá*, 'up to twelve'; *upakakṣá*, 'reaching to the arm-pits', *upottamá*, next to last, penultimate'; *upáribudhna*, 'above the bottom', *upárimartya*, 'rising above mortals'; *tirojaná*, 'beyond people'; *niḥsālá*, 'out of the house'; *paripád*, ('about the feet') 'snare', *parihastá*, 'about the hand, bracelet'; *parókṣa*, 'out of sight', *parómātra*, beyond measure', *parogavyūtí*, 'beyond the fields', *paraḥsahasrá* (*páraḥsahasra*, ÇB.), 'above a thousand'; *pratidoṣá*, 'toward evening', *pratilomá*, 'against the grain', *pratikū́la*, 'up stream', *pratyákṣa*, 'before the eyes'; *bahiḥparidhi*, 'outside the enclosure'; *vípathi*, 'outside the road'; *samakṣá*, 'close to the eyes, in sight'.

b. Compounds of this character are in the later language especially common with *adhi*: thus, *adhyātma*, 'relating to the soul or self', *adhiyajña*, 'relating to the sacrifice', etc.

c. A suffixal *a* is sometimes added to a final consonant, as in *upānasá*, 'on the wagon', *ā́vyuṣá*, 'until daybreak'. In a few instances, the suffix *ya* is taken (see above, **1212 d.** 5); and in one word the suffix *in*: thus, *paripanthín*, 'besetting the path'.

d. The prepositional compounds are especially liable to adverbial use: see below, **1313 a.**

Adjective Compounds as Nouns and as Adverbs.

1311. Compound adjectives, like simple ones, are freely used substantively as abstracts and collectives, especially in the neuter, less often in the feminine; and they are also much used adverbially, especially in the accusative neuter.

The matter is entitled to special notice only because certain forms of combination have become of special frequency in these uses, and because the Hindu grammarians have made out of them distinct classes of compounds, with separate names. There is nothing in the Veda which by itself would call for particular remark under this head.

1312. The substantively used compounds having a numera as prior member, along with, in part, the adjective compounds

themselves, are treated by the Hindus as a separate class, called *dvigu*.

The name is a sample of the class, and means 'of two cows', said to be used in the sense of 'worth two cows'; as also *pañcagu*, 'bought for five cows', *dvināu*, 'worth two ships', *pāñcakapāla*, 'made in five cups', and so on.

Vedic examples of numeral abstracts and collectives are: *dvirājá*, '[combat] of two kings', *triyugá*, 'three ages', *triyojaná*, 'space of three leagues', *tridivá*, 'the triple heaven', *pañcayojaná*, 'space of five leagues', *ṣaḍahá*, 'six days' time', *daçāñgulá*, 'ten fingers' breadth'; and, with suffix *ya*, *sahasrāhṇyá*, 'thousand days' journey'. Others, not numeral, but essentially of the same character, are, for example: *anamitrá*, 'freedom from enemies', *nikilbiṣá*, 'freedom from guilt', *savidyutá*, 'thunderstorm', *víhṛdaya*, 'heartlessness', and *sáhṛdaya*, 'heartiness', *sudivá*, 'prosperity by day', *sumṛgá* and *suçakuná*, 'prosperity with beasts and birds'. Feminines of like use are not quotable from RV. or AV.; later occur such as *triçatī*, 'three hundred' (**481**), *trilokī*, 'the three worlds', *pañcamūlī*, 'aggregate of five roots'.

As the examples show, the accent of words thus used is various; but it is more prevailingly on the final syllable than in the adjective compounds in their ordinary use.

1313. Those adverbially used accusatives of secondary adjective compounds which have an indeclinable or particle as prior member are reckoned by the Hindu grammarians as a separate class of compounds, and called by the name *avyayībhāva*.

This term is a derivative from the compound verb (**1094**) made up of *avyaya*, 'uninflected', and √*bhū*, and means 'conversion to an indeclinable'.

a. The prepositional compounds (**1310**) are especially frequent in this use: thus, for example, *anuṣvadhám*, 'by one's own will', *abhipūrvám*, 'in succession', *ādvādaçám*, 'up to twelve', *pratidoṣám*, 'at evening', *samakṣám*, 'in sight'. Instances given by the grammarians are: *adhihari*, 'upon Hari', *uparājam*, 'under the king', *upanadam* or *upanadi*, 'near the river', *pratyagni*, 'toward the fire', *pratiniçam*, 'every night', *nirmakṣikam*, 'free from flies'.

b. A large and important class is made up of words having a relative adverb, especially *yathā*, as prior member. Thus, for example, *yathāvaçám*, 'as one chooses' (*váça*, 'will'), *yathākṛtám*, 'as done [before], according to custom', *yathānāmá*, 'by name', *yathābhāgá*, 'according to several portion', *yathāñgá* and *yathāparú*, 'limb by limb', *yatrakā́mam*, 'whither one will', *yāvanmātrám*, 'in some measure', *yāvajjīvá*, 'as long as one lives', *yāvatsábandhu*, 'according to the number of relations'.

These compounds are not common in the old language; RV. has with *yathā* only four of them, AV. only ten; and no such compound is used adjectively except *yāchreṣthá* RV., *yāvachreṣthá* AV., 'as good as possible'. ÇB. has *yathākārín*, *yathācārín*, *yáthākāma*, *yáthākratu* as adjectives (followed in each case by a correlative *táthā*). The adjective use in the later language also is quite rare as compared with the adverbial.

Other cases than the accusative occasionally occur: thus, instrumental,

as *yathāsaṁkhyena*, *yathāçaktyā*, *yathepsayā*, *yathāpratiguṇāis;* and ablative, as *yathāucityāt.*

c. Other adverbial compounds of equivalent character occur earlier, and are common later: for example, *ṛtekarmám*, 'according to sacrificial use', *nānārathám*, 'on different chariots', *'ubhayadyús*, 'two days in succession'; *citrapadakramam*, 'with wonderful progress', *pradānapūrvam*, 'with accompaniment of a gift'; etc.

Anomalous Compounds.

1314. As in every language, compounds are now and then met with which are of anomalous character, as exhibiting combinations of elements not usually put together, or not after such a method, or for such a purpose. Some of these, especially of those occurring in the old language, may well be noticed here.

a. Compounds having a particle as final member: as, *apratí*, 'having no equal', *tuvipratí*, 'mightily opposing', *átathā*, 'refusing', *vitatha*, 'false', *yathātathá*, 'as it really is', *súsaha*, 'prosperity in companionship', etc.

b. Agglomerations of two or more elements out of phrases: thus, *ahampūrvá*, 'eager to be first', *ahamuttará*, 'contest for preëminence', *mamasatyá*, 'contest for possession', *itihāsá*, 'legend' (*iti hā "sa*, 'thus, indeed, it was'), *naghamārá* and *naghāriṣá*, 'not, surely, dying or coming to harm', *kuvítsa*, 'some unknown person', *tadídartha*, 'having just that as aim', *kūcidarthín*, 'having errands in every direction', *kācitkará*, 'doing all sorts of things', *kuhacidvíd*, 'wherever found', *yadbhaviṣya*, 'What-will-be', etc.

c. Agglomerations in which the prior member retains a syntactic form: as, *anyonya* and *paraspara*, 'one another'.

d. Aggregations with the natural order inverted: as, *pitāmahá* and *tatāmahá*, 'grandfather'.

e. Aggregations of particles were pointed out above (**1111a**); also (**1122b**) cases in which *ná* and *mā́* are used in composition.

f. In the later language, a preposition is occasionally preceded in composition by a case dependent on it: thus, *dantāntaḥ*, 'between the teeth', *tadbahis*, 'outside of it', *satyavinā*, 'without truth'.

Stem-finals altered in Composition.

1315. In all classes of compounds, certain changes of final are liable to appear in the concluding member; generally, they have the effect of transferring the compound to the *a*-declension. Thus:

a. A stem in *an* often drops its final consonant: examples are *akṣa*, *adhva*, *arva*, *astha*, *aha*, *takṣa*, *brahma*, *mūrdha*, *rāja*, *loma*, *vṛṣa*, *çva*, *saktha*, *sāma.*

b. An *i* or *ī* is changed to *a:* examples are *añgula*, *añjala*, *açra*, *kukṣa*, *khāra*, *nada*, *nābha*, *bhūma*, *rātra*, *sakha*, *hala.*

c. An *a* is added after a final consonant, and sometimes after an *u*-vowel or a diphthong: examples are *ṛca, tvaca; uda, pada, çarada; apa; dhura, pura; ahna, açmana, ūdhna, rājña; anasa, ayasa, āyuṣa, urasa, enasa, tamasa, manasa, yajuṣa, rajasa, rahasa, varcasa, vedasa, çreyasa, sarasa; bhruva, diva, gava, gāva, nāva.*

Irregular Construction with Compounds.

1316. In the looseness of unlimited and fortuitous combination, in the later language, it is not rare that a word in composition has an independent word in the sentence depending upon it alone, rather than upon the compound of which it forms a part.

A few examples are: *cittapramāthinī bālā devānām api* (MBh.), 'a girl disturbing the minds even of the gods'; *jyotiṣām madhyacārī* (H.), 'moving in the midst of the stars'; *bhagavatā kṛtasaṁskāre 'smin* (Ç.), 'in him, whose sacraments have been performed by the blessed one'; *syandane dattadṛṣṭiḥ* (Ç.), 'with his eye fixed on the chariot'.

Similar evidences of the looseness of composition are: *na dṛṣṭapūrvā 'thavā çrutā*, 'not seen nor heard of before'; *dārupātraṁ ca mṛnmayam*, 'a wooden and an earthern vessel'.

APPENDIX.

A. The following text is given (as promised above, 3) in order to illustrate by an example the variety of Sanskrit type in use. It is given twice over, and a transliteration into European letters follows. The text is a fable extracted from the first book of the Hitopadeça.

The Hunter, Deer, Boar, and Jackal.

आसीत्कल्याणकटकवास्तव्यो भैरवो नाम व्याधः । स चैकदा मांसलुब्धः सन्धनुरादाय विन्ध्याटवीमध्यं गतः । तत्र तेन मृग एको व्यापादितः । मृगमादाय गच्छता तेन घोराकृतिः सूकरो दृष्टः । ततस्तेन मृगं भूमौ निधाय सूकरः शरेण हतः । सूकरेणाप्यागत्य प्रलयघनघोरगर्जनं कृत्वा स व्याधो मुष्कदेशे हतश्छिन्नद्रुम इव पपात । यतः ।

जलमग्निं विषं शस्त्रं क्षुद्व्याधी पतनं गिरेः ।
निमित्तं किंचिदासाद्य देही प्राणैर्विमुच्यते ॥

अत्रान्तरे दीर्घरावो नाम जम्बुकः परिभ्रमन्नाहारार्थी तान्मृतान्मृगव्याधसूकरानपश्यत् । आलोक्याचिन्तयदसौ । अहो भाग्यम् । महद्भोज्यं समुपस्थितम् । अथवा ।

अचिन्तितानि दुःखानि यथैवायान्ति देहिनाम् ।
सुखान्यपि तथा मन्ये दैवमत्रातिरिच्यते ॥

भवतु । एषां मांसैर्मासत्रयं समधिकं भोजनं मे भविष्यति । ततः प्रथमबुभुक्षायां तावदिमानि स्वादूनि मांसानि विहाय कोदण्डाटनीलग्नं स्नायुबन्धं खादामीत्युक्त्वा तथाकरोत् । ततश्छिन्ने स्नायुबन्धे द्रुतमुत्पतितेन धनुषा हृदि भिन्नः स दीर्घरावः पञ्चत्वं गतः । अतोऽहं ब्रवीमि ।

कर्तव्यः संचयो नित्यं कर्तव्यो नातिसंचयः ।
अतिसंचयदोषेण धनुषा जम्बुको हतः ॥

आसीत्कल्याणकटकवास्तव्यो भैरवो नाम व्याधः। स चैकदा मांसलुब्धः सन्धनुरादाय विन्ध्याटवीमध्यं गतः। तत्र तेन मृग एको व्यापादितः। मृगमादाय गच्छता तेन घोराकृतिः सूकरो दृष्टः। ततस्तेन मृगं भूमौ निधाय सूकरः शरेण हतः। सूकरेणाप्यागत्य प्रलयघनघोरगर्जनं कृत्वा स व्याधो मुष्कदेशे हतश्छिन्नद्रुम इव पपात। यतः।

जलमग्निं विषं शस्त्रं क्षुद्व्याधी पतनं गिरेः।
निमित्तं किंचिदासाद्य देही प्राणैर्विमुच्यते॥

अत्रान्तरे दीर्घरावो नाम जम्बुकः परिभ्रमन्नाहारार्थी तान्मृतान्मृगव्याधसूकरानपश्यत्। आलोक्याचिन्तयदसौ। अहो भाग्यम्। महद्भोज्यं समुपस्थितम्। अथवा।

अचिन्तितानि दुःखानि यथैवायान्ति देहिनाम्।
सुखान्यपि तथा मन्ये दैवमत्रातिरिच्यते॥

भवतु। एषां मांसैर्मासत्रयं समधिकं भोजनं मे भविष्यति। ततः प्रथमबुभुक्षायां तावदिमानि स्वादूनि मांसानि विहाय कोदण्डाटनीलग्नं स्नायुबन्धं खादामीत्युक्त्वा तथाकरोत्। ततश्छिन्ने स्नायुबन्धे द्रुतमुत्पतितेन धनुषा हृदि भिन्नः स दीर्घरावः पञ्चत्वं गतः। अतो ऽहं ब्रवीमि।

कर्तव्यः संचयो नित्यं कर्तव्यो नातिसंचयः।
अतिसंचयदोषेण धनुषा जम्बुको हतः॥

āsīt kalyāṇakaṭakavāstavyo bhāiravo nāma vyādhaḥ. sa cāi 'kadā māṅsalubdhaḥ san dhanur ādāya vindhyāṭavīmadhyaṁ gataḥ. tatra tena mṛga eko vyāpāditaḥ. mṛgam ādāya gachatā tena ghorākṛtiḥ sūkaro dṛṣṭaḥ. tatas tena mṛgam bhūmāu nidhāya sūkaraḥ çareṇa hataḥ. sūkareṇā 'py āgatya pralayaghanaghoragarjanaṁ kṛtvā sa vyādho muṣkadeçe hataç chinnadruma iva papāta. yataḥ:

jalam agniṁ viṣaṁ çastraṁ kṣudvyādhī patanaṁ gireḥ,
nimittaṁ kiṁcid āsādya dehī prāṇāir vimucyate.

atrāntare dīrgharāvo nāma jambukaḥ paribhramann āhārārthī tān mṛtān mṛgavyādhasūkarān apaçyat. ālokyā 'cintayad asāu: aho bhāgyam. mahad bhojyaṁ samupasthitam. athavā:

acintitāni duḥkhāni yathāi 'vā "yānti dehinām,
sukhāny api tathā manye dāivam atrā 'tiricyate.

bhavatu; eṣām māṅsāir māsatrayaṁ samadhikam bhojanam me bhaviṣyati. tataḥ prathamabubhukṣāyāṁ tāvad imāni svādūni māṅsāni vihāya kodaṇḍāṭanīlagnaṁ snāyubandhaṁ khādāmī 'ty uktvā tathā 'karot. tataç chinne snāyubandhe drutam utpatitena dhanuṣā hṛdi bhinnaḥ sa dīrgharāvaḥ pañcatvaṁ gataḥ. ato 'ham bravīmi:

kartavyaḥ saṁcayo nityaṁ kartavyo nā 'tisaṁcayaḥ;
atisaṁcayadoṣeṇa dhanuṣā jambuko hataḥ.

B. The following text is given in order to illustrate by a sufficient example the usual method of marking accent, as described above (**87**, **90**). In the MSS., the accent-signs are almost invariably added in red ink. The text is a hymn extracted from the tenth or last book of the Rig-Veda; it is regarded by the tradition as uttered by *Vāc*, 'voice' (i. e. the Word or Logos).

Hymn (X. 125) from the Rig-Veda.

अ॒हं रु॒द्रेभि॒र्वसु॑भिश्चराम्य॒हमा॑दि॒त्यैरु॒त वि॒श्वदे॑वैः ।
अ॒हं मि॒त्रावरु॑णो॒भा बि॑भर्म्य॒हमि॑न्द्रा॒ग्नी अ॒हम॒श्विनो॒भा ॥ १ ॥
अ॒हं सोम॑माह॒नसं॑ बिभर्म्य॒हं त्वष्टा॑रमु॒त पू॒षणं॒ भग॑म् ।
अ॒हं द॑धामि॒ द्रवि॑णं ह॒विष्म॑ते सुप्रा॒व्ये॒३॒॑ यज॑मानाय सुन्व॒ते ॥ २ ॥
अ॒हं राष्ट्री॑ सं॒गम॑नी॒ वसू॑नां चिकि॒तुषी॑ प्रथ॒मा य॒ज्ञिया॑नाम् ।
तां मा॑ दे॒वा व्य॑दधुः पुरु॒त्रा भूरि॑स्थात्रां॒ भूर्या॑वे॒शय॑न्तीम् ॥ ३ ॥
मया॒ सो अन्न॑मत्ति॒ यो वि॒पश्य॑ति॒ यः प्राणि॑ति॒ य ईं॑ शृ॒णोत्यु॒क्तम् ।
अ॒म॒न्तवो॒ मां त उप॑ क्षियन्ति श्रु॒धि श्रु॑त श्रद्धि॒वं ते॑ वदामि ॥ ४ ॥
अ॒हमे॒व स्व॒यमि॒दं व॑दामि॒ जुष्टं॑ दे॒वेभि॑रु॒त मानु॑षेभिः ।

यं कामये तंतमुग्रं कृणोमि तं ब्रह्माणं तमृषिं तं सुमेधाम् ॥ ५ ॥
अहं रुद्राय धनुरा तनोमि ब्रह्मद्विषे शरवे हन्तवा उ ।
अहं जनाय समदं कृणोम्यहं द्यावापृथिवी आ विवेश ॥ ६ ॥
अहं सुवे पितरमस्य मूर्धन्मम योनिरप्स्वन्तः समुद्रे ।
ततो वि तिष्ठे भुवनानु विश्वोतामूं द्यां वर्ष्मणोप स्पृशामि ॥ ७ ॥
अहमेव वात इव प्र वाम्यारभमाणा भुवनानि विश्वा ।
परो दिवा पर एना पृथिव्यैतावती महिना सं बभूव ॥ ८ ॥

ahám̐ rudrébhir vásubhiç carāmy ahám ādityāír utá viçvádevāiḥ,
ahám mitrā́váruṇo 'bhā́ bibharmy ahám indrāgnī́ ahám açvíno 'bhā́. 1.
ahám̐ sómam āhanásam bibharmy ahám̐ tváṣṭāram utá pūṣáṇam bhágam,
ahám̐ dadhāmi drávinam̐ havíṣmate suprāvyè yájamānāya sunvaté. 2.
ahám̐ rā́ṣṭrī sam̐gámanī vásūnām̐ cikitúṣī prathamā́ yajñíyānām,
tā́m mā devā́ vy àdadhuḥ purutrā́ bhū́risthātrām bhū́ry āveçáyantīm. 3.
máyā só ánnam atti yó vipáçyati yáḥ prā́ṇiti yá īm̐ çṛṇóty uktám,
amantávo mā́m̐ tá úpa kṣiyanti çrudhí çruta çraddhivám̐ te vadāmi. 4.
ahám evá svayám idám̐ vadāmi júṣṭam̐ devébhir utá mā́nuṣebhiḥ,
yám̐ kāmáye tám̐-tam ugrám̐ kṛṇomi tám brahmā́ṇam̐ tám ṛ́ṣim̐ tám̐ sumedhā́m. 5.
ahám̐ rudrā́ya dhánur ā́ tanomi brahmadvíṣe çárave hántavā́ u,
ahám̐ jánāya samádam̐ kṛṇomy ahám̐ dyā́vāpṛthivī́ ā́ viveça. 6.
ahám̐ suve pitáram asya mūrdhán máma yónir apsv àntáḥ samudré,
táto ví tiṣṭhe bhúvanā́ 'nu víçvo 'tā́ 'mū́m̐ dyā́m̐ varṣmáṇó 'pa spṛçāmi. 7.
ahám evá vā́ta iva prá vāmy ārábhamāṇā bhúvanāni víçvā,
paró divā́ pará enā́ pṛthivyā́í 'tā́vatī mahinā́ sám babhū́va. 8.

SANSKRIT INDEX.

The references in both Indexes are to paragraphs. In this one, many abbreviations are used; but it is believed that they will be found self-explaining. For example, "pron." is pronunciation; "euph." points out anything relating to phonetic form or euphonic combination; "pres.", to present-system; "int." is intensive; "des." is desiderative; and so on. A prefixed hyphen denotes a suffix; one appended, a prefix.

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-*aye*, infin. in, 970 f, 975.
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-*ase*, infin. in, 970 c, 973.
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ERRATA.

The remark at the end of **721** belongs instead under **688.**

At **612 a,** last line of paradigm, restore the lost *i* of *itâs;* and, at **1156,** l. 5, the lost *a* at end of line.

Read *ḻ* at **65,** last line but one; *vā́vā́* at **94 e;** *eṣas* and *eṣa* at **176,** ll. 2, 3, *ṣvit* at **188,** l. 5; *gorā́ṭsu* at **221,** l. 8; *brúvāṇaḥ* at **268,** l. 5; *tī́ryate* at **761 b,** l. 15; *dyut* at **785,** l. 5; *âmoci* at **844,** l. 8; *arāṇiṣus* at **908,** l. 8; *tanyú* at **1178 e,** l. 1; *dā́ñçuka* at **1180 a,** l. 3; *ṛj* (for *uj*) at **1200 c,** l. 1.

References to the paragraphs **361—76** are (owing to an unfortunately necessary renumbering) in several instances wrong by a difference of one to five. Also other references as follows; read **454** at **425 g,** l. 2; **547** at **561,** l. 5 from end; **672** at **654,** l. 3; **1042 d** at **1030,** l. 13; and **1271** at **1150 c,** l. 8.